# THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE VVORLD.

Intreating of the Times, from the Reign of *Philip* of *Macedon*, to the eſtabliſhing of that Kingdom, in the Race of *ANTIGONUS*.

## THE FOVRTH BOOK.

### CHAP. I.

### *Of* Philip *the Father of* Alexander *the Great, King of* Macedon.

#### §. I.

#### *What Kings reigned in* Macedon *before* Philip.

THE *Greeks* of whom we have already made large diſcourſe, not as yet wearied with inteſtine War, nor made wiſe by their vain contention for ſuperiority, do ſtill, as in former times, continue the invaſion and vaſtation of each other.

Againſt *Xerxes*, the greateſt Monarch of that part of the world, they defended their liberty, with as happy ſucceſs as ever Nation had, and with no leſs honour, than hath ever been acquired by deeds of Arms. And having had a trial and experience more than fortunate, againſt thoſe Nations, they ſo little regarded what might come from them, who had ſo often forfeited the reputation of their forces, as whatſoever could be ſpared from their own diſtraction at home, they tranſported over the *Helleſpont*, as ſufficient, to entertain and buſie them withall.

But, as it commonly falleth out with every man of mark in the world, that they underfall, and periſh by the hands and harms which they leaſt fear; ſo fared it at this time with the *Greeks*. For of *Philip* of *Macedon* (of whom we are now to ſpeak) they had ſo little regard, as they grew even then more violent in devouring each other, when the faſt-growing greatneſs of ſuch a Neighbour-King, ſhould, in regard of their own ſafeties, have ſerved them for a ſtrong argument of union



union and accord. But the glory of their *Perſian* victories, wherewith they were pampred and made proud, taught them to neglect all Nations but themſelves, and the rather to value at little the power and purpoſes of the *Macedonians*, becauſe thoſe Kings and States, which ſate nearer them than they did, had in the time of *Amyntas*, the Father of *Philip*, ſo much weakned them, and won upon them, that they were not (as the *Grecians* perſwaded themſelves) in any one age, likely to recover their own, much leſs to work any wonders againſt their borderers. And, indeed, it was not in their Philoſophy to conſider, That all great alterations are, ſtorm-like, ſudden and violent; and that it is then over-late to repair the decayed and broken banks, when great rivers are once ſwollen, faſt-running, and inraged. No, the *Greeks* did rather imploy themſelves, in breaking down thoſe defences which ſtood between them and this inundation, than ſeek to rampire and re-enforce their own fields, which by the Level of reaſon they might have found to have lien under it. It was therefore well concluded by *Oroſius*: *Græciæ Civitates imperare ſingulæ cupiunt, imperium omnes perdiderunt*; *The Cities of* Greece *loſt their command, by ſtriving each of them to command all.* *Oroſ. l. 3. cap. 12.*

The Kingdom of *Macedon*, ſo called of *Macedon*, the ſon of *Oſiris*, or, as other Authors affirm, of *Jupiter* and *Æthra*, is the next Region towards the North which bordereth *Greece*; It hath to the Eaſt, the *Ægean* Sea; it is bounded on the North and North-weſt, by the *Thracians* and *Illyrians*; and on the South and South-weſt by *Theſſaly* and *Epirus*.

Their Kings were of the family of *Temenus*, of the race of *Hercules*, and by Nation *Argives*; who are liſted as followeth. About ſome ſix years after the tranſlation of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, *Arbaces* then governing *Media*; *Caranus* of *Argos*, commanded by an Oracle to lead a Colony into *Macedon*, departed thence with many people: and as he was marching through that Countrey, the weather being rainy and tempeſtuous, he eſpied a great herd of Goats, which fled the ſtorm as faſt as they could, haſting them to their known place of covert. Whereupon *Caranus*, calling to mind, that he had alſo by another Oracle been directed, to follow the firſt troop of beaſts, that ſhould either lead him, or flie before him; he purſued theſe Goats to the Gates of *Edeſſa*, and being undiſcovered by the Inhabitants, by reaſon of the darkneſs of the air, he entred their City without reſiſtance, and poſſeſt it. Soon after this, by the overthrow of *Ciſſeus*, *Caranus* became Lord of the reſt of *Macedon*, and held it eight and twenty years. *Cœnus* ſucceeded *Caranus*, and reigned twelve years. *Tyrimas* followed *Cœnus*, and ruled eight and twenty years. *Paul. Diac. Conſ. Theſ. Antio 6.* *Euſeb. in Chro.*

*Perdiccas* the firſt, the ſon of *Tyrimas* governed one and fifty years: a Prince, for his great valour, and many other vertues, much renowned: *Solinus*, *Pliny*, *Juſtine*, *Euſebius*, *Theophilus*, *Antiochenus*, and others affirm, that he appointed a place of burial for himſelf, and for all the Kings of *Macedon* his Succeſſors, at *Ægæ*: aſſuring them, that the Kingdom ſhould ſo long continue in his Line and Race, as they continued to lay up their bodies in that Sepulchre; wherein it is ſaid, that becauſe *Alexander* the Great failed, therefore the poſterity of the *Temenidæ* failed in him: a thing rather deviſed after the effect, as I conceive, than foretold by *Perdicas*. *Sol. c. 14. Plin. l. 4. c. 10.*

*Argæus* ſucceeded unto *Perdiccas*, and ruled eight and twenty years.

*Philip* the firſt, his ſucceſſor, reigned eight and twenty years. *Euſeb. in Chro.*

*Æropus* followed *Philip*, and governed ſix and twenty years: in whoſe infancy the *Illyrians* invaded *Macedon*, and having obtained a great victory, they purſued the ſame to the great danger of that State. Whereupon the *Macedonians*, gathering new forces, and reſolving either to recover their former loſs, or to loſe at once both their Kingdom and their King, they carried him with them in his cradle into the field, and returned victorious; for they were either confident that their Nation could not be beaten, (their King being preſent) or rather they perſwaded themſelves that there was no man ſo void of honour and compaſſion, as to abandon their natural Lord, being an Infant, and no way (but by the hands of his ſervants) able to defend himſelf from deſtruction. The like is reported by *Aimonius* of *Clotarius* the ſon of *Fredegunda*. *Euſeb. Jo. Amm. Aat. &c. Aimon. l. 3. c. 82.*

*Alcetas* ſucceeded *Æropus*, and ruled nine and twenty years.

*Amyntas* the firſt, ſucceeded *Alcetas*, and reigned fifty years; He lived at ſuch time as *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, after his unproſperous return out of *Scythia*, ſent *Megabazus* with an Army into *Europe*, who in *Darius* name required *Amyntas* to acknowledge him for his Supream Lord, by yielding unto him Earth and Water. But his Embaſſadors, as you have heard before, were for their inſolent behaviour towards the *Macedonian* Ladies, ſlain by the direction of *Alexander*, who was the ſon of *Amyntas*, and his Succeſſor. *Her. Euſ. Juſt. &c.*

*Alexander* ſurnamed the Rich, the ſon of *Amyntas*, governed *Macedon* three and forty years. He did not only appeaſe the wrath of *Megabazus*, for the ſlaughter of the *Perſian* Embaſſadors, by giving *Gygæa* his Siſter, to *Bubares* of the blood of *Perſia*; but by that match he grew ſo great in *Xerxes* grace, as he obtained all that Region between the Mountains of *Olympus* and *Hemus*, to be united to the Kingdom of *Macedon*. Yet could not theſe benefits buy his affection from the *Greeks*. For *Xerxes* being returned into *Aſia*, and *Mardonius* made General of the *Perſian* Army; *Alexander* acquainted the *Greeks* with all his intents and purpoſes againſt them. He had three ſons, *Perdiccas*, *Alcetas*, and *Philip*.

*Her. l.8. Plut. Euſeb. Juſt. &c.*

*Perdiccas* the ſecond, the ſon of *Alexander*, lived in the time of the *Peloponneſian* war, and reigned in all eight and twenty years. The wars which he made were not much remarkable: the Story of them is found here and there by pieces in *Thucydides* his firſt ſix Books. He left behind him two ſons; *Perdiccas*, who was very young; and *Archelaus*, who was baſe-born.

*Perdiccas* the third, being delivered to the cuſtody and care of *Archelaus*, was at ſeven years of age caſt into a well and drowned by his falſe Guardian: who excuſing this fact to *Cleopatra* the mother of the young King, ſaid, That the child in following a Gooſe haſtily, fell thereinto by miſadventure. But *Archelaus* ſtayed not here: for having thus diſpatched his brother, he ſlew both his Uncle *Alcetas* the ſon of *Alexander* the Rich, and *Alexander* the ſon of this *Alcetas*, his Couſin Germain, and enjoyed the Kingdom of *Macedon* himſelf four and twenty years.

*Plat. in Gorg. Ariſt. in Pol. 5.*

This *Archelaus*, of whom both *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* make mention, though he made himſelf King by wicked murder, yet performed many things greatly to the profit of his Nation. It is ſaid, That he ſought by all means to draw *Socrates* unto him, and that he greatly loved and honoured *Eurypides* the Tragedian. He had two ſons, *Archelaus* and *Oreſtes*.

*Archelaus* the ſecond, ſucceeded his Father; and having reigned ſeven years, he was ſlain in hunting, either by chance, or of purpoſe, by *Cratæus*.

*Oreſtes* his younger ſon was committed to the education of *Æropus* of the Royal blood of *Macedon*, and had the ſame meaſure which *Archelaus* had meaſured to his Pupil; for *Æropus* murthered him and uſurped the Kingdom, which he held ſome ſix years: the ſame who denyed paſſage to *Ageſilaus* King of *Sparta*, who deſired, after his return from the *Aſian* expedition, to paſs by the way of *Macedon* into *Greece*.

This Uſurper left three ſons, *Pauſanias*, *Argæus*, and *Alexander*. *Pauſanias* ſucceeded his father *Æropus*, and having reigned one year, he was driven out by *Amyntas* the ſon of *Philip*, the ſon of the firſt *Perdiccas*, the ſon of *Alexander* the Rich; which *Philip* was then preſerved, when *Archelaus* the Baſtard ſlew his Brother *Perdiccas*, his Uncle *Alcetas*, and his ſon *Alexander*. This *Amyntas* reigned (though very unquietly) four and twenty years; for he was not only infeſted by *Pauſanias*, aſſiſted by the *Thracians*, and by his brother *Argæus*, incouraged by the *Illyrians*; and by the ſaid *Argæus*, for two years diſpoſſeſt of *Macedon*: but on the other ſide, the *Olynthians*, his Neighbours neer the *Ægean* Sea, made themſelves for a while Maſters of *Pella*, the chief City of *Macedon*.

*Diod. Polyæn. Plut. in Demet.*

*Amyntas* the ſecond, had by his wife *Eurydice* the *Illyrian*, three ſons; *Alexander* the ſecond, *Perdiccas* the third, and *Philip* the ſecond, Father of *Alexander* the Great: and one Daughter called *Euryone* or *Exione*. He had alſo by his ſecond Wife *Gygæa*, three Sons; *Archelaus*, *Argæus*, and *Menelaus*, afterward ſlain by their brother *Philip*. He had more by a Concubine, *Ptolomy* ſurnamed *Alorites*, of the City of *Alorus*, wherein he was born.

*Alexander* the ſecond reigned not much above one year, in which time he was invaded by *Pauſanias*, the ſon of *Æropus*, but defended by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*, while he was at that time about *Amphipolis*. He was alſo conſtrained (for the payment of a great ſum of mony) to leave his youngeſt brother *Philip* in Hoſtage with the *Illyrians*, who had ſubjected his Father *Amyntas* to the payment of tribute. After this, *Alexander* being invited by the *Alevadæ* againſt *Alexander* the Tyrant of *Pheres* in *Theſſaly*, having redeemed his brother *Philip*; to draw the *Thebans* to his aſſiſtance, entred into Confederacy with *Pelopidas*, being at that time in the ſame Countrey, with whom he alſo left *Philip* with divers other principal perſons, for the gage of his promiſes to *Pelopidas*. But *Eurydice* his Mother falling in love with her Son-in-law, who had married her Daughter *Euryone* or *Exione*, practiſed the death of *Alexander* her ſon, with a purpoſe to confer the Kingdom on her Paramour, which *Ptolomy Alorites* did put in execution: by means whereof, he held *Macedon* for three years, but was ſoon after ſlain by *Perdiccas* the brother of *Alexander*. *Diodore* hath



*Diod. l.15. & 16.*

hath it otherwiſe of *Philip* being made pledge; and ſaith, That *Amyntas* his Father delivered him for hoſtage to the *Illyrians*, by whom he was conveyed to *Thebes*, there to be kept: others report that *Philip* (while his Father was yet living) was firſt ingaged to the *Thebans*, and delivered for hoſtage a ſecond time by *Alexander* his brother.

*Perdiccas* the third, after he had ſlain *Alorites* his baſe Brother, Governed *Macedon* five years, and was then ſlain in a battel againſt the *Illyrians*, according to *Diodorus*; but *Juſtin* affirmeth that he periſhed by the practice of *Eurydice* his mother, as *Alexander* did.

*Juſt. l.7.*

## §. II.

*The beginning of* Philip*'s reign: and how he delivered* Macedon *from the troubles wherein he found it intangled.*

PHilip the ſecond, the youngeſt ſon of *Amyntas* by *Eurydice*, having been inſtructed in all knowledge requiſite unto the Government of a Kingdom, in that excellent education which he had under *Epaminondas*, making an eſcape from *Thebes*, returned into *Macedon*, in the firſt year of the hundred and fifth *Olympiad*, which was after the building of *Rome* three hundred fourſcore and thirteen years: and finding the many enemies and dangers wherewith the Kingdom was invironed, he took on him, not as a King (for *Perdiccas* left a ſon, though but an Infant) but as the Protector of his Nephew, and Commander of the men of War. Yet his fruitful ambition ſoon over-grew his modeſty, and he was eaſily perſwaded by the people to accept both the title of King, and withall, the abſolute rule of the Kingdom. And, to ſay the truth, the neceſſity of the State of *Macedon* at that time required a King both prudent and active. For, beſides the incurſions of the *Illyrians* and *Pannonians*, the King of *Thrace* did ſet up in oppoſition, *Pauſanias*; the *Athenians*, *Argæus*; ſons of the late Uſurper *Æropus*: each of theſe labouring to place in *Macedon* a King of their own election. Theſe heavy burdens when *Philip* could not well bear, he bought off the weightieſt by mony, and by fair promiſes unloaded himſelf of ſo many of the reſt, as he ran under the remainder happily enough. For, notwithſtanding that his brother *Perdiccas* had his death accompanied with four thouſand *Macedonians*, beſide thoſe that were wounded and taken priſoners; and that the *Pannonians* were deſtroying all before them in *Macedon*; and that the *Athenians* with a Fleet by Sea, and three thouſand Souldiers by Land under *Mantias*, did beat upon him on all ſides and quarters of his Country: yet after he had practiſed the men of War of *Pannonia*, and corrupted them with gifts; and had alſo bought the King of *Thrace* from *Pauſanias*, he forthwith made head againſt the *Athenians* his ſtiffeſt enemies; and, for the firſt, he prevented their recovery of *Amphipolis*, a City on the frontier of *Macedon*: and did then purſue *Argæus*, the ſon of *Æropus*, ſet againſt him by the *Athenians*, and followed him ſo hard at the heels, in his retrait from *Æges*, that he forced him to abide the battel: which *Argæus* loſt, having the greateſt part of his Army ſlain in the place. Thoſe of the *Athenians*, and others which remained unbroken, took the advantage of a ſtrong piece of ground at hand, which though they could not long defend, yet avoiding thereby the preſent fury of the Souldiers, they obtained of the Vanquiſhers life and liberty to return into *Attica*. Whereupon a peace was concluded between him and the *Athenians* for that preſent, and for this clemency he was greatly renowned and honoured by all the *Greeks*.

*Diod. l.16.*

## §. III.

*The good ſucceſs which* Philip *had in many enterpriſes.*

NOw had *Philip* leaſure to look Northward, and to attend the *Illyrians* and *Pæonians*, his irreconcileable enemies and borderers: both which he invaded with ſo proſperous ſucceſs, as he ſlew *Bardillis*, King of the *Illyrians*, with ſeven thouſand of his Nation, and thereby recovered all thoſe places which the *Illyrians* held in *Macedon*: and withall, upon the death of the King of *Pannonia*, he pierc'd that Country, and after a main Victory obtained, he enforc'd them to pay him tribute. This was no ſooner done, than (without ſtaying to take longer breath) he haſted ſpeedily towards *Lariſſa*, upon the River *Peneus* in *Theſſaly*, of which Town he ſoon made himſelf Maſter; and thereby he got good footing in that Country, whereof he made uſe in time following. Now although he reſolved either to ſubdue the *Theſſalians*, or to make them his own againſt all others, becauſe the horſe-men of that Country were the beſt, and moſt feared in that part of *Europe*; yet he thought it moſt for his ſafety to cloſe up the entrances out of *Thrace*, leſt while he invaded *Theſſaly* and

Greece

*Greece* towards the South, those ample Nations, lying towards the North, should either withdraw him, or over-run *Macedon*, as in former times. He therefore attempted *Amphipolis*, seated on the famous river of *Strimon*, which parteth *Thrace* from *Macedon*; and won it. He also recovered *Pynda*, and (to the North of *Amphipolis*) the City of *Crenides* (sometime *Datus*) and called it after his name, *Philippi*: to the people whereof, Saint *Paul* afterward directed one of his Epistles. This place, wherein *Philippi* stood, is very rich in mines of gold, out of which, greatly to the advancement of *Philips* affairs, he drew yearly a thousand talents, which make six hundred thousand French Crowns.

And that he might with the more ease disburden the *Thracian* shores of the *Athenian* Garrisons, to which he had given a great blow by the taking in of *Amphipolis*, he entred into league with his Fathers malicious enemies, the *Olynthians*; whom the better to fasten unto him, he gave them the City of *Pynda* with the territory, meaning nothing less than that they should enjoy it, or their own Estate, many years.

Now that he might by degrees win ground upon the *Greeks*, he took the fair occasion to deliver the City of *Pheres* in *Thessaly*, from the Tyrants *Lycophron* and *Tisiphonus*: who, after they had conspired with *Thebe* the wife of *Alexander*, who usurped upon the liberty of that State, they themselves (*Alexander* being murdered) held it also by the same strong hand and oppression that *Alexander* did, till by the assistance of *Philip* they were beaten out, and *Pheres* restored to her former liberty. Which act of *Philip* did for ever after fasten the *Thessalians* unto him, and, to his exceeding great advantage, binde them to his service.

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### §. IV.

*Of the* Phocian *War which first drew* Philip *into* Greece.

ABout this time, to wit, in the second year of the hundred and sixth *Olympiad*, eight years after the battel of *Mantinæa*, and about the eighth year of *Artaxerxes Ochus*, began that War, called *Sacred*. Now, as all occasions concur towards the execution of eternal providence, and of every great alteration in the World, there is some preceding preparation, though not at the first easily discerned; so did this revengeful hatred by the *Thebans*, *Thessalians*, and *Locrians*, conceived against the *Phocians*, not only teach *Philip* how he might with half a hand wrest the sword out of their fingers; but the *Greeks* themselves, beating down their own defences, to give him an easie passage; and beating themselves, to give him Victory without peril; left nothing unperformed towards their own slavery, saving the title and imposition. Of this War the *Thebans* (made over-proud by their Victory at *Leuctra*) were the inflamers. For at the Council of the *Amphyctiones*, or of the general Estates of *Greece*, in which at that time they swayed most, they caused both the *Lacedæmonians* and *Phocians* to be condemned in greater sums of mony than they could well bear; the one for surprizing the Castle of *Cadmea* in the time of peace, the other for ploughing up a piece of ground belonging to the Temple of *Delphos*. The *Phocians* being resolved not to obey this Edict, were secretly set on, and encouraged by the *Lacedæmonians*: and for refusal were exposed as Sacrilegers, and accursed to all their neighbour-Nations, for whom it was then lawful to invade, and destroy them at their pleasures.

The *Phocians* perswaded thereunto by *Philomelus*, a Captain of their own, cast the same dice of hazzard that *Cæsar* after many Ages following did; but had not the same chance. Yet they dealt well enough with all the enemies of their own Nation. And the better to bear out an ungracious quarrel, of which there was left no hope of composition, they resolved to sack the Temple it self. For seeing that for the ploughing of a piece of *Apollo*'s ground, they had so much offended their Neighbour-god, and their Neighbour-Nations, as worse could not befall them than already was intended; they resolved to take the gold with the ground, and either to perish for all, or to prevail against all that had commission to call them to account. The treasure which they took out of the Temple in the beginning of the War, was ten thousand talents, which in those dayes served them to wage a great many men; and such was their success in the beginning of the War, as they won three great battels against the *Thebans*, *Thessalians* and *Locrians*; but being beaten in the fourth, their Leader *Philomelus* cast himself headlong over the Rocks.

In the mean while the Cities of *Chersonesus*, both to defend themselves against their bad neighbour *Philip*, who encroached upon them, and to draw others into their quarrel, rendred themselves to the *Athenians*. *Philip* prepareth to get them into his hands, and at the siege of *Methone* lost one of his eyes. It is said,



said, That he that shot him, did purposely direct his arrow toward him, and that it was written on the shaft thereof: *After Philippo*; *After to Philip*: for so he was called that gave him the wound. This City he evened with the soil.

Plut. in ul- pian. Strab. l. 8.

The Tyrant *Lycophron* before mentioned, while *Philip* was busied on the border of *Thrace*, and the *Thessalians* ingaged in the holy War, entred *Thessaly* with new forces, being assisted by *Onomarchus*, Commander of the *Phocian* Army, in place of *Philomelus*. For hereby the *Phocians* hoped so to entertain the *Thessalians* at home, as they should not find leasure to invade them. Hereupon was *Philip* the second time called into *Thessaly*; but both the *Thessalians* and *Macedonians* (*Philip* being present) were utterly overthrown by *Onomarchus*, and great numbers of both Nations lost. From *Thessaly*, *Onomarchus* drew speedily towards *Bœotia*, and with the same Victorious Army brake the forces of the *Bœotians*, and took from them their City of *Coronea*. But *Philip*, impatient of his late misadventure, after he had re-enforced his Army, returned with all speed into *Thessaly*, there to find again the honour which he lately lost: and was the second time encountred by *Onomarchus*, who brought into the field twenty thousand foot, and five hundred horse. All this great preparation sufficed not; for *Onomarchus* was by *Philip* surmounted, both in numbers and in good fortune, his Army overturned, six thousand slain, and three thousand taken: of which number himself being one, was among others hanged by *Philip*. Those that fled, were in part received by the *Athenian* Gallies, which sailed along the coast, commanded by *Chares*; but the greatest number of those that took the Sea, were therein devoured ere they recovered them. *Lycophron* was now again driven out of *Thessaly*, and *Pheres* made free as before.

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### §. V.

*Of the* Olynthian *War. The ambitious practices of* Philip.

FRom hence *Philip* resolved to invade *Phocis* it self, but the *Athenians* did not favour his entrance into those parts; and therefore with the help of the *Lacedæmonians*, they retrench'd his passage at the Streits of *Thermopylis*. Whereupon he returned into *Macedon*, and after the taking of *Mecyberne*, *Torone*, and other Towns, he quarrelled with the *Olynthians*, whom not long before he had wooed to his alliance, and bought his peace of them. For the *Olynthians* were very strong, and had evermore both braved and beaten the *Macedonians*. It is said, that *Philip* having put to death *Archelaus* his half brother (for *Amyntas* had three sons by *Eurydice* the Mother of *Philip*, and three other sons by *Gygæa*: but *Philips* elder brother by the same Mother being dead, he determined to rid himself also of the rest) the two younger held themselves within *Olynthus*; and that the receiving of them by the *Olynthians* was the cause of the War, *Justine* affirmeth. Just quarrels are ballanced by just Princes, but to this King all things were lawful that might serve his turn; all his affections, and passions, how divers soever in other men, were in his ambition swallowed up, and thereinto converted. For he neither forbare the murder of his own brothers, the breach of faith, the buying of other mens fidelity: he esteemed no place strong where his Ass loaden with gold might enter; nor any City or State unconquerable, where a few of the greatest, to be made greater, could lose the sense of other mens sorrow and subjection. And because he thought it vain to practise the winning of *Olynthus*, till he had inclosed all the power they had within their own walls, he entred their Territory, and by the advantage of a well-compounded and trained Army, he gave them two overthrows ere he sate down before the City it self: which done, he bought *Euthicrates* and *Lasthenes* from their people, and from the service of their Country and Common-weale, by whose treason he entred the Town, slew his brothers therein, sackt it, and sold the Inhabitants for slaves by the drum. By the spoil of this place he greatly enriched himself, and had treasure sufficient to buy-in other Cities withall, which he daily did. For so was he advised by the Oracle in the beginning of his undertaking, *That he should make his assaults with silver spears*: Whereupon *Horace* well and truly said,

*——— Diffidit Urbium*
*Portas vir Macedo, & subruit æmulos*
*Reges muneribus.———* Hor. Carm. Od. 16.

By gifts the *Macedon* clave Gates asunder,
And Kings envying his estate brought under.

And it is true, that he won more by corruption and fraud, than he did by force. For as he had in all the principal Cities of *Greece* his secret workers (which way of Conquest was well followed by *Philip* the second of *Spain*:) So when in the contention between the

the Competitors for the Kingdom of *Thrace*, he was chosen the Arbitrator; he came not to the Council accompanied with Piety and Justice, but with a powerful Army, and having beaten and slain both Kings, gave sentence for himself, and made the Kingdom his own.

## §. VI.

### *How* Philip *ended the* Phocian *War.*

THe War still continued between the *Phocians* and the Associates of the holy War: the *Bœotians*, finding themselves unable to subsist without some present aid, sent unto *Philip* for succour, who willingly yielded to their necessities, and sent them such a proportion of men, as were neither sufficient to master their enemies, nor to assure themselves; but yet to enable them to continue the War, and to waste the strength of *Greece*. They also sent to *Artaxerxes Ochus* for supply of treasure, who lent them thirty talents, which makes a hundred and fourscore thousand Crowns: but when with these supplies they had still the worst against the *Phocians*, who held from them three of the strongest Cities within *Bœotia* it self, they then besought *Philip* of *Macedon* that he would assist them in person, to whom they would give an entrance into their Territory, and in all things obey his commandements in War.

Now had *Philip* what he longed for; for he knew himself in state to give the law to both, and so quitting all his other purposes towards the North, he marched with a speedy pace towards *Bœotia*, where being arrived, *Phallechus* who commanded the *Phocian* Army, fearing to shock with this victorious King, made his own peace, and withdrew himself with a Regiment of eight thousand Souldiers into *Peloponnesus*, leaving the *Phocians* to the mercy of the Conqueror; and for conclusion he had the glory of that War called *Sacred*, which the *Grecians* with so many mutual slaughters had continued for ten years; and, besides the glory, he possest himself of *Orchomene*, *Coronea*, and *Corsia*, in the Country of the *Bœotians*, who invited him to be victorious over themselves. He brought the *Phocians* into servitude, and wasted their Cities, and gave them but their Villages to inhabite, reserving unto himself the yearly tribute of threescore talents, which make six and thirty thousand French Crowns. He also hereby (besides the fame of piety for service of the gods) obtained the same double voice in the Council of the *Amphyctiones* which the *Phocians* had, with the superintendency of the *Pythian* games, forfeited by the *Corinthians*, by being partakers in the *Phocian* sacrilege.

## §. VII.

### *How* Philip *with ill success attempted upon* Perinthus, Byzantium, *and the* Scythians.

PHilip, after his triumphant return into *Macedon*, by the Lieutenant of his Army *Parmenio*, slaughtered many thousands of the *Illyrians* and *Dardanians*, and brought the *Thracians* to pay him the tenth part of all their revenues. But his next enterprise against the *Perinthians* stayed his fury. *Perinthus* was a City of *Thrace*, seated upon *Propontis*, in the mid-way between *Sestos* and *Byzantium*, a place of great strength, and a people resolved to defend their liberty against *Philip*, where the *Athenians* incouraged and assisted them. *Philip* sate down before it with a puissant Army, made many fair breaches, gave many furious assaults, built many over-topping and commanding Towers about it. But he was repelled with equal violence. For whereas *Philip* thought by his continual assaults to weary them, and waste both their men and munition, they were supplied, not only from the *Persian* with men and money, and succoured from *Byzantium*, which stood upon the same Sea-coast, but they were relieved from *Athens*, *Chio*, & *Rhodes*, by the conduction of *Phocion*, with what soever was wanting to their necessity. But because those of *Byzantium* by reason of their neighbourhood, and easie passage by water, gave them often and ready help, *Philip* removed the one half of his Army, and besieged it, leaving fifteen thousand foot before *Perinthus*, to force it if they could: But, to be short, he failed in both attempts, (as all Princes commonly do that undertake divers enterprises at one time) and returned into *Macedon* with no less dishonour than loss: whereupon he made an overture of peace with the *Athenians*, & greatly desired it: to which though *Phocion* perswaded them all he could, and that by the occasion offered they might greatly advantage their conditions; yet *Demosthenes* with his eloquence prevailed in the refusal. In the mean while, *Philip* having digested his late affront, and supplied his expence, by the taking of an hundred threescore and ten Merchants ships, he gathered new forces, and being accompanied with his son *Alexander*, led them into *Scythia*; but he was also unprosperous in that enterprise: For the *Triballi*, a people of *Mœsia*,



*Mœsia*, set on him in his return, wounded him, and took from him the greatest part of the spoils which he had gathered.

## §. VIII.

### *How* Philip *overthrowing the* Greeks *in the battel of* Cheronæa, *was chosen Captain-General of* Greece. *The death of* Philip.

AMong these Northern Nations (part of which he suppresst, and part quieted) he spent some eight years; and in the ninth year, after the end of the holy War, he was, by his great advantage, invited again by the *Grecians* to their assistance. For the Citizens of *Amphissa* having disobeyed the decree of the *Amphyctiones*, in which *Philip* had a double voice, and who by reason that the *Thebans* and *Locrians* gave countenance and aid to the *Amphissonians*, the rest were not of themselves able to constrain them, they besought *Philip* to come in person to their assistance. Now you must think that *Philip* was not long in resolving upon this enterprise; he needed no drawing on, whom nothing could keep back; nor other disswasion than a mastering power could hold thence. He therefore commanded his Army forthwith to march; the same being compounded of thirty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse; and with as much expedition as could be made, he entred *Phocis*, won *Platæa*, and brought into subjection all that Region.

The rest, and especially the *Athenians*, although they had good cause to fear that a great part of this storm would fall on themselves, yet were they disswaded by *Demosthenes* from accepting such reasonable conditions of peace as *Philip* offered, and rather made choice (having drawn the *Thebans* to joyn with them) to leave the enjoying of their estates & their freedom to the chance of one battell, than to hold it either by composition, or by the grace of *Philip*. But this their Oratours eloquence cost them dear. It is true, that he could far more easily mind them of the vertue of their Ancestors, than make them such as they were. He might repeat unto them (with words moving passion) the wonders they wrought at *Marathon*, but he could not transform the *Macedonians* into *Persians*, nor draw from the dead, a *Miltiades*, an *Aristides*, a *Themistocles*, or a *Cimon*, or any of those famous Commanders, whose great vertues they had payed with the greatest ingratitude that ever Nation did. A *Phocion* they had, but by the strength of a contrary faction he was at this time in disgrace, and not imployed; in so much as when the Armies of *Philip* and the Confederates incountred, although some thousands of the *Athenians* did abide the killing, and the like number well-near of the *Thebans* died with them; yet the want of the worthy men on that side to hold up the rest, and to draw them on, and the many choice Captains of the *Macedonians*, incouraged by a King of a growing fortune, as it gave to *Philip* so shining a victory, that *Alexander* by the light thereof found his way (in despight of all the Nations interjacent) into *Persia*, *India*, and *Egypt*; so it cut to the ground, and gave end and date to all the *Grecian* glory; Yea their liberty (saith *Curtius*) with their large Dominion won with so many difficulties, continued for so many Ages, and so often defended against the greatest Kings, was now lost in a moment, and for ever lost.

Now this advised King (never passionate to his disadvantage) to the end he might obtain the Soveraignty over all *Greece*, and be acknowledged for their Captain-General against the *Persians*, without any further hazzard or trouble, was content to let go those *Athenians* that were taken at this battel of *Cheronæa*, as he also forbare to attempt any thing against their City: but in *Thebes* (which lately by the vertue of *Epaminondas* triumphed over the rest) he lodged a Garrison of *Macedonians*. And being soon after (according unto the long desire which he had nourished of this Soveraignty) by the general States at *Corinth*, styled the first Commander of all the *Grecians*, and contribution of men and money granted him, he compounded an Army of great strength, and under the Commandment of *Attalus* and *Parmenio*, transported the same over the *Hellespont* into *Asia*, to begin the War. Of his enterprise against *Persia*, he sought success from the Oracle at *Delphos*, from whence he received such another convertible riddle, as *Cræsus* did when he attempted *Cyrus*, and was in like sort mistaken in the exposition.

But as it is hard to discern and withstand the flatteries of our own appetites, so did *Philips* ambitious desire to invade *Persia*, abuse his judgement, so far, that the death, wherewith himself was threatned, he understood to be delivered of his enemy, whom he intended presently to invade. Before his purposed departure into *Asia*, he prepared for the marriage of his Daughter *Cleopatra*, with *Alexander* King of *Epirus*; to which feast and pastimes there at appointed, he invited all his Friends and Allies, with the

principal persons of the *Grecian* Cities, from whom he received much honour and many rich presents: but this was indeed the feast of his Funeral. For, having refused to do justice to one *Pausanias*, a Gentleman of his Guard, whom *Attalus* (greatly favoured by *Philip*) had first made drunk, and then left to be carnally abused by divers base persons, this *Pausanias* grew into so great a detestation of the Kings partiality in so foul a fact, as, when *Philip* was passing twards the Theater, he drew a sword from under his long garment and wounded him to death, when he had lived six and forty years, and reigned five and twenty. *Justine* reports it, that *Olympias* incouraged *Pausanias* to murder the King her husband; which after his death she boldly avowed, by the honour she did unto *Pausanias*, in crowning his dead body, in consecrating his sword unto *Apollo*, by building for him a monument, and other like Graces.

## §. XI.

*What good foundations of* Alexanders *greatness were laid by* Philip. *Of his laudable qualities and issue.*

NOw although he were then taken from the World, when he had mastered all opposition on that side of the Sea, and had seen the fruits of his hopes, and labours, changing colour towards ripeness and perfection; yet he was herein happy, that he lived to see his son *Alexander* at mans estate, and had himself been an eye-witness of his resolution and singular valour in this last battel.

The foundation of whose future greatness he had laid so soundly for him, with so plain a pattern of the buildings which himself meant to erect, as the performance and finishing was far more easie to *Alexander*, though more glorious, than the beginnings unto *Philip*, though less famous. For, besides the recovery of *Macedon* it self in competition between him and the sons of *Æropus*, the one assisted by the *Thracians*, the other by the *Athenians*; and besides the regaining of many places possest by the *Illyrians*, the crushing of all those Northern Kings his Neighbours, the overthrow of *Olynthus*, a State that despised the power of his Father, the many Maritimate Cities taken, of great strength and ancient freedom; and the subjection of that famous Nation of *Greece*, which for so many ages had defended it self against the greatest Kings of the World, and won upon them; He left unto his son, and had bred up for him, so many choice Commanders, as the most of them, both for their valour and judgement in the War, were no less worthy of Crowns, than himself was that ware a Crown: For it was said of *Parmenio* (whom *Alexander*, ungrateful to so great vertue, impiously murthered) That *Parmenio* had performed many things challenging eternal fame, without the King; but the King without *Parmenio* never did any thing worthy of renown: as for the rest of his Captains, though content to obey the Son of such a Father, yet did they not after *Alexanders* death endure to acknowledge any man Superiour to themselves.

Of this Prince it is hard to judge, whether his ambition had taught him the exercise of more vices, than Nature and his excellent education had enriched him with vertues. For, besides that he was Valiant, Wise, Learned, and Master of his Affections, he had this favour of Piety, that he rather laboured to satisfie those that were grieved, than to suppress them. Whereof (among many other) we find a good example in his dealing with *Arcadion* and *Nicanor*. Whom when for their evil speech of *Philip*, his familiars perswaded him to put to death, he answered them, That first it ought to be considered, whether the fault were in them that gave him ill language, or in himself; Secondly, that it was in every mans own power to be well spoken of; and this was shortly proved; for after *Philip* relieved their necessities, there were none within his Kingdom that did him more honour then they did. Whereupon he told those that had perswaded him to use violence, that he was a better Physitian for evill speech than they were.

His Epistles to *Alexander* his son are remembred by *Cicero* and *Gellius*; and by *Dion* and *Chrysostome* exceedingly commended. His Stratagems are gathered by *Polyænus* and *Erontinus*; his wise sayings, by *Plutarch*. And albeit he held *Macedon* as in his own right, all the time of his reign, yet was he not the true and next Heir thereof; for *Amyntas* the son of his brother *Perdiccas* (of whom he had the Protection during his infancy) had the right. This *Amyntas* he married to his daughter *Cyna*, who had by him a daughter called *Eurydice*, who was married to *Philips* base son *Aridæus*, her Uncle by the Mothers side: both which *Olympias*, *Philips* first Wife, and Mother to *Alexander* the Great, put to death; *Aridæus* by extreme torments, *Eurydice* she strangled.

*Philip* had by this *Olympias*, the daughter of *Neoptolemus*, King of the *Molossians* (of the race of *Achilles*) *Alexander* the Great, and *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was married to her Uncle *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, and was after her brother *Alexanders* death slain at *Sardis*, by the commandement of *Antigonus*.

By *Audata*, an *Illyrian*, his second Wife, he had *Cyna*, married as is shewed before.

By *Nicaspolis*, the Sister of *Jason*, Tyrant of *Pheres*, he had *Thessalonica*, whom *Cassander*, after he had taken *Pidna*, married; but she was afterward by her Father-in-law *Antipater* put to death.

By *Cleopatra* the Neece of *Attalus*, he had *Caranus*, whom others call *Philip*: him *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander* the Great, caused to be rosted to death in a copper Pan. Others lay this murder to *Alexander* himself. By the same *Cleopatra* he had likewise a daughter called *Europa*, whom *Olympias* also murdered at the Mothers brest.

By *Phila* and *Meda* he had no issue.

He had also two Concubines, *Arsinoe*, whom after he had gotten with child, he married to an obscure man, called *Lagus*, who bare *Ptolomy* King of Egypt, called the Son of *Lagus*, but esteemed the Son of *Philip*: by *Philinna*, his second Concubine, a publick Dancer, he had *Aridæus*, of whom we shall have much occasion to speak hereafter.



# CHAP. II.

## *Of* ALEXANDER *the Great.*

## §. I.

*A brief rehearsal of* Alexanders *doings, before he invaded* Asia.

ALexander, afterwards called the Great, succeeded unto *Philip* his Father; being a Prince no less valiant by Nature, than by Education, well instructed, and inriched in all sorts of Learning and good Arts. He began his reign over the *Macedonians* four hundred and seventeen years, after *Rome* was built, and after his own birth twenty years. The strange dreams of *Philip* his Father, and that one of the gods in the shape of a Snake, begat him on *Olympias* his Mother, I omit as foolish tales; but, that the Temple of *Diana* (a work the most magnificent of the world) was burnt upon the day of his birth, and that so strange an accident was accompanied with the news of three several Victories, obtained by the *Macedonians*, it was very remarkable, and might with the reason of those times be interpreted for ominous, & fore-shewing the great things by *Alexander* afterward performed. Upon the change of the King, the Neighbour-Nations, whom *Philip* had oppreft, began to consult about the recovery of their former liberty, and to adventure it by force of arms. *Alexanders* young years gave them hope of prevailing, and his suspected severity increased courage in those, who could better resolve to die, than to live slavishly. But *Alexander* gave no time to those swelling humours, which might speedily have endangered the health of his Estate. For after revenge taken upon the Conspirators against his Father, whom he slew upon his Tomb, and the celebration of his Funerals, he first fastened unto him his own Nation, by freeing them from all exactions and bodily slavery, other than their service in his Wars; and used such Kingly austerity towards those that contemned his young years, and such clemency to the rest that perswaded themselves of the cruelty of his disposition, as all affections being pacified at home, he made a present journey into *Peloponnesus*, and so well exercised his spirits among them, as by the Counsel of the States of *Greece*, he was, according to the great desire of his heart, elected Captain-General against the *Persians*, upon which war *Philip* had not only resolved, (who had obtained the same title of General Commander) but had

had transported under the leading of *Parmenio* and *Attalus*, a part of his Army, to recover some places on *Asia*-side, for the safe descent of the rest.

This enterprise against the *Persian* occupied all *Alexanders* affections; those fair marks of Riches, Honour, & large Dominion, he now shot at both sleeping & waking; all other thoughts and imaginations were either grievous or hateful. But a contrary wind ariseth: for he receiveth advertisement, that the *Athenians*, *Thebans* and *Lacedæmonians*, had united themselves against him, and, by assistance from the *Persian*, hoped for the recovery of their former freedom. Hereunto they were perswaded by *Demosthenes*, himself being thereto perswaded by the gold of *Persia*: the devise he used was more subtile than profitable; for he caused it to be bruited, that *Alexander* was slain in a battail against the *Triballes*, and brought into the assembly a companion whom he had corrupted, to affirm that himself was present, and wounded in the battail. There is indeed a dertain Doctrine of Policy (as Policy is now a-days defined by falsehood and knavery) that devised rumors and lies, if they serve the turn but for a day or two, are greatly available. It is true, Common people are sometimes mockt by them as Souldiers are by false alarums in the wars; but in all that I have observed, I have found the success as ridiculous as the invention. For as those that find themselvs at one time abused by such like bruits, do at other times neglect their duties, when they are upon true reports, and in occasions perillous, summoned to assemble; so do all men in general condemn the Venters of such trumpery, and for them, fear upon necessary occasion to entertain the truth it self. This labour unlooked for, and loss of time, was not only very grievous to *Alexander*, but by turning his sword from the ignoble and effeminate *Persians*, against which he had directed it, towards the manly and famous *Grecians*, of whose assistance he thought himself assured, his present undertaking was greatly disordered. But he that cannot endure to strive against the wind, shall hardly attain the Port which he purposeth to recover: and it no less becometh the worthiest men to oppose misfortunes, than it doth the weakest children to bewail them.

He therefore made such expedition towards these Revolters, as that himself, with the Army that followed him, brought them the first news of his preparation. Hereupon all stagger, and the *Athenians*, as they were the first that moved, so were they the first that fainted, seeking by their Embassadours to pacifie the King, and to be received again into his grace. *Alexander* was not long in resolving; for the *Persians* perswaded him to pardon the *Græcians*. Wise men are not easily drawn from great purposes by such occasions as may easily be taken off, neither hath any King ever brought to effect any great affair, who hath intangled himself in many enterprises at once, not tending to one and the same certain end.

And having now quieted his borderers towards the South, he resolved to assure those Nations which lay on the North-side of *Macedon*, to wit, the *Thracians*, *Triballes*, *Peones*, *Getes*, *Agreans*, and other salvage people, which had greatly vexed with incursions, not only other of his Predecessors, but even *Philip* his Father: with all which, after divers Overthrows given them, he made peace, or else brought them into subjection. Notwithstanding this good success, he could not yet find the way out of *Europe*. There is nothing more natural to man than liberty: the *Greeks* had enjoyed it over-long, & lost it too late to forget it; they therefore shake off the yoke once again. The *Thebans*, who had in their Citadel a Garrison of a 3000. *Macedons*, attempt to force it; *Alexander* hasteneth to their succour, & presents himself with 30000. foot, all old souldiers, & 3000. horse, before the City, and gave the Inhabitants some days to resolve, being even heart-sick with the desire of passing into *Asia*. So unwilling, indeed, he was to draw blood of the *Græcians*, by whom he hoped to serve himself elsewhere, that he offered the *Thebans* remission, if they would only deliver into his hands *Phœnix* and *Prothytes*, the stirrers up of the Rebellion. But they, opposing the mounting fortune of *Alexander*, (which bare all resistance before it, like the breaking in of the Ocean Sea) instead of such an answer, as men besieged and abandoned should have made, demanded *Philotas* and *Antipater* to be delivered unto them; as if *Thebes* alone, then layed in the ballance of *Fortune* with the Kingdom of *Macedon*, and many other Provinces, could either have evened the scale or swayed it. Therefore in the end they perished in their obstinacy. For while the *Thebans* oppose the Army assailant, they are charged at the back by the *Macedonian* Garrison their City taken and razed to the ground, six thousand slain, and thirty thousand sold for slaves, at the price of four hundred and forty talents. This the King did to the terrour of the other *Grecian* Cities.

Many arguments were used by *Cleadas* one of the prisoners, to perswade *Alexander* to



to forbear the destruction of *Thebes*. He prayed the King to believe that they were rather mis-led, by giving hasty credit to false reports, than any way malicious; for being perswaded of *Alexander's* death, they rebelled but against his successour. He also besought the King to remember, that his Father *Philip* had his education in that City, yea, that his Ancestour *Hercules* was born therein: but all perswasions were fruitless; the times wherein offences are committed do greatly aggravate them. Yet for the honour he bare to learning, he pardoned all the race of *Pindarus* the Poet, and spared, and set at liberty *Timoclea*, the Sister of *Theagenes*, who died in defence of the liberty of *Greece* against his Father *Philip*. This noble woman being taken by a *Thracian*, and by him ravished, he threatned to take her life unless she would confess her treasure: she led that *Thracian* to a Well, and told him, that she had therein cast it: and when the *Thracian* stooped to look into the Well, she suddenly thrust him into the mouth thereof and stoned him to death.

Now because the *Athenians* had received into their City so many of the *Thebans*, as had escaped and fled unto them for succour, *Alexander* would not grant them peace, but upon condition to deliver into his hands both their Orators which perswaded this second revolt, and their Captains; yet in the end, it being a torment unto him to retard the enterprize of *Persia*, he was content that the Orators should remain, and accepted of the banishment of the Captains; wherein he was exceeding ill-advised, had not his fortune, or rather the providence of God, made all the resistance against him unprofitable: for these good Leaders of the *Græcians* betook themselves to the service of the *Persian*, whom after a few daies be invaded.

## §. II.

*How* Alexander *passing into* Asia, *fought with the* Persians *upon the River of* Granicus.

WHen all was now quieted at home, *Alexander*, committing to the trust of *Antipater* both *Greece* and *Macedon*, in the first of the Spring did pass the *Hellespont*, and being ready to dis-imbark, he threw a Dart towards the *Asian* shore, as a token of defiance, commanding his Souldiers not to make any waste in their own Territory, or to burn, or deface those buildings which themselves were presently, and in the future to possess. He landed his Army, consisting of two and thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, all old Souldiers, near unto *Troy*, where he offered a solemn sacrifice upon *Achilles* Tomb, his maternal Ancestor.

But before he left his own coast, he put to death, without any offence given him, all his Mother-in-laws Kinsmen, whom *Philip* his Father had greatly advanced, not sparing such of his own as he suspected. He also took with him many of his tributary Princes, of whose fidelity he doubted; thinking by unjust cruelty to assure all things, both in the present and future. Yet the end of all fell out contrary to the policy which his Ambition had commended unto him, though agreeing very well with the justice of God; for all that he had planted, was soon after withered, and rooted up; those, whom he most trusted, were the most traiterous; his mother, friends, and children, fell by such another mercilesse sword as his own, and all manner of confusion followed his dead body to the grave, and left him there.

When the knowledge of *Alexander's* landing on *Asia* side was brought to *Darius*, he so much scorned the Army of *Macedon*, and had so contemptible an opinion of *Alexander* himself, as having stiled him his servant on a letter which he wrote unto him, reprehending his disloyalty and audacity (for *Darius* intitled himself King of Kings, and the Kinsman of the gods) he gave order withall to his Lieutenants of the lesser *Asia*, that they should take *Alexander* alive, whip him with rods, and then convey him to his presence: that they should sink his ships, and send the *Macedons* taken prisoners beyond the Red-Sea; belike into *Æthiopia*, or some other unhealthful part of *Africa*.

In this sort did this glorious King, confident in the glittering, but heartless multitude which he commanded, dispose of the already-vanquished *Macedonians*: But the ill destinies of men bear them to the ground, by what strong confidence soever armed. The great numbers which he gathered together, and brought in one heap into the field, gave rather an exceeding advantage to his enemies, than any discouragement at all. For, besides that they were men utterly unacquainted with dangers; men, who by the name and countenance of their King were wont to prevail against those of less courage than themselves; men that took more care how to embroider with gold and silver their upper garments, as if they attended the invasion but of the Sun-beams, than they did to arm themselves with Iron and Steel against

againſt the ſharp pikes, ſwords, and darts of the hardy *Macedonians*; I ſay, beſides all theſe, even the opinion they had of their own numbers, of which every one in particular hoped that it would not fall to his turn to fight, filled every one of them with the care of their own ſafety, without any intent at all to hazard any thing but their own breath, and that of their horſes, in running away. The *Macedonians*, as they came to fight, and thereby to enrich themſelves with the gold and jewels of *Perſia*, both which they needed; ſo the *Perſians*, who expected nothing in that War but blows and wounds, which they needed not, obeyed the King, who had power to conſtrain them in aſſembling themſelves for his ſervice; but their own fears and cowardiſe, which in time of danger had moſt power over them, they only then obeyed, when their rebellion againſt ſo ſervile a paſſion did juſtly and violently require it. For, ſaith *Vegetius*, *Quemadmodum bene exercitatus miles prælium cupit, ita formidat indoctus; nam ſciendum eſt in pugna uſum amplius prodeſſe quàm vires. As the well-practiſed Souldier deſires to come to battel, ſo the raw one fears it: for we muſt underſtand, that in fight it more avails to have been accuſtomed unto the like, than only to have rude ſtrength.* What manner of men the *Perſians* were, *Alexander* diſcovered in the firſt encounter; before which time it is ſaid, by thoſe that write his ſtory, that it was hard to judge, whether his daring to undertake the Conqueſt of an Empire ſo well peopled, with an handful of men, or the ſucceſs he had, were more to be wondred at. For at the River of *Granick*, which ſevereth the Territory of *Troy* from *Propontis*, the *Perſians* fought to ſtop his paſſage, taking the higher ground and bank of the River to defend, which *Alexander* was forced (as it were) to clime up unto, and ſcale from the Level of the water. Great reſiſtance (ſaith *Curtius*) was made by the *Perſians*, yet in the end *Alexander* prevailed. But it ſeems to me, that the Victory then gotten was exceeding eaſie, and that the twenty thouſand *Perſian* footmen, ſaid to be ſlain, were rather killed in the back, in running away, than hurt in the boſoms by reſiſting. For had thoſe twenty thouſand foot, and two hundred and fifty horſe-men, or, after *Plutarch*, two thouſand and five hundred horſe-men, dyed with their faces towards the *Macedonians*, *Alexander* could not have bought their lives at ſo ſmall a rate, as with the loſs of four and thirty of all ſorts of his own. And if it were alſo true, that *Plutarch* doth report, how *Alexander* encountred two of the *Perſian* Commanders, *Spithridates* & *Rhœſaces*; and that the *Perſian* horſe-men fought with great fury, though in the end ſcattered; and laſtly, how thoſe *Græcians* in *Darius* his pay, holding themſelves in one body upon a piece of ground of advantage, did (after mercy was refuſed them) fight it out to the laſt; how doth it then reſemble truth, that ſuch reſiſtance having been made, yet of *Alexander*'s Army there fell but twelve foot-men, and two and twenty horſe-men?

## §. III.

### *A digreſſion concerning the defence of hard paſſages. Of things following the Battel of* Granick.

THe winning of this paſſage did greatly encourage the *Macedonians*, and brought ſuch terrour upon all thoſe of the leſſer *Aſia*, as he obtained all the Kingdoms thereof without a blow, ſome one or two Towns excepted. For in all invaſions, where the Nations invaded have once been beaten upon a great advantage of the place, as in defence of Rivers, Streights, and Mountains, they will ſoon have perſwaded themſelves, that ſuch an enemy upon equal terms and even ground, can hardly be reſiſted. It was therefore *Machiavels* counſel, That he which reſolveth to defend a paſſage, ſhould with his ableſt force oppoſe the Aſſailant. And to ſay truth, few Regions of any great circuit are ſo well fenced, that Armies of ſuch force as may be thought ſufficient to conquer them, can be debarred all entrance, by the natural difficulty of the waies. One paſſage or other is commonly left unguarded: if all be defended, then muſt the forces of the Country be diſtracted; and yet lightly ſome one place will be found that is defended very weakly. How often have the *Alpes* given way to Armies, breaking into *Italy*? Yea, Where ſhall we find that ever they kept out an Invader? Yet are they ſuch as (to ſpeak briefly) afflict with all difficulties thoſe that travel over them; but they give no ſecurity to thoſe that lye behind them: for they are of too large extent. The Towns of *Lombardy* perſwaded themſelves that they might enjoy their quiet, when the Warlike Nation of the *Switzers* had undertaken to hinder *Francis* the *French* King from deſcending into the Dutchy of *Milan*: but whilſt theſe Patrons of *Milan*, whom their own dwelling in thoſe Mountains had made fitteſt of all other for ſuch a ſervice, were buſied in cuſtody of the *Alpes*; *Francis* appeared in *Lombardy*, ſo much the greater terrour of the Inhabitants, by how much the leſs they had expected his arrival. What ſhall we ſay of thoſe Mountains, which lock up whole Regions in ſuch ſort, as they leave but one Gate open? The Streights, or (as they were called) the Gates of *Taurus* in *Cilicia*, and thoſe of *Thermopylæ*, have ſeldom been attempted, perhaps becauſe they were thought impregnable: but how ſeldom (if ever) have they been attempted in vain? *Xerxes*, and long after him, the *Romans*, forced the entrance of *Thermopylæ*; *Cyrus* the younger, and after him *Alexander*, found the Gates of *Cilicia* wide open; how ſtrongly ſoever they had been locked and barred, yet were thoſe Countries open enough to a Fleet that ſhould enter on the back-ſide. The defence of Rivers, how hard a thing it is, we find examples in all hiſtories that bear good witneſs. The deepeſt have many Foods; the ſwifteſt and broadeſt may be paſſed by Boats, in caſe it be found a matter of difficulty to make a bridg. He that hath men enow to defend all the length of his own bank, hath alſo enow to beat his enemy; and may therefore do better to let him come over, to his loſs, than by ſtriving in vain to hinder the paſſage, as a matter tending to his own diſadvantage, fill the heads of his Souldiers with an opinion, that they are in ill caſe, having their means of ſafeguard taken from them, by the skill or valour of ſuch as are too good for them. Certainly, if a River were ſufficient defence againſt an Arme, the Iſle of *Mona*, now called *Angleſey*, which is divided from North-Wales by an Army of the Sea, had been ſafe enough againſt the *Romans*, invading it under the conduct of *Julius Agricola*. But he wanting, and not meaning to ſpend the time in making veſſels to tranſport his forces, did aſſay the foords. Whereby he ſo amazed the enemies attending for ſhips and ſuch like proviſion by Sea, that ſurely believing nothing could be hard or invincible to men, which came ſo minded to War, they humbly intreated for peace, and yielded the Iſland. Yet the *Britains* were men ſtout enough, the *Perſians* were very daſtards.

It was therefore wiſely done of *Alexander*, to paſs the River of *Granick* in face of the enemy; not marching higher to ſeek an eaſier way, nor laboring to convey his men over it by ſome ſafer means. For, having beaten them upon their own ground, he did thereby cut off no leſs of their reputation, than of their ſtrength, leaving no hope of ſuccour to the partakers and followers of ſuch unable Protectors.

Soon after this Victory he recovered *Sardis*, *Epheſus*, the Cities of the *Trallians*, and *Magneſia*, which were rendred unto him. The Inhabitants of which, with the people of the Country, he received with great grace, ſuffering them to be governed by their own Laws. For he obſerved it well; *Novum Imperium inchoantibus, utilis clementiæ fama; It is commodious unto ſuch as lay the foundations of a new Soveraignty, to have the fame of being merciful.* He then by *Parmenio* wan *Miletus*, and by force maſtered *Halicarnaſſæus*, which becauſe it reſiſted obſtinately, he razed to the ground. From whence he entred into *Caria*, where *Ada* the Queen, who had been caſt out of all that ſhe held (except the City of *Alinda*) by *Darius* his Lieutenants, preſented her ſelf unto him, and adopted him her Son and Succeſſor; which *Alexander* accepted in ſo gracious part, as he left the whole Kingdom to her diſpoſing. He then entred into *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, and obtained all the Sea-coaſts; and, ſubjecting unto him *Piſidia*, he directed himſelf towards *Darius* (who was ſaid to be advanced towards him with a marvellous Army) by the way of *Phrygia*: For, all the Province of *Aſia* the leſs, bordering upon the Sea, his firſt Victory laid under his feet.

While he gave order for the government and ſetling of *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, they ſent *Cleander* to raiſe ſome new Captains in *Peloponneſus*, and marching towards the North, he entred *Celenas*, ſeated on the River *Meander*, which was abandoned unto him; the Caſtle only holding out, which alſo after forty daies was given up: for ſo long time he gave them to attend ſuccour from *Darius*. From *Celenas* he paſt on through *Phrygia* towards the *Euxine* Sea, till he came to a City called *Gordium*, the Regal Seat, in former times, of King *Midas*. In this City it was, that he found the *Gordian*-knot, which when he knew not how to undo, he cut it aſunder with his ſword. For there was an ancient Prophecy did promiſe to him that could untie it, the Lordſhip of all *Aſia*; whereupon *Alexander*, not reſpecting the manner how, ſo it were done, aſſumed to himſelf the fulfilling of the Prophecy, by hewing it in pieces.

But before he turned from this part of *Aſia* the leſs towards the eaſt, he took care to clear the Sea-coaſt on his back, and to thruſt the *Perſians* out of the Iſlands of *Lesbos*, *Chio*, and *Coos*: the charge whereof he committed unto two of his Captains, giving them ſuch order as he thought to be moſt convenient for that ſervice; and delivering unto

unto them fifty Talents to defray the charge; and withall out of his first spoyl gotten, he sent threescore Talents more to *Antipater* his Lieutenant in *Greece* and *Macedon*. From *Celenas* he removed to *Ancira*, now called *Anguori*, standing on the same River of *Sangarius*, which runneth through *Gordium*: there he mustered his Army, and then entred *Paphlagonia*, whose people submitted themselves unto him, and obtained freedom of tribute: where he left *Catus* Governour with one Regiment of *Macedonians* lately arrived.

Here he understood of the death of *Memnon*, *Darius* Lieutenant, which heartned him greatly to pass on towards him; for of this only Captain he had more respect than of all the multitude by *Darius* assembled, and of all the Commanders he had besides. For so much hath the spirit of some one man excelled, as it hath undertaken and effected the alteration of the greatest States and Common-weals, the erection of Monarchies, the Conquest of Kingdomes and Empires, guided handfuls of men against multitudes of equal bodily strength, contrived victories beyond all hope and discourse of reason, converted the fearful passions of his own followers into magnanimity, and the valour of his enemies into cowardize; such spirits have been stirred up in sundry Ages of the world, and in divers parts thereof, to erect and cast down again, to establish and to destroy, and to bring all things, Persons and States, to the same certain ends, which the infinite Spirit of the *Universal*, piercing, moving, and governing all things, hath ordained. Certainly, the things that this King did, were marvellous, and would hardly have been undertaken by any man else: and though his Father had determined to have invaded the lesser *Asia*, it is like enough that he would have contented himself with some part thereof, and not have discovered the River of *Indus*, as this man did. The swift course of victory, wherewith he ran over so large a portion of the World, in so short a space, may justly be imputed unto this, that he was never encountred by an equal spirit, concurring with equal power against him. Hereby it came to pass that his actions being limited by no greater opposition, than desart places, and the meer length of tedious journies could make, were like the *Colossus* of *Rhodes*, not so much to be admired for the workmanship, though therein also praise-worthy, as for the huge bulk. For certainly the things performed by *Xenophon*, discover as brave a spirit as *Alexanders*, and working no less exquisitely, though the effects were less material, as were also the forces and power of command, by which it wrought. But he that would find the exact pattern of a noble Commander, must look upon such as *Epaminondas*, that encountring worthy Captains, and those better followed than themselves, have by their singular vertue over-topped their valiant enemies, and still prevailed over those, that would not have yielded one foot to any other. Such as these are, do seldom live to obtain great Empires. For it is a work of more labour and longer time, to master the equal forces of one hardy and well-ordered State, than to tread down and utterly subdue a multitude of servile Nations, compounding the body of a gross unwieldy Empire. Wherefore these *Parvo-Potentes*, men that with little have done much upon enemies of like ability, are to be regarded as choise examples of worth; but great Conquerours, to be rather admired for the substance of their actions, than the exquisite managing: exactness and greatness concurring so seldom, that I can find no instance of both in one, save only that brave *Roman*, *Cæsar*.

Having thus far digressed, it is now time that we return unto our Eastern Conqueror; who is travelling hastily towards *Cilicia*, with a desire to recover the Streights thereof before *Darius* should arrive there. But first making a dispatch into *Greece*, he sent to those Cities, in which he reposed most trust, some of the *Persian* Targets which he had recovered in his first battel; upon which, by certain inscriptions, he made them partakers of his Victory. Herein he well advised himself; for he that doth not as well impart of the honour which he gains in the Wars, as he doth of the spoils, shall never be long followed of those of the better sort. For men which are either well born, or well bred, and have more of wealth than of reputation, do as often satisfie themselves with the purchase of glory, as the weak in fortune, and strong in courage, do with the gain of gold and silver.

The Governour of *Cilicia* hearing of *Alexanders* coming on, left some Companies to keep the Streights, which were indeed very defensible; and withall, as *Curtius* noteth, he began over-late to prise and put in execution the Counsel of *Memnon*: who in the beginning of the Wars advised him to waste all the provisions for Men and Horse, that could not be lodged in strong places, and alwayes to give ground to the Invader, till he found some such notable advantage as might assuredly promise him the obtaining of Victory. For the fury of an invading Army



Army is best broken, by delayes, change of diet, and want, eating sometimes too little, and sometimes too much, sometimes reposing themselves in beds, and more oftner on the cold ground. These and the like sudden alterations bring many diseases upon all Nations out of their own Countries. Therefore if *Darius* had kept the *Macedonians* but a while from meat and sleep, and, refusing to give or take battel, had wearied them with his light horse, as the *Parthians* afterward did the *Romans*, he might perchance have saved his own life, and his estate. For it was one of the greatest incouragements given by *Alexander*, to the *Macedonians*, in the third and last fatal battel, That they were to fight with all the strength of *Persia* at once.

*Xerxes*, when he invaded *Greece* and fought abroad, in being beaten, lost only his men; but *Darius* being invaded by the *Greeks*, and fighting at home, by being beaten, lost his Kingdom. *Pericles* though the *Lacedæmonians* burnt all in *Attica* to the Gates of *Athens*, yet could not be drawn to hazzard a battel: for the invaded ought evermore to fight upon the advantage of time and place. Because we read Histories to inform our understanding by the examples therein found, we will give some instances of those that have perished by adventuring in their own Countries, to charge an invading Army. The *Romans*, by fighting with *Hannibal*, were brought to the brink of their destruction.

*Pompey* was well advised for a while, when he gave *Cæsar* ground; but when by the importunity of his Captains he adventured to fight at *Pharsalia*, he lost the battel, lost the freedome of *Rome*, and his own life.

*Ferdinand*, in the Conquest of *Naples*, would needs fight a battel with the *French* to his confusion, though it was told him by a man of sound judgement, that those Counsels which promise surety in all things, are honourable enough.

The Constable of *France* made frustrate the mighty preparation of *Charles* the Fift, when he invaded *Provence*, by wasting the Country, and forbearing to fight; so did the Duke of *Alva* weary the *French* in *Naples*, and dissolve the boistrous Army of the Prince of *Orange* in the *Low-Countries*.

The *Leigers*, contrary to the advice of their General, would needs fight a battel with the *Bourgonians*, invading their Country, and could not be perswaded to linger the time, and stay their advantage; but they lost eight and twenty thousand upon the place. *Philip* of *Valois* set upon King *Edward* at *Cressie*; and King *John* (when the *English* were well-neer tired out, and would in short time by an orderly pursuit have been wasted to nothing) constrained the black Prince with great fury, near *Poitiers*, to joyn battel with him: But all men know what lamentable success these two *French* Kings found. *Charles* the fift of *France* made another kind of *Fabian*-Warfare; and though the *English* burnt and wasted many places, yet this King held his resolution to forbear blows, and followed his advice, which told him, That the *English* could never get his inheritance by smoak. And it is reported by *Belloy* and *Herrault*, that King *Edward* was wont to say of this *Charles*, that he wan from him the Dutchy of *Guyen* without ever putting on his Armour.

But where God hath a purpose to destroy, wise men grow short-lived, and the charge of things is committed unto such as either cannot see what is for their good, or know not how to put in execution any sound advice. The course which *Memnon* had propounded, must in all appearance of reason have brought the *Macedonian* to a great perplexity, and made him stand still a while at the Streights of *Cilicia*, doubting whether it were more shameful to return, or dangerous to proceed. For, had *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia* been wasted whilst *Alexander* was far off; and the Streights of *Cilicia* been defended by *Arsenes*, Governour of that Province, with the best of his forces; hunger would not have suffered the enemy, to stay the trial of all means that might be thought upon, of forcing that passage: or if the place could not have been maintained, yet might *Cilicia*, at better leisure have been so throughly spoiled, that the heart of his Army should have been broken, by seeking out miseries by painful travel.

But *Arsenes* leaving a small number to defend the Streights, took the best of his Army with him, to waste and spoil the Country; or rather, as may seem, to find himself some work, by pretence of which he might honestly run further away from *Alexander*. He should rather have adventured his person in custody of the Streights, whereby he might perhaps have saved the Province; and in the mean time, all that was in the fields, would have been conveighed into strong Towns. So should his Army, if it were driven from the place of advantage, have found good entertainment within walled Cities, and himself with his horse-men have had the less work in destroying that little which was left abroad. Handling the matter as he did, he gave the *Cilicians* cause to wish for *Alexanders* coming, and as great cause

to the Keepers of the paſſage not to hinder it. For cowards are wiſe in apprehending all forms of danger. Theſe Guardians of the Streights, hearing that *Arſenes* made all haſte to joyn himſelf with *Darius*, burning down all as he went, like one deſpairing of the defence, began to grow circumſpect, and to think that ſurely their General, who gave as loſt the Country behind their backs, had expoſed themſelves unto certain death, as men that were good for nothing elſe but to dull the *Macedonian* ſwords. Wherefore, not affecting to dye for their Prince and Country (which honour they ſaw that *Arſenes* himſelf could well forbear) they ſpeedily followed the foot-ſteps of their General, gleaning after his Harveſt. Thus *Alexander* without labour got both the entrance of *Cilicia*, abandoned by the cowardiſe of his Enemies, and the whole Province that had been alienated from the *Perſian* ſide by their indiſcretion.

## §. IV.

*Of the unwarlike Army levied by* Darius *againſt* Alexander. *The unadviſed courſes which* Darius *took in this expedition. He is vanquiſhed at* Iſſus; *where his Mother, Wife, and Children are made priſoners: of ſome things following the battel of* Iſſus.

IN the mean ſeaſon *Darius* approached, who (as *Curtius* reports) had compounded an Army of more than two hundred and ninety thouſand Souldiers, out of divers Nations; *Juſtine* muſters them at three hundred thouſand Foot, and a hundred thouſand Horſe; *Plutarch*, at ſix hundred thouſand.

The manner of his coming on, as *Curtius* deſcribes it, was rather like a Maſker than a man of War, and like one that took more care to ſet out his glory and riches, than to provide for his own ſafety, perſwading himſelf, as it ſeemed, to beat *Alexander* with pomp and ſumptuous Pageants. For, before the Army there was carried the holy Fire, which the *Perſians* worſhipped, attended by their *Prieſts*; and after them three hundred and threeſcore and five young-men, anſwering the number of the dayes of the year, covered with Scarlet; then the Chariot of *Jupiter* drawn with white Horſes, with their Riders cloathed in the ſame colour, with rods of gold in their hands; and after it, the Horſe of the *Sun*: Next after theſe follow ten ſumptuous Chariots, in-layed and garniſht with ſilver and gold; and then the Vantguard of their horſe, compounded of twelve ſeveral Nations, which the better to avoid confuſion, did hardly underſtand each others language; and theſe marſhalld in the head of the reſt, being beaten, might ſerve very fitly to diſorder all that followed them: in the tail of theſe Horſes the Regiment of foot marched, with the *Perſians* called Immortal, becauſe if any died, the number was preſently ſupplied: and theſe were armed with chains of gold, and their coats with the ſame metal imbroidered, whereof the ſleeves were garniſhed with pearl; baits, either to catch the hungry *Macedonians* withall, or to perſwade them that it were great incivility to cut, and to deface ſuch glorious garments. But it was well ſaid; *Sumptuosè indutus miles, ſe virtute ſuperiorem aliis non exiſtimet, cum in præliis oporteat fortitudine animi, & non veſtimentis muniri, quoniam hoſtes veſtibus non debellantur*; *Let no man think that he exceedeth thoſe in valour, whom he exceedeth in gay garments; for it is by men armed with fortitude of mind, and not by the apparel they put on, that enemies are beaten.* And it was perchance from the *Roman Papyrius* that this advice was borrowed, who, when he fought againſt the *Samnites* in that fatal battel, wherein they all ſware either to prevail or dye, thirty thouſand of them having apparelled themſelves in white garments, with high creſts, and great plumes of feathers, bade the *Roman* Souldiers to lay aſide all fear: *Non enim criſtas vulnera facere, & per picta atque aurata ſcuta tranſire Romanum pilum*; *For theſe plumed creſts would wound no body, and the* Roman *pile would bore holes in painted and gilded ſhields.*

To ſecond this Court-like company, fifteen thouſand were appointed more rich and glittering than the former, but apparelled like Women (belike to breed the more terrour) and theſe were honoured with the Title of the Kings Kinſmen. Then came *Darius* himſelf, the Gentle-men of his Guard-robe, riding before his Chariot, which was ſupported with the gods of his Nation, caſt and cut in pure gold; theſe the *Macedonians* did not ſerve, but they ſerved their turns of theſe, by changing their maſſie-bodies into thin, portable and currant coyn. The head of this Chariot was ſet with precious ſtones, with two little golden Idols, covered with an open-winged-Eagle of the ſame metal: The hinder part being raiſed high whereon *Darius* ſate, had a covering of ineſtimable value. This Chariot of the King was followed with ten thouſand Horſe-men, their Lances plated with ſilver, and their heads guilt; which they meant not to imbrue in the *Macedonian* blood, for fear of marring their beauty.



beauty. He had for the proper Guard of his own perſon, two hundred of the blood Royal; blood, too Royal and precious to be ſpilt by any valorous adventure, (I am of opinion that two hundred ſturdy fellows, like the *Switzers*, would have done him more ſervice) and theſe were backt with thirty thouſand foot-men, after whom again were led four hundred ſpare horſes for the King, which if he had meant to have uſed, he would have marſhalled ſomewhat nearer him.

Now followed the Rere-ward, the ſame being led by *Siſygambis* the Kings Mother, and by his Wife, drawn in glorious Chariots, followed by a great train of Ladies their attendants on horſe-back, with fifteen Wagons of the Kings children, and the wives of the Nobility, waited on by two hundred and fifty Concubines, and a world of Nurſes and *Eunuchs*, moſt ſumptuouſly apparelled. By which it ſhould ſeem that *Darius* thought that the *Macedonians* had been *Comedians* or *Tumblers*; for this troop was far fitter to behold thoſe ſports than to be preſent at battels. Between theſe and a company of ſlight-armed ſlaves, with a world of Varlets, was the Kings treaſure, charged on ſix hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels, brought, as it proved, to pay the *Macedonians*. In this ſort came the *May-game-King* into the field, incumbred with a moſt unneceſſary train of Strumpets, attended with troups of divers Nations, ſpeaking divers languages, and for their numbers impoſſible to be marſhalled; and for the moſt part ſo effeminate, and ſo rich in gold and in garments, as the ſame could not but have encouraged the naked'ſt Nation of the world againſt them. We find it in daily experience, that all diſcourſe of Magnanimity, of National Vertue, of Religion, of Liberty, and whatſoever elſe hath been wont to move and incourage Vertuous men, hath no force at all with the common Souldier, in compariſon of ſpoil and riches. The rich ſhips are boorded upon all diſadvantage, the rich Towns are furiouſly aſſaulted, and the plentiful Countries willingly invaded. Our *Engliſh* Nation have attempted many places in the *Indies*, and run upon the *Spaniards* headlong, in hope of their Royals of plate, and Piſtolets; which, had they been put to it upon the like diſadvantages in *Ireland*, or in any poor Country, they would have turned their Peeces and Pikes againſt their Commanders, conteſting that they had been brought without reaſon to the butchery and ſlaughter. It is true that the War is made willingly, and for the moſt part with good ſucceſs, that is ordained againſt the richeſt Nations; for as the needy are alwayes adventurous, ſo plenty is wont to ſhun peril, and men that have well to live, do rather ſtudy how to live well, I mean wealthily, than care to dye (as they call it) honourably. *Car où il n'y a rien a gaigner que des coups, volontiers il n'y va pas. No man makes haſte to the market, where there is nothing to be bought but blows.*

Now if *Alexander* had beheld this preparation before his conſultation with his Sooth-ſayers, he would have ſatisfied himſelf by the outſides of the *Perſians*, and never have looked into the intrails of Beaſts for ſucceſs. For leaving the deſcription of this ſecond battel (which is indeed no-where well deſcribed; neither, for the confuſion and haſty running away of the *Aſians*, could it be) we have enough by the ſlaughter that was made of them, and by the few that fell of the *Macedonians*, to inform us what manner of reſiſtance was made. For if it be true that threeſcore thouſand *Perſian* footmen were ſlain in this battel, with ten thouſand of their horſemen; Or (as *Curtius* ſaith) an hundred thouſand footmen, with the ſame number of horſemen, and beſides this ſlaughter, 40000 taken priſoners, while of *Alexanders* Army there miſcarried but two hundred and fourſcore of all ſorts, of which numbers *Arrianus* and other Hiſtorians cut off almoſt the one half; I do verily believe, that this ſmall number rather died with the over-travel and pains-taking in killing their enemies, than by any ſtrokes received from them. And ſurely if the *Perſian* Nation (at this time degenerate and the baſeſt of the World) had had any ſavour remaining of the ancient valour of their fore-fathers, they would never have ſold ſo good cheap, and at ſo vile a price, the Mother, the Wife, the Daughters, and other the Kings children; had their own honour been valued by them at nothing, and the Kings ſafety and his eſtate at leſs. *Darius* by this time found it true, that *Charidemus* a baniſhed *Grecian* of *Athens* had told him, when he made a view of his Army about *Babylon*, to wit, That the multitude which he had aſſembled of divers Nations, richly attired, but poorly armed, would be found more terrible to the Inhabitants of the country, whom in paſſing by they would devour than to the *Macedonians*, whom they meant to aſſail; who being all old and obedient Souldiers, imbattelled in groſs ſquadrons, which they call their *Phalanx*, well covered with Armour for defence, and furniſhed with weapons for offence of great advantage, would make ſo little accompt of his

delicate *Perſians*, loving their eaſe and their palat, being withall ill armed and worſe diſciplined, as except it would pleaſe him to entertain (having ſo great abundance of treaſure to do it withall) a ſufficient number of the ſame *Græcians*, and ſo to encounter the *Macedonians* with men of equal courage, he would repent him overlate, as taught by the miſerable ſucceſs like to follow.

But this diſcourſe was ſo unpleaſing to *Darius* (who had been accuſtomed to nothing ſo much as to his own praiſes, and to nothing ſo little as to hear truth) as he commanded that this poor *Græcian* ſhould be preſently ſlain: who while he was a ſundring in the Tormentors hand, uſed this ſpeech to the King, That *Alexander*, againſt whom he had given this good counſel, ſhould aſſuredly revenge his death, and lay deſerved puniſhment upon *Darius* for deſpiſing his advice.

It was the ſaying of a Wiſe man: *Deſperata ejus Principis ſalus eſt, cujus aures ita formatæ ſunt, ut aſpera quæ utilia, nec quicquam niſi jucundum accipiat*; *That Princes ſafety is in a deſperate caſe, whoſe ears judge all that is profitable to be too ſharp, and will entertain nothing that is unpleaſant.*

*For, liberty in Councel is the life and eſſence of Council*; *Libertas conſilii eſt ejus vita, & eſſentia, qua ereptâ conſilium evaneſcit.*

*Darius* did likewiſe value at nothing the advice given him by the *Græcian* Souldiers that ſerved him, who intreated him not to fight in the Streights: But had they been Counſellers and Directors in that War, as they were underlings and commanded by others, they had with the help of a good troup of horſe-men been able to have oppoſed the fury of *Alexander*, without any aſſiſtance of the *Perſian* foot-men. For when *Darius* was overthrown with all his cowardly and confuſed rabble, thoſe *Græcians*, under their Captain *Amyntas*, held firm, and marched away in order, in deſpight of the Vanquiſhers. Old Souldiers are not eaſily diſmayed: we read in Hiſtories ancient and modern, what brave retraits have been made by them, though the reſt of the Army in which they have ſerved, hath been broken.

At the battel of *Ravenna*, where the Imperials were beaten by the *French*, a ſquadron of *Spaniards*, old Souldiers, came off unbroken and undiſmayed; whom when *Gaſton de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, and Nephew to *Lewis* the twelfth, charged, as holding the Victory not entire by their eſcape, he was overturned and ſlain in the place. For it is truly ſaid of thoſe men, who, by being acquainted with dangers, fear them not, That, *Neglecto periculo imminentis mali, opus ipſum, quantumvis difficile, aggrediuntur*; *They go about the buſineſs it ſelf, how hard ſoever it be, not ſtanding to conſider of the danger, which the miſchief hanging over their heads may bring:* and as truly of thoſe that know the Wars but by hear-ſay; *Quòd valentes ſunt & prævalentes ante pericula, in ipſis tamen periculis diſcedunt*; *They have ability enough, and to ſpare, till dangers appear; but when peril indeed comes, they get them gone.*

Theſe *Græcians* alſo that made the retrait, adviſed *Darius* to retire his Army into the plain of *Meſopotamia*, to the end that *Alexander* being entred into thoſe large fields and great Champians, he might have invironed the *Macedonians* on all ſides with his multitude; and withall they counſelled him to divide that his huge Army into parts, not committing the whole to one ſtroke of Fortune, whereby he might have fought many battels, and have brought no greater numbers at once than might have been well marſhalled and conducted. But this Counſel was ſo contrary to the cowardly affections of the *Perſians*, as they perſwaded *Darius* to inviron the *Græcians* which gave the advice, and to cut them in pieces as Traitors. The infinite wiſedom of God doth not work alwayes by one and the ſame way, but very often in the alteration of Kingdoms and Eſtates, by taking underſtanding from the Governours, ſo as they can neither give not diſcern of Counſels. For *Darius* that would needs fight with *Alexander* upon a ſtreightned piece of ground, neer unto the City of *Iſſus*, where he could bring no more hands to fight than *Alexander* could, (who by the advice of *Parmenio* ſtaied there, as in a place of beſt advantage) was utterly overthrown, his Treaſure loſt, his Wife, Mother, and Children (whom the *Græcians* his followers had perſwaded him to leave in *Babylon*, or elſewhere) taken priſoners, and all their train of Ladies ſpoiled of their rich Garments, Jewels, and Honour. It is true, that both the Queen, with her Daughters, who had the good hap to be brought to *Alexanders* preſence, were entertained with all reſpect due unto their birth, their Honours preſerved, and their Jewels and rich Garments reſtored unto them; and though *Darius* Wife was a moſt beautiful Lady, and his Daughters of excellent form, yet *Alexander* maſtred his affections towards them all: only it is reported out of *Ariſtobulus* the Hiſtorian, that he imbraced the Wife of the valiant *Memnon*,



*non*, her Husband lately dead, who was taken flying from *Damaſcus* by *Parmenio*, at which time the Daughters of *Ochus*, who reigned before *Darius*, and the Wives and Children of all the Nobility of *Perſia* in effect, fell into captivity; at which time alſo *Darius* Treaſure (not loſt at *Iſſus*) was ſeized, amounting to ſix thouſand and two hundred talents of coin, and of Bullion five hundred talents, with a world of riches beſides.

*Darius* himſelf leaving his brother dead, with divers other of his chief Captains, (caſting the Crown from his head) hardly eſcaped.

After this overthrow given unto *Darius*, all *Phœnicia* (the City of *Tyre* excepted) was yielded to *Alexander*, of which *Parmenio* was made Governour.

*Aradus*, *Zidon*, and *Biblos*, maritimate Cities of great importance, of which one *Strato* was King (but hated of the people) acknowledged *Alexander*. Good fortune followed him ſo faſt that it trod on his heels; for *Antigonus*, *Alexanders* Lieutenant in *Aſia* the leſs, overthrew the *Cappadocians*, *Paphlagonians*, and others lately revolted; *Ariſtodemus*, *Darius* Admiral, had his Fleet partly taken, and in part drowned by the *Macedonians* newly levied; the *Lacedæmonians* that warred againſt *Antipater* were beaten; four thouſand of thoſe *Greeks* which made the retrait at the laſt battel, forſaking both the party of *Darius* and of *Alexander*, and led by *Amyntas* into *Egypt*, to hold it for themſelves, were buried there; for the time was not yet come to divide Kingdoms.

*Alexander* to honour *Epheſtion*, whom he loved moſt, gave him power to diſpoſe of the Kingdom of *Zidon*. A man of a moſt poor eſtate, that laboured to ſuſtain his life being of the Royal blood, was commended by the people unto him, who changed his Spade into a Scepter, ſo as he was beheld both a Beggar and a King in one and the ſame hour.

It was a good deſire of this new King, when ſpeaking to *Alexander*, he wiſht that he could bear his proſperity with the ſame moderation, and quietneſs of heart, that he had done his adverſity; but ill done of *Alexander*, in that he would not perform in himſelf that which he commended in another mans deſire: for it was a ſign that he did but accompany, and could not Govern his felicity.

While he made ſome ſtay in thoſe parts, he received a letter from *Darius*, importing the ranſome of his Wife, his Mother, and his Children, with ſome other conditions of peace, but ſuch as rather became a Conqueror, than one that had now been twice ſhamefully beaten, not vouchſafing in his direction, to ſtile *Alexander* King. It is true, that the *Romans*, after that they had received an overthrow by *Pyrrhus*, returned him a more ſcornful anſwer upon the offer of peace, than they did before the trial of his force. But as their fortunes were then in the Spring, ſo that of *Darius* had already caſt leaf; the one a reſolved, well armed and diſciplined Nation, the other cowardly and effeminate. *Alexander* diſdained the offers of *Darius*, and ſent him word, that he not only directed his letter to a King, but to the King of *Darius* himſelf.

## §. V.

*How* Alexander *beſieged and wan the City of* Tyre.

*Alexander* coming near the City of *Tyre*, received from them the preſent of a golden Crown, with great ſtore of victuals, and other preſents, which he took very thankfully, returning them anſwer, That he deſired to offer a ſacrifice to *Hercules*, the Protector of their City, from whom he was deſcended. But the *Tyrians* like not his company within their Walls, but tell him that the Temple of *Hercules* was ſeated in the old City adjoyning, now abandoned and deſolate. To be ſhort, *Alexander* reſolved to enter it by force: and though it were a place in all mens opinion impregnable, becauſe the Iſland whereon it was built, was eight hundred furlongs from the Main, yet with the labour of many hands, having great ſtore of ſtone from the old *Tyre*, and timber ſufficient from *Lybanus*, he filled the paſſage of the Sea between the Iſland and the Main, which being more than once carried away by the ſtrength of the Sea upon a ſtorm of wind, ſometime by the *Tyrians* fired, and ſometime torn aſunder; yet with the help of his Navy which arrived (during the ſiege) from *Cyprus*, he overcame all difficulties and prevailed, after he had ſpent ſeven months in that attempt. The *Tyrians* in the beginning of the ſiege had barbarouſly drowned the meſſengers ſent by *Alexander*, perſwading them to render the City, in reſpect whereof, and of the great loſs of time and men, he put eight thouſand to the ſword, and cauſed two thouſand of thoſe that eſcaped the firſt fury, to be hanged on Croſſes on the Sea-ſhore, and reſerved for ſlaves (ſaith *Diodore*) thirteen thouſand; *Arrianus* reckons them at thirty thouſand. Many *Arrian.*

more

more had died, had not the *Zidonians*, that served *Alexander*, conveyed great numbers away by shipping unto their own City.

Happy it was for *Apollo* that the Town was taken: for one of the *Tyrians* having dreamt, that this god meant to forsake the City, they bound him fast with a golden chain to the Idol of *Hercules*; but *Alexander*, like a gracious Prince, loosed him again. *Just. l. 18.*

It is true, that it was a notable enterprize, and a difficult, but great things are made greater. For *Nebuchodonosor* had taken it before, and filled up the chanel that lay between the Island and the Main.

The Government of this Territory he gave to *Philotas* the Son of *Parmenio*; *Cilicia*, he committed to *Socrates*, and *Andromachus* Lieutenant under *Parmenio*; *Ephestion* had charge of the Fleet, and was directed to find *Alexander* at *Gaza* towards *Egypt*.

## §. VI.

*How* Darius *offered Conditions of Peace to* Alexander. Alexander *wins* Gaza, *and deals graciously with the* Jews.

IN the mean while *Darius* sends again to *Alexander*, sets before him all the difficulties of passing on towards the East, and layeth the loss of the last Battel to the straitness of the place: he hoped to terrifie him by threatning to encompass him in the plain Countries, he bids him to consider, how impossible it was to pass the Rivers of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, *Araxes*, and the rest, with all such other fearful things: for he that was now filled with nothing but fear, had arguments enow of that nature to present unto another. All the Kingdoms between the River of *Alys*, and the *Hellespont*, he offered him in Dower with his beloved Daughter. But *Alexander* answered, That he offered him nothing but his own, and that which victory and his own virtue had possest him of; That he was to give conditions, and not to receive any, and that he having passed the Sea it self, disdained to think of resistance in transporting himself over Rivers. It is said, That *Parmenio*, who was now old, and full of honour and riches, told the King, That were he *Alexander*, he would accept of *Darius* his offers; to which *Alexander* answered, That so would he, if he were *Parmenio*.

But he goes on towards *Egypt*, and coming before *Gaza*, *Getis*, a faithful servant to *Darius*, shuts the Gate against him, and defends the Town with an obstinate resolution, at the siege whereof *Alexander* received a wound in the shoulder, which was dangerous, and a blow on his legge with a stone. He found better men in this place than he did at the former Battels; for he left so many of his *Macedonians* buried in the Sands of *Gaza*, that he was forced to send for a new supply into *Greece*. Here it was that *Alexander* first began to change condition, and to exercise cruelty. For after that he had entred *Gaza* by assault, and taken *Betis* (whom *Josephus* calleth *Babemesis*) that was weakned with many wounds, and who never gave ground to the Assailants; he bored holes thorow his feet, and caused him to be drawn about the street, whilst he was as yet alive; who being as valiant a man as himself, disdained to ask him either life or remission of his torments. And what had he to countenance this his tyranny, but the imitation of his Ancestor *Achilles*, who did the like to *Hector*? It is true, that cruelty hath alwaies somewhat to cover her deformity.

From *Gaza* (saith *Josephus*) he led his Army towards *Jerusalem*, a City, for the antiquity and great fame thereof, well known unto him while he lay before *Tyre*; He had sent for some supply thither, which *Jaddus* the high Priest, being subject and sworn to *Darius*, had refused him. The *Jews* therefore fearing his revenge, and unable to resist, committed the care of their estates and safety to *Jaddus*, who, being taught by God, issued out of the City covered with his Pontifical Robes, to wit, an upper garment of Purple, embroidered with gold, with his Miter, and the plate of gold wherein the Name of God was written, the Priests and Levites in their rich ornaments, and the people in white garments, in a manner so unusual, stately, and grave, as *Alexander* greatly admired it. *Josephus* reports it, that he fell to the ground before the high Priest, as reverencing the Name of God, and that *Parmenio* reprehended him for it. Howsoever it was, I am of opinion, that he became so confident in his enterprize, and so assured of the success after the Prophecy of *Daniel* had been read unto him, wherein he saw himself, and the Conquest of *Persia* so directly pointed at, as nothing thence-forth could discourage him, or fear him. He confessed to *Parmenio* (saith *Josephus*) that in *Dio* a City of *Macedon*, when his mind laboured the Conquest of *Asia*, he saw in his sleep such a person as *Jaddus*, and so apparelled, professing one and the same God; by whom he was incouraged to pursue the purpose he had in hand, with assurance of victory. This apparition, formerly apprehended only by the light of his fantasie, he now beheld with his bodily eyes; wherewith he was so exceedingly pleased and emboldened, as contrary to the practice of the *Phœnicians* (who hoped to have sacked and destroyed *Jerusalem*) he gave the *Jews* all, and more than they desired, both of liberty and immunity, with permission to live under their own Laws, and to exercise and enjoy their own Religion. *Lib. 11. cap. ult.*



## §. VII.

Alexander *wins* Egypt: *and makes a journey to the Temple of* Hammon.

FRom *Jerusalem*, *Alexander* turned again towards *Egypt*, and entred it; where *Darius* his Lieutenant, *Asiaces*, received him, and delivered into his hand the City of *Memphis*, with eight hundred talents of treasure, and all other the Kings riches. By this we see, that the King of *Persia*, who had more of affection than of judgment, gave to the valiantest man he had, but the command of one City, and to the veryest coward the government of all *Egypt*. When he had set things in order in *Egypt*, he began to travel after *God-head*, towards *Jupiter Hammon*; so foolish had prosperity made him. He was to pass over the dangerous and dry Sands, where, when the water which he brought on his Camels back was spent, he could not but have perished, had not a marvellous shower of rain fallen upon him, when his Army was in extreme despair. All men that know *Egypt*, and have written thereof, affirm, That it never rains there: but the purposes of the Almighty God are secret, and he bringeth to pass what it pleaseth him; for it is also said, That when he had lost his way in those vast desarts, that a flight of Crows flew before the Army; who making faster wing when they were followed, and fluttering slowly when the Army was cast back, guided them over those pathless Sands to *Jupiter*'s Temple.

*Arrianus*, from the report of *Ptolomy*, the Son of *Lagus*, sayes, That he was led by two Dragons; both which reports may be alike true. But many of those wonders and prodigious things, are fained by those that have written the Story of *Alexander*; as, That an Eagle lay hovering directly over his head at the battel of *Issus*; That a Swallow flew about his head when he slept, and could not be feared from him, till it had wakened him at *Halicarnassæus*, fore-shewing the treason of *Æropus*, practised by *Darius* to have slain him; That from the Iron barrs of which the *Tyrians* made their defensive Engines, when *Alexander* besieged them, there fell drops of blood; and that the like drops were found in a loaf of bread, broken by a *Macedonian* Souldier, at the same time; That a Turfe of earth fell on his shoulder, when he lay before *Gaza*, out of which there flew a Bird into the Air. The *Spaniards* in the Conquest of the West *Indies* have many such pretty tales; telling how they have been assisted in battel by the prefence of our Lady, and by Angels riding on white horses, with the like Romish miracles, which I think themselves do hardly believe. The strangest thing that I have read of in this kind, being certainly true, was, That the night before the battel at *Novara*, all the Dogs which followed the *French* Army, ran from them to the *Switzers*, leaping and fawning upon them, as if they had been bred and fed by them all their lives, and in the morning following, *Trivulzi* and *Tremouille*, Generals for *Lewis* the twelfth, were by these imperial *Switzers* utterly broken and put to ruine.

The place of this Idol of *Jupiter Hammon* is ill described by *Curtius*: for he bounds it by the *Arabian Troglodites* on the South, between whom and the Territory of *Hammon*, the Region *Thebais*, or the superiour *Egypt*, with the Mountains of *Lybia*, and the River of *Nilus*, are interjacent; and on the North he joyns it to a Nation called *Nassamones*, who bordering the Sea-shore, live (saith he) upon the spoils of shipwrack: whereas the Temple or Grove of this Idol hath no Sea near it by two hundred miles and more, being found on the South part of *Lybia*; these *Nassamones* being due West from it, in the South part of *Marmarica*.

When *Alexander* came near the place, he sent some of his Parasites before him to practise the Priests attending the Oracle, That their answer might be given in all things, agreeable to his mad ambition; who affected the title of *Jupiter*'s Son. And so he was saluted, *Son of Jupiter*, by the Devils Prophet, whether prepared before to flatter him, or rather (as some think) defective in the *Greek* tongue; For whereas he meant to say, *O padion*, he said, *O pai dios*; that is, *O Son of Jupiter*, instead of *O dear Son:* for which Grammatical errour he was richly rewarded, and a rumour presently spread, that the Great *Jupiter* had acknowledged *Alexander* for his own.

He had heard that *Perseus* and *Hercules* had formerly consulted with this Oracle, The one when he was employed against *Gorgon*; The other against *Antæus* and *Busiris*; and seeing these men had derived themselves from the gods, Why might not he?

By

By this it seems, that he hoped to make his followers and the world fools, though indeed he made himself one, by thinking to cover from the worlds knowledge his vanities and vices; and the better to confirm his followers in the belief of his Deity, he had practised the Priests to give answer to such as consulted with the Oracle, that it should be pleasing to *Jupiter* to honour *Alexander* as his Son.

Who this *Ammon* was, and how represented, either by a Bos carried in a Boat, or by a Ram, or a Rams head, I see that many wise men have troubled themselves to find out; but, as *Arrianus* speaks of *Dionysius* or *Liber Pater* (who lived, saith St. *Augustine*, in *Moses* time) *Ea quæ de diis veteres fabulis suis conscripsêre, non sunt nimium curiosè perveſtiganda; We must not over-curiously search into the fables which the Ancients have written of their gods.* Curt. l. 4.

But this is certain and notable, that after the Gospel began to be preached in the World, the Devil, in this, and all other Idols, became speechless. For, that this *Hammon* was neglected in the time of *Tiberius Cæsar*, and in the time of *Trajan* altogether forgotten, *Strabo* and *Plutarch* witness.

There is found near his Temple a Fountain called *Fons solis* (though *Ptolomy* in his third *African* Table sets it farther off) that at Mid-night is as hot as boiling water, and at Noon as cold as any Ice: to which I cannot but give credit, because I have heard of some other Wells of like nature, and because it is reported by St. *Augustine*, by *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, *Mela*, *Solinus*, *Arrianus*, *Curtius*, and others; and indeed our Bathes in *England* are much warmer in the night than in the day.

## §. VIII.

*How* Alexander *marching against* Darius, *was opposed very unskilfully by the Enemy.*

FRom the Temple of *Hammon* he returned to *Memphis*, where, among many other learned men, he heard the Philosopher *Psammones*, who, belike understanding that he affected the title of *Jupiters* Son, told him that God was the Father-King of all men in general; and refining the pride of this haughty King, brought him to say, That God was the Father of all mortal men, but that he acknowledged none for his children, save good men.

He gave the charge of the several Provinces of *Egypt* to several Governours, following the rule of his Master *Aristotle*, That *a great Dominion should not be continued in the hands of any one:* whom therein the *Roman* Emperours also followed, not daring to commit the Government of *Egypt* to any of their Senators, but to men of meaner rank and degree. He then gave order for the founding of *Alexandria* upon the Westermost branch of *Nilus*. And having now setled (as he could) the estate of *Egypt*, with the Kingdoms of the lesser *Asia*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria* (which being but the pawns of *Darius* his ill fortune, one happy victory would readily have redeemed) he led his Army towards *Euphrates*, which passage, though the same was committed to *Mazeus* to defend, yet was it abandoned, and *Alexander* without resistance past it. From thence he marched towards *Tigris*, a River for the swiftness thereof called by the *Persians*, *The Arrow*. Curt. l. 4. Here, as *Curtius*, and Reason it self tells us, might *Darius* easily have repelled the invading *Macedonian:* for the violent course of the stream was such, as it drave before it many weighty stones, and those that moved not, but lay in the bottom, were so round and well polished by a continual rolling, that no man was able to fight on so slippery a footing; nor the *Macedonian* foot-men to wade the River, otherwise than by joyning their hands, and enterlacing arms together, making one weighty and entire body to resist the swift passage, and furious race of the stream. Besides this notable help, the Chanel was so deep towards the Eastern shore, where *Darius* should have made head, as the foot-men were enforced to lift their Bows, and Arrows, and Darts, over their heads to keep them from being moistened, and made unserviceable by the Waters. But it was truly and understandingly said of *Homer*, Arist. Oec. 1.

*Talis est hominum terrestrium mens,*
*Qualem quotidie ducit pater virorumq;*
*(Deorumq;).*

The minds of men are ever so affected,
As by Gods will they daily are directed.

And it cannot be denied, that, as all Estates of the world, by the surfeit of mis-government have been subject to many grievous, and sometimes mortal diseases: So had the Empire of *Persia* at this time brought it self into a burning and consuming Feaver, and thereby become frantick, and without understanding, fore-shewing manifestly the dissolution and death thereof.

But *Alexander* hath now recovered the Eastern shores of *Tygris*, without any other difficulty, than that of the nature of the place;



place; where *Mazeus* (who had charge to defend the Passage both of *Euphrates* and it) presented himself to the *Macedonians*, followed with certain companies of Horsemen, as if with uneven forces he durst have charged them on even ground, when as with a multitude far exceeding them, he forsook the advantage which no valour of his enemies could easily have overcome. But it is commonly seen, that fearful and cowardly men do ever follow those waies and counsels, whereof the opportunity is already lost.

It is true, that he set all provisions afire, wherewith the *Macedonians* might serve themselves over *Tygris*, thinking thereby greatly to have distressed them; but the execution of good counsel is fruitless, when unseasonable. For now was *Alexander* so well furnished with carriages, as nothing was wanting to the competency of the Army which he conducted. Those things also which he sought to waste, *Alexander* being now in sight, were by his Horse-men saved and recovered. This *Mazeus* might have done some daies before at good leisure; or at this time with so great a strength of horsemen, as the *Macedonians* durst not have pursued them, leaving the strength of their foot out of sight, and far behind.

## §. IX.

*The new Provisions of* Darius. *Accidents foregoing the Battel of* Arbela.

DArius, upon *Alexanders* first return out of *Egypt*, had assembled all the forces, which those Regions next him could furnish, and now also were the *Arians*, *Scythians*, *Indians*, and other Nations arrived; Nations (saith *Curtius*) that rather served to make up the names of men, than to make resistance. *Arrianus* hath numbred them with their Leaders; and finds of foot-men of all sorts ten hundred thousand, and of horse four hundred thousand, besides armed Chariots, and some few Elephants. *Curtius*, who musters the Army of *Darius* at two hundred thousand foot, and near fifty thousand horse, comes (I think) nearer to the true number; and yet seeing he had more confidence in the multitude than in the valour of his Vassals, it is like enough that he had gathered together of all sorts some three or four hundred thousand, with which he hoped in those fair plains of *Assyria*, to have over-born the few numbers of the invading Army. But it is a Rule in the Philosophy of the War;

*In omni prælio non tam multitudo, & virtus indocta, quam ars & exercitium solent præstare victoriam; In every Battel skill and practice do more towards the Victory, than multitude and rude audacity.*

While *Alexander* gave rest to his Army after the passage over *Tygris*, there happened an Eclipse of the Moon, of which the *Macedonians* not knowing the cause and reason, were greatly affrighted. All that were ignorant (as the multitude alwaies are) took it for a certain presage of their overthrow and destruction, insomuch as they began not only to murmure, but to speak it boldly; That for the ambition of one man, a man that disdained *Philip* for his Father, and would needs be called the Son of *Jupiter*, they should all perish; for he not only enforced them to make War against worlds of enemies, but against Rivers, Mountains, and the Heavens themselves.

Hereupon *Alexander* being ready to march forward, made a halt, and to quiet the minds of the multitude, he called before him the *Egyptian* Astrologers, which followed him thence, that by them the Souldiers might be assured that this defection of the Moon was a certain presage of good success; for, that it was natural, they never imparted to the common people, but reserved the knowledge to themselves, so as a sorry Almanack-maker had been no small fool in those daies.

Of this kind of superstitious observation *Cæsar* made good use, when he fought against *Ariovistus* and the *Germans:* for they being perswaded by the casting of lots, that if they fought before the change of the Moon, they should certainly lose the Battel, *Cæsar* forced them to abide it, though they durst not give it; wherein, having their minds already beaten by their own superstition, and being resolutely charged by the *Romans*, the whole Army in effect perished.

These *Egyptians* gave no other reason than this, That the *Grecians* were under the aspect of the Sun, the *Persians* of the Moon; and therefore the Moon failing and being darkened, the state of *Persia* was now in danger of failing, and their glory of being obscured. This judgment of the *Egyptian* Priests being noised through all the Army, all were satisfied, and their courage redoubled. It is a principle in the War, which, though devised since, was well observed then: *Exercitum terrore plenum Dux ad pugnam non ducat; Let not a Captain lead his Army to the fight, when it is possessed with matter of terrour.*

It is truly observed by *Curtius*, that the

people are led by nothing so much as by superstition; yea, we find it in all stories, and often in our own, that by such inventions, devised tales, dreams, and prophecies, the people of this Land have been carried head-long into many dangerous tumults and insurrections, and still to their own loss and ruine.

As *Alexander* drew near the *Persian* Army, certain Letters were surprized, written by *Darius* to the *Grecians*, perswading them for great summs of mony, either to kill or betray *Alexander*. But these, by the advice of *Parmenio*, he suppressed.

At this time also *Darius* his fair Wife, oppresst with sorrow, and wearied with travel, died. Which accident *Alexander* seemed no less to bewail than *Darius*, who upon the first bruit, suspected that some dishonourable violence had been offered her; but being satisfied by an Eunuch of his own that attended her, of *Alexander*'s kingly respect towards her, from the day of her being taken, he desired the immortal gods, That if they had decreed to make a new Master of the *Persian* Empire, then it would please them to confer it on so just and continent an enemy as *Alexander*; to whom he once again, before the last tryal by Battel, offered these conditions of Peace.

That with his Daughter in marriage he would deliver up, and resign all *Asia* the less; and, with *Egypt*, all those Kingdoms between the *Phœnician* Sea, and the River of *Euphrates*; That he would pay him for the ransome of his Mother, and his other Daughters, thirty thousand talents, and that for the performance thereof, he would leave his Son *Ochus* in hostage: To this they sought to perswade *Alexander* by such arguments as they had. *Alexander* causing the Embassadours to be removed, advised with his Council, but heard no man speak but *Parmenio*, the very right hand of his good fortune; who perswaded him to accept of these fair conditions. He told him, That the Empire between *Euphrates* and *Hellespont*, was a fair addition to *Macedon*; that the retaining of the *Persian* prisoners was a great cumber, and the treasure offered for them of far better use than their persons, with divers other arguments; all which *Alexander* rejected. And yet it is probable, that if he had followed his advice, and bounded his ambition within those limits, he might have lived as famous for virtue, as for fortune, and left himself a Successour of able age to have enjoyed his estate, which afterward indeed he much enlarged, rather to the greatning of others than himself: who, to assure themselves of what they had usurped upon his Issues, left not one of them to draw breath in the world within a few years after. The truth is, That *Alexander* in going so far into the East, left behim the reputation which he brought out of *Macedon*; the reputation of a just and prudent Prince, a Prince temperate, advised, and grateful: and being taught new Lessons by abundance of prosperity, became a lover of wine, of his own flattery, and of extreme cruelty. Yea, as *Seneca* hath observed, the taint of one unjust slaughter, amongst many, defaced and withered the flourishing beauty of all his great acts, and glorious victories obtained. But the *Persian* Embassadours stay his answer, which was to this effect, That whatsoever he had bestowed on the wife and children of *Darius*, proceeded from his own natural clemency and magnanimity, without any respect to their Master; but thanks to an enemy was improper: that he made no Wars against adversity, but against those that resisted him; not against Women and Children, but against armed enemies: and although by the reiterated practice of *Darius*, to corrupt his Souldiers, and by great summs of mony to perswade his friends to attempt upon his person, he had reason to doubt that the peace offered was rather pretended than meant; yet he could not (were it otherwise and faithful) resolve in haste to accept the same, seeing *Darius* had made War against him, not as a King with Royal and overt-force, but as a Traitor by secret and base practice; That for the Territory offered him, it was already his own, and if *Darius* could beat him back again over *Euphrates*, which he had already past, he would then believe that he offered him somewhat in his own power: Otherwise he propounded to himself for the reward of the War which he had made, all those Kingdoms as yet in *Darius* possession; wherein, whether he were abused by his own hopes or no, the Battel which he meant to fight in the day following should determine. For in conclusion he told them, that he came into *Asia* to give, and not to receive; That the Heavens could not hold two Suns: and therefore if *Darius* would be content to acknowledge *Alexander* for his Superiour, he might perchance be perswaded to give him conditions fit for a second Person, and his Inferiour.

§. X.



§. X.

*The Battel of* Arbela: *and that it could not be so strongly fought as report hath made it.*

With this Answer the Embassadors return; *Darius* prepares to fight, and sends *Mazæus* to defend a passage, which he never dared yet so much as to hazard. *Alexander* consults with his Captains. *Parmenio* perswades him to force *Darius* his Camp by night; so that the multitude of enemies might not move terrour in the *Macedonians* being but few. *Alexander* disdains to steal the Victory, and resolves to bring with him the day-light, to witness his valour. But it was the success that made good *Alexander*'s resolution, though the counsel given by *Parmenio* was more sound: For it is a ground in War, *Si pauci necessariò cum multitudine pugnare cogantur, consilium est noctis tempore belli fortunam tentare.* Notwithstanding upon the view of the multitude at hand, he staggers and trenches himself upon a ground of advantage, which the *Persian* had abandoned: And whereas *Darius* for fear of surprize had stood with his Army in Armour all the day, and forborn sleep all the night, *Alexander* gave his men rest and store of food; for reason had taught him this Rule in the War, *In pugna Milites validiùs resistunt, si cibo potuque refecti fuerint; nam fames intrinsecus magis pugnat, quàm ferrum exterius: Souldiers do the better stand to it in fight, if they have their bellies full of meat and drink; for hunger within, fights more eagerly than steel without.*

The numbers which *Alexander* had, saith *Arrianus*, were forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse; these belike were of the *European* Army: for he had besides, both *Syrians*, *Indians*, *Egyptians*, and *Arabians*, that followed him out of those Regions. He used but a short speech to his Soldiers to encourage them. And I think that he needed little Rhetorick; for by the two former Battels upon the River of *Granick*, and in *Cilicia*, the *Macedonians* were best taught with what men they were to encounter. And it is a true saying, *Victoria victoriam parat, animumque victoribus auget, & adversariis aufert; One victory begets another, and puts courage into those that have already had the better, taking spirit away from those that have been beaten.*

*Arrianus* and *Curtius* make large descriptions of this Battel, fought at *Gaugamela*; They tell us of many charges and re-charges; That the Victory inclined sometime to the *Persians*, sometime to the *Macedonians*; That *Parmenio* was in danger of being overthrown, who led the left wing; That *Alexander*'s Rere-guard was broken, and his carriages lost; That for the fierce and valorous encounters on both sides, Fortune her self was long unresolved on whom to bestow the Garland: And lastly, that *Alexander* in person wrought wonders, being charged in his retrait. But in conclusion, *Curtius* delivers us in account but three hundred dead *Macedonians*, in all this terrible daies work, saying, That *Ephestion*, *Perdiccas*, and others of name were wounded. *Arrianus* finds not a third part of this number slain; of the *Persians* there fell forty thousand (saith *Curtius*) thirty thousand, according *Arrianus*; ninety thousand, if we believe *Diodore*. But what can we judge of this great encounter, other than that, as in the two former Battels, the *Persians* upon the first charge ran away, and that the *Macedonians* pursued? For if of those four or five hundred thousand *Asians* brought into the field by *Darius*, every man had cast but a dart or a stone, the *Macedonians* could not have bought the Empire of the East at so easie a rate, as six or seven hundred men in three notorious Battels. Certainly, if *Darius* had fought with *Alexander* upon the banks of *Euphrates*, and had armed but fifty or threescore thousand of this great multitude, only with Spades (for the most of all he had were fit for no other weapon) it had been impossible for *Alexander* to have past that River so easily, much less the River of *Tigris*. But as a man whose Empire God in his providence had determined, he abandoned all places of advantage, and suffered *Alexander* to enter so far into the bowels of his Kingdom, as all hope and possibility of escape by retrait being taken from the *Macedonians*, they had presented unto them the choice, either of death or victory; to which election *Darius* could no way constrain his own, seeing they had many large Regions to run into from those that invaded them.

§. XI.

*Of things following the Battel of* Arbela. *The yeilding of* Babylon *and* Susa.

*Darius*, after the rout of his Army, recovered *Arbela* the same night, better followed in his flight, than in the fight. He propounded unto them that ran after him, his purpose of making a retrait into *Media*, perswading them that the *Macedonians*, greedy of spoil and riches, would rather

attempt *Babylon*, *Susa*, and other Cities filled with treasure, than pursue the vanquished. This miserable resolution his Nobility rather obeyed than approved.

*Alexander* soon after *Darius* his departure arrives at *Arbela*, which with a great mass of treasure, and Princely ornaments, was rendred to him: for the fear which conducted *Darius*, took nothing with it but shame and dishonour. He that had been twice beaten, should rather have sent his treasure into *Media*, than brought it to *Arbela*, so near the place where he abid the coming of his enemies; if he had been victorious, he might have brought it after him at leisure; but being overcome, he knew it unpossible to drive Mules and Camels laden with gold from the pursuing enemy, seeing himself, at the overthrow he had in *Cilicia*, cast the Crown from his head, to run away with the more speed. But errours are then best discerned when most incurable; *Et præterita magis reprehendi possunt quàm corrigi*; *It is easier to reprehend than amend what is past.*

From *Arbela Alexander* took his way towards *Babylon*, where *Mazeus*, in whom *Darius* had most confidence, rendred himself, his Children, and the City. Also the Captain of the Castle, who was keeper of the treasure, strewed the streets with flowers, burnt Frankincense upon Altars of silver, as *Alexander* passed by, and delivered unto him whatsoever was committed to his trust. The *Magi* (the *Chaldæan* Astrologers) followed this Captain in great solemnity to entertain their new King: after these came the *Babylonian* horse-men, infinite rich in attire, but exceeding poor in warlike furniture. Between these (though not greatly to be feared) and himself, *Alexander* caused his *Macedonian* foot-men to march. When he entred the Castle, he admired the glory thereof, and the abundance of treasure therein found, amounting to fifty thousand talents of silver uncoyned. The City it self I have elsewhere described, with the Walls, the Towers, the Gates and Circuit, with the wonderful place of pleasure about two miles in Circuit, surrounded with a wall of fourscore foot high, and on the top thereof (being under-born with Pillars) a Grove of beautiful and fruitful Trees, which it is said that one of the Kings of *Babylon* caused to be built, that the Queen and other Princesses might walk privately therein. In this City, rich in all things, but most of all in voluptuous pleasures, the King rested himself and the whole Army four and thirty daies, consuming that time in banquetting, and in all sorts of effeminate exercise; which so much softned the minds of the *Macedonians*, not acquainted till now with the like delicacies, as the severe discipline of War, which taught them the sufferances of hunger and thirst, of painful travel, and hard lodging, began rather to be forgotten, than neglected.

Here it was that those bands of a thousand Souldiers were erected, and Commanders appointed over them, who thereupon were stiled *Chiliarchi*. This new order *Alexander* brought in, was to honour those Captains which were found by certain selected Judges to have deserved best in the late War. For before this time the *Macedonian* companies consisted but of five hundred. Certainly the drawing down of the foot-bands in this latter age hath been the cause (saith the Marshall *Monluct*) that the title and charge of a Captain hath been bestowed on every *Picque-Bœauf*, or Spurn-Cow; for when the Captains of foot had a thousand Souldiers under one Ensign, and after that five hundred, as in the time of *Francis* the first, the title was honourable, and the Kings were less charged, and far better served. King *Henry* the eighth of *England* never gave the Command of any of his good Ships, but to men of known valour, and of great estate; nay sometime be made two Gentlemen of quality Commanders in one ship: but all orders and degrees are fallen from the reputation they had.

While *Alexander* was yet in *Babylon*, there came to him a great supply out of *Europe*; for *Antipater* sent him six thousand foot, and five hundred horse out of *Macedon*; of *Thracians* three thousand foot, and the like number of horse; and out of *Greece* four thousand, and four hundred horse, by which his Army was greatly strengthened: for those that were infected with the pleasures of *Babylon*, could hardly be brought again, *De quitter la plume pour dormir sur la dure*; *To change from soft beds to hard boards.*

He left the Castle and City of *Babylon*, with the Territories about it, in charge with three of his own Captains, to wit, *Agathon*, *Minetus*, and *Appolidorus*; to supply all wants, a thousand talents: but to grace *Mazeus*, who rendred the City unto him, he gave him the title of his Lieutenant over all, and took with him *Bagistines* that gave up the Castle; and having destributed to every Souldier a part of the Treasure, he left *Babylon*, and entred into the Province *Satrapene*: from thence he went on toward *Susa* in *Persia*, the same which *Ptolomy*, *Herodotus*, and *Elianus* call *Memnonia*, situate on



on the River *Eulcus*, a City sometime governed by *Daniel* the Prophet. *Abulites* also, Governour of this famous City, gave it up to the Conquerour, with fifty thousand talents of silver in bullion, and twelve Elephants for the War, with all other the treasures of *Darius*. In this sort, did those Vassals of fortune, lovers of the Kings prosperity, not of his person, (for so all ambitious men are) purchase their own peace and safety with the Kings treasures. And herein was *Alexander* well advised, that whatsoever titles he gave to the *Persians*, yet he left all places of importance in trust with his own Captains, to wit, *Babylon*, *Susa*, and *Persepolis*, with other Cities and Provinces by him conquered; for if *Darius* (as yet living) had beaten the *Macedonians* but in one battel, all the Nobility of *Persia* would have returned unto their natural Lord. Those that are Traitors to their own Kings, are never to be used alone in great enterprises by those Princes that entertain them, nor ever to be trusted with the defences of any frontier-Town, or Fortress of weight, by the rendring whereof they may redeem their liberty and estates lost. Hereof the *French* had experience, when *Don Pedro de Navarra*, being banished out of *Spain*, was trusted with *Fonterabe*, in the year 1523.

Diodor. speaketh of more than forty thousand talents in bullion, and of nine millions of gold, *sub Dorica forma excusi.*

While *Alexander* spoiled *Arbela*, *Mazeus* might have furnish'd the King from *Babylon*; and while he stayed four and thirty dayes at *Babylon*, *Abulites* might have holpen him from *Susa*; and while he feasted there, *Tiridates* from *Persepolis* might have relieved him; for the great mass of Treasure was laid up in that City. But who hath sought out and friended fearful adversity? It is certain, that benefits bind not the ambitious, but the honest? for those that are but greedy of themselves, do in all changes of fortune only consult the conservation of their own greatness.

The Government of *Susa*, with the Castle and Treasure, he committed to his own *Macedonians*, making *Abulites*, who rendred it unto him, his Lieutenant, as he had done *Mazeus* and others, in giving them titles, but neither trust nor power; for he left three thousand old Souldiers in Garrison to assure the place; and *Darius* mother and her children to repose themselves.

It is said that *Charles* the fift, having promised *Charles* of *Bourbon* the Government of *Marseilles*, if he could have forc'd it, and whereof he made sure accompt, told some of his nearest Counsellors, that he meant nothing less than the performance of that promise, because he should thereby have left the Duke (revolted from his Master) very well wherewithall to have recovered his favour.

### §. XII.

*How* Alexander *came to* Persepolis *and burnt it.*

FRom *Susa Alexander* leadeth his Army toward *Persepolis*, and when he sought to pass those Mountains which sunder *Susiana* and *Persia*, he was soundly beaten by *Ariobarzanes*, who defended against him those Streights, called *Pylæ Persidis*, or *Susæidæ*, and after the loss of many Companies of his *Macedonians*, he was forc'd to save himself by retrait, causing his Foot to march close together, and to cover themselves with their Targets from the stones tumbled on them from the Mountain-top. Yet in the end he found out another path, which a *Lycian*, living in that Country, discovered unto him, and came thereby suddenly in view of *Ariobarzanes*, who being inforc'd to fight upon even ground, was by *Alexander* broken, whereupon he fled to *Persepolis*; but (after that they of *Persepolis* had refused to receive him) he returned and gave a second charge upon the *Macedonians*, wherein he was slain. In like manner did King *Francis* the first, in the year 1515, find a way over the *Alpes*, the *Switzers* undertaking to defend all the passages, who, if their footmanship had not saved them upon the Kings descent on the other side, they had been ill payd for their hard lodging on those Hills.

Four thousand *Greeks*, saith *Curtius* (*Justine* numbers them but at eight hundred) having been taken prisoners by the *Persians*, presented themselves to *Alexander* now in sight of *Persepolis*. These had the barbarous *Persians* so maimed and defaced, by cutting off their hands, noses, ears, and other members, as they could no way have been known to their Country men, but by their voyces; to each of these *Alexander* gave three hundred Crowns, with new garments, and such Lands as they liked to live upon.

*Tiridates*, one of *Darius* his false-hearted Grandees, hearing of *Alexanders* approach, made him know that *Persepolis* was ready to receive him, and prayed him to double his pace, because there was a determination in the people to spoyl the Kings treasure. This City was abandoned by many of her Inhabitants upon *Alexanders* arrival, and they that stayed followed the worst Counsel; for all was left to the liberty of the Souldiers, to spoil and kill at their pleasure. There was no

no place in the world at that time, which, if it had been laid in the ballance with *Persepolis*, would have weighed it down. *Babylon* indeed, and *Susa*, were very rich; but in *Persepolis* lay the bulk and main store of the *Persians*. For after the spoyl that had been made of money, curious plate, bullion, Images of gold and silver, and other Jewels, there remained to *Alexander* himself one hundred and twenty thousand talents. He left the same number of three thousand *Macedonians* in *Persepolis*, which he had done in *Susa*, and gave the same formal honour to the traitor *Tiridates*, that he had done to *Abulites*; but he that had the trust of the place was *Nicarides*, a creature of his own. The body of his Army he left here for thirty dayes, of which the Commanders were *Parmenio* and *Craterus*, and with a thousand horse, and certain troops of chosen foot, he would needs view in the Winter-time those parts of *Persia*, which the Snow had covered; a fruitless and foolish enterprise, but, as *Seneca* sayes: *Non ille ire vult, sed non potest stare: He hath not a will to go, but he is unable to stand still.* It is said and spoken in his praise, That when his Souldiers cryed out against him, because they could not endure the extreme frost, and make way, but with extreme difficulty, through the snow, that *Alexander* forsook his horse, and led them the way. But what can be more ridiculous than to bring other men into extremity, thereby to shew how well himself can endure it? His walking on foot did no otherwise take off their weariness that followed him, than his sometime forbearing to drink, did quench their thirst, that could less endure it. For mine own little judgement, I shall rather commend that Captain that makes careful provision for those that follow him, and that seeks wisely to prevent extreme necessity, than those witless arrogant fools, that make the vaunt of having endured equally with the common Souldier, as if that were a matter of great glory and importance.

We find in all the Wars that *Cæsar* made, or the best of the *Roman* Commanders, that the provision of victuals was their first care. For it was a true saying of *Coligni*, Admiral of *France*; *That who so will shape that Beast* (meaning War) *must begin with his belly.*

But *Alexander* is now returned to *Persepolis*, where those Historians that were most amorous of his vertues, complain, that the opinion of his valour, of his liberality, of his clemency towards the vanquished, and all other his Kingly conditions, were drowned in drink; That he smothered in carowsing cups all the reputation of his actions past, and that by descending, as it were, from the reverend Throne of the greatest King, into the company and familiarity of base Harlots, he began to be despised both of his own and all other Nations. For being perswaded, when he was inflamed with wine, by the infamous Strumpet *Thais*, he caused the most sumptuous and goodly Castle and City of *Persepolis* to be consumed with fire, notwithstanding all the arguments of *Parmenio* to the contrary, who told him that it was a dishonour to destroy those things by the perswasions of others, which by his proper vertue and force he had obtained; and that it would be a most strong perswasion to the *Asians*, to think hardly of him, and thereby alien their hearts; for they might well believe that he which demolished the goodliest Ornaments they had, meant nothing less than (after such vastation) to hold their possession. *Post vinolentiam crudelitas sequitur; Cruelty doth commonly follow drunkenness:* For it so fell out soon after, and often, in *Alexander*.

Curt. Lib. 5.

Sen. Epist. 83.

## §. XIII.

### *The Treason of* Bessus *against* Darius. Darius *his death.*

ABout this time he received a new supply of Souldiers out of *Cilicia*, and goes on to find *Darius* in *Media*. *Darius* had there compounded his fourth and last Army, which he meant to have increased in *Bactria*, had he not heard of *Alexanders* coming on, with whom (trusting to such companies as he had, which was numbred at thirty or forty thousand) he determined once again to try his fortune. He therefore calls together his Captains and Commanders, and propounds unto them his resolution, who being desperate of good success, used silence for a while. *Artabazus*, one of his eldest men of War, who had sometime lived with *Philip* of *Macedon*, brake the ice, and protesting that he could never be beaten by any adversity of the Kings, from the faith which he had ever ought him, with firm confidence, that all the rest were of the same condition (whereof they likewise assured *Darius* by the like protestation) he approved the Kings resolution. Two only, and those the greatest, to wit, *Nabarzanes* and *Bessus*, whereof the later was Governour of *Bactria*, had conspired against their Master; and therefore advised the King to lay a new foundation for the War, and to pursue it by some such person for the present, against whom neither the



the gods nor fortune had in all things declared themselves to be an enemy: this preamble *Nabarzanes* used, and in conclusion advised the election of his fellow Traitor *Bessus*, with promise that, the Wars ended, the Empire should again be restored to *Darius*. The King swollen with disdain, prest towards *Nabarzanes* to have slain him, but *Bessus* and the *Bactrians* whom he commanded, being more in number than the rest, with-held him. In the mean while *Nabarzanes* with-drew himself, and *Bessus* followed him, making their quarter a-part from the rest of the Army. *Artabazus*, the Kings faithful servant, perswaded him to be advised and serve the time, seeing *Alexander* was at hand, and that he would at least make shew of forgetting the offence made; which the King being of a gentle disposition, willingly yielded unto. *Bessus* makes his submission, and attends the King, who removes his Army. *Patron*, who commanded a Regiment of four thousand *Greeks*, which had in all the former battels served *Darius* with great fidelity, and always made the retrait in spight of the *Macedonians*, offered himself to guard his person, protesting against the Treason of *Bessus*; but it was not his destiny to follow their advice who from the beginning of the War gave him faithful counsel, but he inclined still to *Bessus*, who told him, that the *Greeks*, with *Patron* their Captain, were corrupted by *Alexander*, and practised the division of his faithful servants. *Bessus* had drawn unto him thirty thousand of the Army, promising them all those things, by which the lovers of the World and themselves are wont to be allured, to wit, riches, safety, and honour.

Now the day following *Darius* plainly discovered the purposes of *Bessus*, and being overcome with passion, as thinking himself unable to make head against these ungrateful and unnatural Traytors, he prayed *Artabazus* his faithful servant to depart from him, and to provide for himself. In like sort he discharged the rest of his attendants, all save a few of his Eunuchs; for his Guards had voluntarily abandoned him: His *Persians* being most base cowards; durst not undertake his defence against the *Bactrians*, notwithstanding that they had four thousand *Greeks* to joyn with him, who had been able to have beaten both Nations. But it is true, that him, which forsakes himself, no man follows. It had been far more Man-like, and King-like, to have dyed in the head of those four thousand *Greeks*, which offered him the disposition of their lives, (to which *Artabazus* perswaded him) than to have lyen bewailing himself on the ground, and suffering himself to be bound like a slave by those ambitious Monsters that laid hand on him, whom neither the consideration of his former great estate, nor the honour he had given them, nor the trust reposed in them, nor the world of benefits bestowed on them, could move to pity: no, nor his present adversity, which above all things should have moved them, could pierce their viperous and ungrateful hearts. Vain it was indeed to hope it; for, Infidelity hath no compassion.

Now *Darius*, thus forsaken, was bound and laid in a Cart, covered with hides of Beasts, to the end that by any other ornament he might not be discovered; and, to add despight and derision to his adversity, they fastned him with Chains of Gold, and so drew him on among their ordinary Carriages and Carts. For *Bessus* and *Nabarzanes* perswaded themselves to redeem their lives and the Provinces they held, either by delivering him a prisoner to *Alexander*, or, if that hope failed, to make themselves Kings by his slaughter; and then to defend themselves by force of Arms. But they failed in both. For it is against the nature of God, who is most just, to pardon so strange villany, yea, though against a Prince purely Heathenish and an Idolater.

*Alexander* having knowledge that *Darius* was retired towards *Bactria*, and durst not abide his coming, hastened after him with a violent speed, and because he would not force his footmen beyond their powers, he mounted on horse-back certain selected companies of them, and best armed, and with six thousand other horse, rather ran than marched after *Darius*. Such as hated the Treason of *Bessus*, and secretly forsook him, gave knowledge to *Alexander* of all that had happened, informing him of the way that *Bessus* took, and how near he was at hand: for many men of worth daily ran from him. Hereupon *Alexander* again doubled his pace, and his Vant-guard being discovered by *Bessus* his Rear, *Bessus* brought a Horse to the Cart, where *Darius* lay bound, perswading him to mount thereon, and to save himself. But the unfortunate King refusing to follow those that had betrayed him, they cast Darts at him, wounded him to death, and wounded the Beasts that drew him, and slew two poor Servants that attended his person. This done, they all fled that could, leaving the rest to the mercy of the *Macedonian* swords.

*Polystratus* a *Macedonian*, being by pursuit of the vanquished prest with thirst, as he was

was refreshing himself with some water that he had discovered, espying a Cart with a Team of wounded beasts breathing for life, and not able to move, searched the same, and therein found *Darius* bathing in his own blood: And by a *Persian* Captive which followed this *Polystratus*, he understood that it was *Darius*, and was informed of his barbarous Tragedy. *Darius* also seemed greatly comforted (if dying men ignorant of the living God can be comforted) that he cast not out his last sorrows unheard, but that by this *Macedonian*, *Alexander* might know and take vengeance on those Traytors, which had dealt no less unworthily than cruelly with him, recommending their revenge to *Alexander* by this messenger, which he besought him to pursue, not because *Darius* had desired it, but for his own honour, and for the safety of all that did, or should after wear Crowns. He also having nothing else to present, rendred thanks to *Alexander* for the Kingly grace used towards his Wife, Mother, and Children, desiring the immortal gods to submit unto him the Empire of the whole World. As he was thus speaking impatient Death pressing out his few remaining spirits, he desired water, which *Polystratus* presented him, after which he lived but to tell him, that of all the best things that the world had, which were lately in his power, he had nothing remaining but his last breath, wherewith to desire the gods to reward his compassion.

## §. XIV.

*How* Alexander *pursued* Bessus, *and took into his grace* Darius *his Captains.*

IT was now hoped by the *Macedonians*, that their travels were near an end, every man preparing for his return. Hereof when *Alexander* had knowledge, he was greatly grieved, for the bounded earth sufficed not his boundless Ambition. Many arguments he therefore used to draw on his Army farther into the East, but that which had most strength, was, that *Bessus*, a most cruel Traytor to his Master *Darius*, having at his devotion the *Hyrcanians* and *Bactrians*, would in short time (if the *Macedonians* should return) make himself Lord of the *Persian* Empire, and enjoy the fruits of all their former travels. In conclusion he wan their consents to go on: which done, leaving *Craterus* with certain Regiments of foot, and *Amyntas* with six thousand horse in *Parthenia*, he enters not without some opposition into *Hyrcania*; for the *Mardons*, and other barbarous Nations, defended certain passages for a while. He passeth the River of *Zioberis*, which taking beginning in *Parthia*, dissolves it self in the *Caspian* Sea: it runneth under the ledge of Mountains, which bound *Parthia* and *Hyrcania*, where hiding it self under ground for three hundred furlongs, it then riseth again, and followeth its former course. In *Zadracarta*, or *Zeudracarta*, the same City which *Ptolomy* writes *Hyrcania*, the *Metropolis* of that Region, he rested fifteen dayes, banquetting and feasting therein.

*Phataphernes*, one of *Darius* his greatest Commanders, with others of his best followers, submit themselves to *Alexander*, and were restored to their places and Governments. But of all other he graced *Artabazus* most highly for his approved and constant faith to his Master *Darius*. *Artabazus* brought with him ten thousand and five hundred *Greeks*, the remainder of all those that had served *Darius*; He treats with *Alexander* for their pardon, before they were yet arrived, but in the end, they render themselves simply without promise or composition: he pardons all but the *Lacedæmonians*, whom he imprisoned, their Leader having slain himself. He was also wrought (though to his great dishonour) to receive *Nabarzanes* that had joyned with *Bessus* to murder *Darius*.

## §. XV.

*Of* Thalestris *Queen of the* Amazons; *where, by way of digression, it is shewed, that such* Amazons *have been and are.*

HEre it is said that *Thalestris* or *Minothea*, a Queen of the *Amazons*, came to visit him, and her sute was, (which she easily obtained) that she might accompany him till she were made with child by him: which done (refusing to follow him into *India*) she returned into her own Country.

*Plutarch* citeth many Historians, reporting this meeting of *Thalestris* with *Alexander*, and some contradicting it. But indeed, the letters of *Alexander* himself to *Antipater*, recounting all that befell him in those parts, and yet omitting to make mention of this *Amazonian* business, may justly breed suspition of the whole matter as forged. Much more justly may we suspect it as a vain tale, because an Historian of the same time reading one of his books to *Lysimachus* (then King of *Thrace*) who had followed *Alexander* in all his voyage, was laught at by the King for inserting such news of the *Amazons*; and *Lysimachus* himself had never heard



heard of. One that accompanied *Alexander*, took upon him to write his acts; which to amplifie, He told how the King had fought single with an Elephant, and slain it. The King hearing such stuff, caught the book, and threw it into the river of *Indus*; saying, That it were well done to throw the Writer after it, who by inserting such fables, disparaged the truth of his great exploits. Yet as we believe and know that there are Elephants, though it were false that *Alexander* fought with one; so may we give credit unto Writers making mention of such *Amazons*, whether it were true or false that they met with *Alexander*; as *Plutarch* leaves the matter undetermined. Therefore I will here take leave to make digression, as well to shew the opinions of the ancient Historians, Cosmographers, and others, as also of some modern discoverers touching these warlike Women, because not only *Strabo*, but many others of these our times make doubt, whether or no there were any such kind of people. *Julius Solinus* seats them in the North parts of *Asia* the less. *Pom. Mela* finds two Regions filled with them; the one on the River *Thermodoon*, the other near the *Caspian* Sea; *Quas* (saith he) *Sauromatidas appellant*; *Which the people call* Sauromatides. The former of these two had the *Cimerians* for their Neighbours; *Certum est* (saith *Vadianus*, who hath commented upon *Mela*) *illos proximos Amazonibus fuisse*; *It is certain that the* Cimerians *were the next Nations to the Amazons.* *Ptolomy* sets them farther into the Land North-wards, near the Mountains *Hippaci*, not far from the Pillars of *Alexander*. And that they had Dominion in *Asia* it self toward *India*, *Solinus* and *Pliny* tell us. Where they governed a people called the *Pandeans*, or *Padeans*, so called after *Pandea* the Daughter of *Hercules*, from whom all the rest derive themselves. *Claudian* affirms, That they commanded many Nations: For he speaks (largely perhaps as a Poet) thus:

Sect. 27. & 65.

Lib. 1.

Ptol. lib. 6. Asiæ Tab. 2.

Plin. l. 6. c. 20.

Claud. de cap. Proserpinæ.

——*Medis levibusque Sabæis*
*Imperat hic Sexus: Reginarumque sub armis,*
*Barbariæ pars magna jacet.*

Over the *Medes*, and light *Sabæans* raigns
This female sex: and under arms of Queen,
Great part of the *Barbarian* Land remains.

*Diodorus Siculus* hath heard of them in *Lybia*, who were more ancient (saith he) than those which kept the banks of *Thermodoon*, a River falling into the Euxine Sea, near *Heraclium*.

*Herodotus* doth also make report of these *Amazons*, whom he tels us that the *Scythians* call *Æorpata*, which is as much as *Viricidas*, or men-killers. And that they made incursion into *Asia* the less, sackt *Ephesus*, and burnt the Temple of *Diana*, *Manethon*, and *Aventinus* report; which they performed forty years after *Troy* was taken. At the siege of *Troy* it self we read of *Penthesilea*, that she came to the succour of *Priamus*. Æneiad. 1. l. 3.

*Am. Marcellinus* gives the cause of their inhabiting upon the River of *Thermodoon*, speaking confidently of the wars they made with divers Nations, and of their overthrow. L. 22. c. 7.

*Plutarch* in the life of *Theseus*; out of *Philochorus*, *Hellenicus*, and other ancient Historians, reports the taking of *Antiopa* Queen of the *Amazons* by *Hercules*, and by him given to *Theseus*; though some affirm, That *Theseus* himself got her by stealth, when she came to visit him aboord his ship. But in substance there is little difference; all confessing, That such *Amazons* there were. The same Author in the life of *Pompey* speaks of certain companies of the *Amazons*, that came to aid the *Albanians* against the *Romans*, by whom after the battel, many Targets and Buskins of theirs were taken up: and he saith farther, That these women entertain the *Gelæ* and *Legales* once a year, Nations inhabiting between them and the *Albanians*.

But to omit the many Authors, making mention of *Amazons* that were in the old times, *Fran. Lopez*, who hath written the navigation of *Orellana*, which he made down the river of *Amazon* from *Peru* in the year 1542. (upon which river, for the divers turnings, he is said to have sailed six thousand miles) reports from the relation of the said *Orellana*, to the Councel of the *Indies*, That he both saw those women, and fought with them, where they sought to impeach his passage towards the East-Sea. Hist. Ind. par. 1. c. 28.

It is also reported by *Ulrichus Schmidel*, that in the year 1542. when he sailed up the Rivers of *Paragua* and *Parabol*, that he came to a King of that Country, called *Scherves*, inhabiting under the Tropick of *Capricorn*, who gave his Captain *Ernando Riefferc*, a Crown of silver, which he had gotten in fight from a Queen of the *Amazons* in those parts.

*Ed. Lopez*, in his description of the Kingdom of *Congo*, makes relation of such *Amazons*, telling us, That (agreeably to the reports of elder times) they burn off their right breasts, & live apart from men, save at one time of the year, when they feast & accompany

company them for one month. These (saith he) possess a part of the Kingdom of *Monomotapa* in *Africa*, nineteen degrees to the Southward of the line: and that these women are the strongest Guards of this Emperour, all the *East-Indian Portugals* know.

I have produced these authorities in part, to justifie mine own relation of these *Amazons*, because that which was delivered me for truth by an ancient *Cacique* of *Guiana*, how upon the River of *Papamena* (since the *Spaniſh* discoveries called *Amazons*) that these women still live and govern, was held for a vain and unprobable report.

## §. XVI.

*How* Alexander *fell into the* Persian *Luxury: and how he further pursued* Bessus.

NOw as *Alexander* had begun to change his conditions after the taking of *Persepolis*: so at this time his prosperity had so much over-wrought his virtue, as he accounted clemency to be but baseness, and the temperance which he had used all his life-time, but a poor and dejected humour, rather becoming the instructers of his youth, than the condition and state of so mighty a King as the World could not equal. For he perswaded himself, that he now represented the greatness of the gods; he was pleased that those that came before him, should fall to the ground and adore him; he ware the robes and garments of the *Persians*, and commanded that his Nobility should do the like: he entertained in his Court and Camp, the same shameless rabble of Curtisans, and Sodomitical Eunuchs, that *Darius* had done; and imitated in all things the proud, voluptuous, and detested manners of the *Persians*, whom he had vanquished. So licentious is felicity, as notwithstanding that he was fully perswaded, that the gods whom he served (detesting the vices of the invaded) assisted him in all attempts against them, he himself, contrary to the Religion he profest (which how Idolatrous soever it were, could not be but fearful unto him by neglecting it) became by imitation, and not by ignorance or education, a more foul and fearful Monster than *Darius*, from whose tyranny he vaunted to have delivered so many Nations. Yea, those that were dearest and neerest unto him, began to be ashamed of him, entertaining each other with this, and the like scornful discourse; That *Alexander* of *Macedon* was become one of *Darius* his licentious Courtiers; That by his example, the *Macedonians* were in the end of so many travels, more impoverished in their virtues, than inriched by their victories; and that it was hard to judge whether the Conquerors, or the Conquered, were the baser slaves. Neither were these opinions so reserved, but that the noise of them came to his ears. He therefore with great gifts sought to pacifie the better sort, and those of whose judgments he was most jealous; and making it known to the Army, that *Bessus* had assumed the title of a King, and called himself *Artaxerxes*, and that he had compounded a great Army of the *Bactrians*, and other Nations, he had arguments enow to perswade them to go on, to the end that all already gotten, might not with themselves (so far ingaged) be cast away. And because they were pestered with the spoils of so many Cities, as the whole Army seemed but the guard of their carriages, (not much unlike the warfare of the *French*) having commanded every mans fardels to be brought into the Market-place, he, together with his own, caused all to be consumed with fire. Certainly, this could not but have proved most dangerous unto him, seeing the common Souldiers had more interest in these things which they had bought with their painful travels, and with their blood, than in the Kings ambition; had not (as *Seneca* often observed) his happy temerity overcome all things. As he was in his way, news came to him, that *Satribarzanes*, whom he had established in his former Government over the *Arians*, was revolted; whereupon leaving the way of *Bactria*, he sought him out; but the Rebel, hearing of his coming, fled to *Bessus*, with two thousand Horse. He then went on towards *Bessus*, and by setting a great pile of wood on fire, with the advantage of a strong wind, won the passage over an high and unaccessable Rock, which was defended against him with thirteen thousand foot. For the extremity of the flame and smoak forced them from the place, otherwise invincible. I saw in the third civil War of *France*, certain Caves in *Languedoc*, which had but one entrance, and that very narrow, cut out in the mid-way of high Rocks, which we knew not how to enter by any ladder or engine, till at last, by certain bundles of straw, let down by an Iron chain, and a weighty stone in the midst, those that defended it, were so smothered, as they rendred themselves, with their plate, mony, and other goods therein hidden. There were also some three years before my arrival in *Guiana*, three hundred *Spaniards* well mounted, smothered to death, together with their Horses, by the Country-people, who



who did set the long dry grass on fire to the Eastward of them (the wind in those parts being alwaies East) so as, notwithstanding their flying from the smoak, there was not any one that escaped. Sir *John Burrowes* also, with a hundred *English*, was in great danger of being lost at *Margarita*, in the *West-Indies*, by having the grass fired behind him; but the smoak being timefully discovered, he recovered the Sea-shore with the loss of sixteen of his men. I remember these things; but to give caution to those that shall in times to come invade any part of those Countries, that they alwaies, before they pass into the Land, burn down the grass, and sedge, to the East of them; they may otherwise, without any other enemy than a handful of straw set on fire, dye the death of Hony-Bees, burnt out of the Hive.

## §. XVII.

*A Conspiracy against* Alexander; *The death of* Philotas *and* Parmenio.

ALexander was, after he parted hence, no where resisted, till he came into *Aria*, to the East of *Bactria*, where the chief City of that Province, called *Artacoana*, was a while defended against him, by the revolt of *Satribarzanes*; but in the end he received the Inhabitants to mercy. At this place his Army was re-enforced with a new supply of five thousand and five hundred foot, and near five hundred horse, out of *Greece*, *Thessalie*, and other places. His journey out of *Persia* into these parts, is very confusedly described. For, having (as all his Historians tell us) a determination to find *Bessus* in *Bactria*, he leaves it at the very entrance, and takes the way of *Hyrcania*; from thence he wanders Northwards towards the obscure *Mardi*, upon the *Caspian*-Sea, and thence over the Mountain *Coronus* into *Aria* and *Drangiana*.

At this time it was that the treason of *Dimnus* brake out, of which *Philotas* the Son of *Parmenio* was accused, as accessary, if not principal. This *Dimnus*, having (I know not upon what ground) conspired with some others against the life of *Alexander*, went about to draw *Nicomachus*, a young man whom he loved, into the same treason. The Youth, although he was first bound by oath to secrecy, when he heard so foul a matter uttered, began to protest against it so vehemently, that his friend was like to have slain him for security of his own life. So, constrained by fear, he made shew as if he had been won by perswasion; and by seeming at length to like well of the business, he was told more at large what they were that had undertaken it. There were nine or ten of them, all men of rank, whose names *Dimnus* (to countenance the enterprise) reckoned up to *Nichomachus*. *Nichomachus* had no sooner freed himself from the company of this Traitor *Dimnus*, than he acquainted his own Brother *Ceballinus* with the whole History: whereupon it was agreed between them, that *Ceballinus* (who might with least suspition) should go to the Court, and utter all. *Ceballinus*, meeting with *Philotas*, told him the whole business; desiring him to acquaint the King therewith: which he promised to do, but did not. Two daies passed, and *Philotas* never brake with the King about the matter, but still excused himself to *Ceballinus* by the Kings want of leisure. This his coldness bred suspition, and caused *Ceballinus* to address himself to another, one *Metron*, Keeper of the Kings Armory, who forth-with brought him to *Alexanders* presence. *Alexander*, finding by examination what had passed between *Ceballinus* and *Philotas*, did fully perswade himself that this concealment of the treason, argued his hand to have been in the business. Therefore when *Dimnus* was brought before him, he asked the Traitor no other question than this: *Wherein have I so offended thee, that thou shouldest think* Philotas *more worthy to be a King than I?* *Dimnus* perceiving when he was apprehended, how the matter went, had so wounded himself, that he lived no longer, than to give his last groan in the Kings presence. Then was *Philotas* called, and charged with the suspition, which his silence might justly breed. His answer was, That when the practice was revealed unto him by *Nicomachus*, he, judging it to be but frivolous, did forbear to acquaint *Alexander* therewithall, until he might have better information. This errour of his, (if it were only an errour) although *Alexander* for the notorious services of his Father *Parmenio*, of his Brother *Nicanor* lately dead, and of *Philotas* himself, had freely pardoned and given his hand for assurance; yet, by the instigation of *Craterus*, he again swallowed his Princely promise, and made his enemies his Judges. *Curtius* gives a note of *Craterus* in this business; How he perswaded himself, that he could never find a better occasion to oppress his private enemy, than by pretending Piety, and duty towards the King. Hereof a Poet of our own hath given a note as much better, as it is most general, in his *Philotas*:

(hate,
*See how these great men cloathe their private*
*In these fair colours of the publick good;*
*And, to effect their ends, pretend the State,*
*As if the State by their affection stood:*
*And, arm'd with Power and Princes jealousies,*
*Will put the least conceit of discontent*
*Into the greatest rank of treacheries,*
*That no one action shall seem innocent:*
*Yea, valour, honour, bounty shall be made*
*As accessaries unto ends unjust:*
*And even the service of the State must lade*
*The needfullest undertaking with distrust;*
*So that base vileness, idle Luxury,*
*Seem safer far, than to do worthily,* &c.

Now, although it were so, that the King, following the advice of *Craterus*, had resolved the next day to put *Philotas* to torment, yet in the very evening of the same night in which he was apprehended, he called him to a Banquet, and discoursed as familiarly with him as at any other time. But when in the dead of the night *Philotas* was taken in his lodging, and that they which hated him began to bind him, he cryed out upon the King in these words; O Alexander, *the malice of mine Enemies hath surmounted thy mercy, and their hatred is far more constant than the word of a King.* Many circumstances were urged against him by *Alexander* himself (for the Kings of *Macedon* did in person examine the accusations of treason) and this was not the least (not the least offence, indeed, against the Kings humour, who desired to be glorified as a god) That when *Alexander* wrote unto him concerning the title given him by *Jupiter Hammon*; He answered, That he could not but rejoyce that he was admitted into that sacred Fellowship of the gods, and yet he could not but withall grieve for those that should live under such a one as would exceed the nature of man. This was (saith *Alexander*) a firm perswasion unto me, that his heart was changed, and that he held my glory in despight. See what a strange Monster Flattery is, that can perswade Kings to kill those that do not praise and allow those things in them, which are of all other most to be abhorred. *Philotas* was brought before the multitude to hear the Kings Oration against him: he was brought forth in vile garments, and bound like a Thief; where he heard himself, and his absent Father, the greatest Captain of the World, accused; his two other Brothers, *Hector* and *Nicanor* having been lost in the present War. He was so greatly oppress with grief, as for a while he could utter nothing but tears, and sorrow had so wasted his spirits, as he sank under those that led him. In the end, the King asked him, In what language he would make his defence; he answered, In the same wherein it had pleased the King to accuse him; which he did, to the end that the *Persians*, as well as the *Macedonians*, might understand him. But hereof the King made his advantage, perswading the assembly, that he disdained the language of his own Country; and so with-drawing himself, left him to his mercilesse enemies.

This proceeding of the Kings, *Philotas* greatly lamented, seeing the King, who had so sharply inveighed against him, would not vouchsafe to hear his excuse. For not his enemies only were emboldened thereby against him, but all the rest, having discovered the Kings disposition and resolution, contended among themselves, which of them should exceed in hatred towards him. Among many other arguments, which he used in his own defence, this was not the weakest; That when *Nicomachus* desired to know of *Dimnus*, what men of mark and power were his partners in the conspiracy (as seeming unwilling to adventure himself with mean and base Companions) *Dimnus* named unto him *Demetrius* of the Kings Chamber, *Nicanor*, *Amyntas*, and some others; but spake not a word of *Philotas*, who by being Commander of the Horse, would greatly have valued the party, and have incouraged *Nicomachus*. Indeed, as *Philotas* said well for himself, it is likely that *Dimnus*, thereby the better to have heartned *Nicomachus*, would have named him, though he had never dealt with him in any such practice. And for more certain proof, that he knew nothing of their intents that practised against the King, there was not any one of the Conspirators, being many, inforced by torments, or otherwise, that could accuse him; and it is true, that adversity being seldom able to bear her own burden, is for the most part found so malicious, as she rather desires to draw others (not alwaies deserving it) into the same danger, than to spare any that it can accuse. Yet at the last, howsoever it were, to avoid the extremity of resistless and unnatural torments, devised by his profest enemies, *Craterus*, *Cenus*, *Ephestion*, and others, *Philotas* accused his own self; being perswaded that they would have slain him forthwith. But he failed even in that miserable hope, and suffering all that could be laid on flesh and blood, he was forced to deliver, not what he knew, but whatsoever best pleased their ears, that were far more mercilesse than death it self.

Of



Of this kind of judicial proceeding St. *Augustine* greatly complaineth, as a matter to be bewailed, saith he, with Fountains of tears. *Quid cum in sua causa quisque torquetur; & cum quæritur utrum sit nocens, cruciatur; & innocens luit pro incerto scelere certissimas & innocens luit pro incerto scelere certissimas pœnas: non quia illud commisisse detegitur sed quia non commisisse nescitur. What shall we say to it, when one is put to torture in his own cause; and tormented whilst yet it is in question whether he be guilty; and being innocent, suffers assured punishment for a fault, of which there is no certainty: not because he is known to have committed the offence, but because others do not know that he hath not committed it?* *Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. 19. c. 6.*

It had been enough for *Alexanders* safety, if *Philotas* had been put to death without torment; the rest would not much have grieved thereat, because he was greatly suspected. But *Hemolaus*, who afterward conspired against him, made the Kings cruelty and delight in blood, the greatest motive of his own ill intent. Therefore, *Seneca*, speaking of *Alexander*, saith thus; *Crudelitas minime humanum malum est, indignum tam miti animo; ferina ista rabies est sanguine gaudere & vulneribus, & abjecto homine, in silvestre animal transire; Cruelty is not a humane vice, it is unworthy of so mild a spirit: It is even a beastly rage to delight in blood and wounds, and casting away the nature of man, to become a savage Monster.* *Sen. de Clem. l. 1.*

For the conclusion of this Tragedy, *Curtius* makes a doubt, whether the confession that *Philotas* made, were to give end to the torments which he could not any longer endure; or that the same was true indeed; For (saith he) in this case, they that speak truly, or they that deny falsly, come to one and the same end. Now, while the Kings hands were yet wet in blood, he commanded that *Lyncestes*, Son-in-law to *Antipater*, who had been three years in prison, should be slain: The same dispatch had all those that *Nicomachus* had accused: others there were that were suspected because they had followed *Philotas*; but when they had answered for themselves, that they knew no way so direct to win the Kings favour, as by loving those whom the King favoured, they were dismist. But *Parmenio* was yet living; *Parmenio*, who had served with great fidelity as well *Philip* of *Macedon* the Kings Father, as himself; *Parmenio*, that first opened the way into *Asia*; that had depress *Attalus* the Kings enemy; that had alwaies, and in all hazards, the leading of the Kings Vanguard, that was no less prudent in counsel, than fortunate in all attempts; A man beloved of the men of War, and, to say the truth, he that had made the purchase for the King of the Empire of the East, and of all the glory and fame he had: That he might not therefore revenge the death of his Son, though not upon the King, (for it was unlikely that he would have dishonoured his fidelity in his eldest age, having now lived threescore and ten years) yet upon those that by the witchcraft of flattery had possest themselves of his affection, it was resolved, that he should be dispatcht. *Polydamas* was employed in this business, a man whom of all other *Parmenio* trusted most, and loved best, who (to be short) finding him in *Media*, and having *Cleander* and other murderers with him, slew him walking in his Garden, while he was reading the Kings Letters. *Hic exitus* Parmenionis *fuit, militiæ domique clari viri; Multa sine Rege prosperè, Rex sine illo nihil magnæ rei gesserat; This was the end of* Parmenio (*saith* Curtius) *who had performed many notable things without the King, but the King; without him, did never effect any thing worthy of praise.* *Lib. 7.*

## §. XVIII.

*How* Alexander *subdued the* Bactrians, Sogdians, *and other people. How* Bessus *was delivered into his hands. How he fought with the* Scythians.

WHen these things had end, *Alexander* went on with his Army, and brought under his obedience the *Araspians*, or *Evergitans*; he made *Amenides* (sometime *Darius* his Secretary) their Governour, then he subdued the *Arachosians*, and left *Menon* to command over them. Here the Army, sometimes led by *Parmenio*, finds him, consisting of twelve thousand *Macedons* and *Greeks*, with whom he past through some cold Regions with difficulty enough. At length he came to the foot of the Mountain *Taurus* towards the East, where he built a City, which he honoured with his own name, and peopled it with seven thousand of his oldest *Macedons*, worn with age, and with travels of the War. The *Arians*, who since he left them were revolted, he subdued again by the industry and valour of *Caranus* and *Erigius*. And now he resolves to find out the new King *Bessus* in *Bactria*. *Bessus*, hearing of his coming, prepares to pass over the great River of *Oxus* which divides *Bactria* from *Sogdiana*; *Artabazus* is made Governour of *Bactria* abandoned by *Bessus*; The *Macedonian* Army suffereth for want of Water, insomuch as when they came to the

River

River of *Oxus*, there dyed more of them by drinking inordinately, than *Alexander* had loſt in any one Battel againſt the *Perſians*. And it may well be; For (as *Clytus* did after object unto him) he fought againſt women, not againſt men; and not againſt their perſons, but their ſhadows. He found on the banks of this great River no manner of Timber or other materials, to make either boats, bridges, or raft, but was forced to ſew together the hides that covered his carriages, and ſtuff them with ſtraw, and on them in ſix daies to paſs over his Army; which *Beſſus* might eaſily have diſtreſt, if he had dared but to behold the *Macedonian* Army afar off. He had formerly complained againſt *Darius* for neglecting to defend the banks of *Tygris*, and other paſſages; and yet now, when this traiterous ſlave had ſtiled himſelf a King, he durſt not perform any thing worthy of a ſlave. And therefore thoſe that were neereſt unto him, and whom he moſt truſted, to wit, *Spitamenes*, *Dataphernes*, *Catanes*, and others the Commanders of his Army, moved both by the care of their own ſafety, and by the memory of *Beſſus* his treaſon and cruelty againſt *Darius*, bound him in the like manner, that he had done his Maſter, but with this difference, that he had the chain cloſed about his neck like a Maſtiff-Dog, and ſo was dragged along to be preſented to his enemy.

In the mean while *Alexander* was arrived at a certain Town inhabited with *Greeks* of *Miletum*, brought thither by *Xerxes*, when long before he returned out of *Greece*; whoſe Iſſues had well-neer forgotten their Country-language. Theſe moſt cruelly (after they had received him with great joy) he put to the ſword, and deſtroyed their City. At this place he received *Beſſus*, and having rewarded *Spitamenes* with the reſt that delivered him, he gave the Traitor into the hands of *Oxatres*, *Darius* his Brother, to be tormented.

But while he now thought himſelf ſecure, ſome twenty thouſand Mountainers aſſaulted his Camp; in repelling whom he received a ſhot in the leg, the arrow-head ſticking in the fleſh, ſo as he was carried in a Horſe-litter, ſometime by the horſe-men, ſometime by the foot.

Soon after he came unto *Maracanda*, which *Petrus Perondinus* takes to be *Samarchand*, the regal City of the great *Tamerlain*. It had in compaſs threeſcore and ten furlongs (*Curtius* ſaith.) Here he received the Embaſſadours of the *Scythians* (called *Avians*) who offered to ſerve him.

The *Bactrians* are ſhortly again with the *Sogdians* ſtirred to rebellion, by the ſame *Spitamenes* and *Catanes*, who had lately delivered into his hands the Traitor *Beſſus*. Many Cities were reſolvedly defended againſt him, all which, after victory, he defaced and razed, killing all therein. At one of theſe he received a blow on the neck, which ſtruck him to the ground, and much diſabled him for many daies after. In the mean while *Spitamenes* had recovered *Maracanda*, againſt whom he employed *Menedemus* with three thouſand foot, and eight hundred horſe.

In the heat of theſe tumults *Alexander* marched on (if we may believe *Curtius* and others) till he came to the River of *Tanais*; upon whoſe bank he built another *Alexandria*, threeſcore furlongs in compaſs, which he beautified with houſes within ſeventeen daies after the walls built. The building of this City is ſaid to have been occaſion of a War between him and the *Scythians*; the *Scythian* King perſwading himſelf, that this new Town was fortified of purpoſe to keep him under. I do not well underſtand, why the *Scythians*, offering war in ſuch terrible manner, that *Alexander* was judged by his own Souldiers to counterfeit ſickneſs for very fear, ſhould nevertheleſs make ſute for peace: neither find I the reaſon why *Alexander* (not intending the Conqueſt of thoſe Northern deſarts, but only the defence of his own bank) ſhould refuſe to let them alone, with whom he could not meddle further than they ſhould agree to ſuffer him. Yet hereof is made a great matter; and a victory deſcribed; in purſuit of which the *Macedons* ran beyond the bounds and monuments of *Bacchus* his Expedition.

The truth is, That *Curtius* and *Trogus* have greatly miſtaken this River, which they call *Tanais*. For it was the River of *Jaxartes*, that runs between *Sogdiana* and *Scythia*, which *Alexander* paſt over, while *Menedemus* was employed in the recovery of *Samarchand*: But *Tanais*, which divides *Aſia* from *Europe*, is neer two thouſand miles diſtant from any part of *Bactria* and *Sogdiana*, and the way deſart and unknown. So that *Alexander* had (beſides *Jaxartes*) the great River of *Volga*, and many others to ſwim over, ere he could recover *Tanais*: which (from the place where he was) he could hardly have diſcovered with the Army that followed him, if he had employed all the time that he lived in *Aſia* in that travel.

Wherefore it is enough to believe, that the *Aſiatique Scythians*, making ſome offer to diſturb the erection of his new City, which was like to give ſome hinderance to their



their excurſions, were driven away by the *Macedonians*; and being naked of defenſive Arms, eaſily chaſed ſome ten or twelve miles; which is the ſubſtance of *Curtius* his report. As for the limits of *Bacchus* his journey, like enough it is that *Bacchus* (if in his life-time he were as ſober a man, as after his death he was held a drunken god) went not very far into that waſte Country, where he could find nothing but trees and ſtones, nor other buſineſs than to ſet up a Monument.

Threeſcore of the *Macedonians* are ſaid to have been ſlain, and one thouſand one hundred hurt in this fight, which might eaſily be in paſſing a great River, defended againſt them by good Archers. Of *Scythian* horſes one thouſand eight hundred were brought into the Camp, and many priſoners. It is forbidden by ſome Hiſtorians, and indeed it is hardly poſſible, to ſet down the numbers of ſuch as periſh in Battel: yet *Cæſar* commonly did it. And where the diligence of the Victors hath been ſo inquiſitive into the greatneſs of their own ſucceſs, that Writers have been able to deliver ſuch particulars by credible report, I hold it not unlawful to ſet down what we find; eſpecially when it ſerves to give light to the buſineſs in hand. The ſmall number which the *Macedonians* loſt; the omiſſion of the number which they ſlew (a thing not uſual in *Curtius*, who forbears nothing that may ſet out the greatneſs of *Alexander*) and the little booty that was gotten, do make it probable, that this War was no better than the repulſion of a few roving *Tartars* (the like being yearly performed by the *Moſcovite*, without any boaſt) and therefore better omitted by ſome Hiſtorians, than ſo highly extolled as a great exploit, by others.

While *Alexander* was aſſuring himſelf of thoſe *Scythians* bordering upon *Jaxartes*, he received the ill news that *Menedemus* was ſlain by *Spitamenes*, the Army (by him led) broken, and the greateſt numbers ſlain, to wit, two thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe. He therefore, to appeaſe the rebellion, and to take revenge of *Spitamenes*, makes all the haſte he can; but *Spitamenes* flies into *Bactria*. *Alexander* kills, burns, and layes waſte all before him, not ſparing the innocent children, and ſo departs, leaving a new Governour in that Province.

To repair this loſs, he received a great ſupply of nineteen thouſand ſouldiers out of *Greece*, *Lycia*, and *Syria*; with all which, and the old Army he returns towards the South, and paſſeth the River of *Oxus*; on the South-ſide whereof he built ſix Towns near each other for mutual ſuccour. But he finds a new ſtart-up-Rebel, called *Arimazes*, (a *Sogdian*) followed with thirty thouſand Souldiers, that defended againſt him a ſtrong piece of ground on the top of a high Hill; whom when *Alexander* had fought in vain to win by fair words, he made choice of three hundred young men, and promiſed ten talents to the firſt, nine to the ſecond, and ſo in proportion to the reſt, that could find a way to creep up to the top thereof. This they performed with the loſs of ſome two and thirty of their men, and then made a ſign to *Alexander*, that they had performed his commandment. Hereupon he ſent one *Cophes* to perſwade *Arimazes* to yield the place; who, being ſhewed by *Cophes* that the Army of *Macedon* was already mounted up, yielded ſimply to *Alexanders* mercy, and was (with all his kindred) ſcourged and crucified to death; which puniſhment they well deſerved for neglecting to keep good watch in ſo dangerous a time. For the place, as ſeems by the deſcription, might eaſily have been defended againſt all the Armies of the World. But, what ſtrength cannot do, Mans wit, being the moſt forcible engine, hath often effected: Of which I will give you an example in a place of our own.

The Iſland of *Sarke*, joyning to *Garnſey*, and of that Government, was in Queen *Mary*'s time ſurpriſed by the *French*, and could never have been recovered again by ſtrong hand, having cattel and corn enough upon the place to feed ſo many men as will ſerve to defend it, and being every way ſo inacceſſible, that it might be held againſt the Great *Turk*. Yet by the induſtry of a Gentleman of the *Netherlands*, it was in this ſort regained. He anchored in the road with one Ship of ſmall burden, and pretending the death of his Merchant, beſought the *French*, being ſome thirty in number, that they might bury their Merchant in hallowed Ground, and in the Chapel of that Iſle; offering a preſent to the *French* of ſuch Commodities as they had aboard; whereto (with condition that they ſhould not come aſhore with any weapon, no not ſo much as with a Knife) the *French-men* yielded. Then did the *Fleming*, put a Coffin into their Boat, not filled with a dead carkaſs, but with Swords, Targets, and Harquebuſſes; The *French* received them at their landing; and ſearching every of them ſo narrowly as they could not hide a Pen-knife, gave them leave to draw their Coffin up the Rocks with great difficulty; ſome part of the *French* took the *Flemiſh* Boat, and rowed aboard their Ship, to fetch the commodities promiſed, and what

else they pleased; but being entred, they were taken and bound. The *Flemings* on the Land, when they had carried their Coffin into the Chappel, shut the door to them, and taking their weapons out of the Coffin, set upon the *French*; they run to the Cliff, & cry to their company aboord the *Fleming* to come to their succour, but finding the Boat charged with *Flemings*, yielded themselves and the place. Thus a Fox-tail doth sometimes help well to piece out the Lions-skin that else would be too short.

## §. XIX.

*How* Alexander *slew his own friends.*

After these *Sogdian* and *Scythian* Wars, we read of *Alexanders* killing of a Lion, and other Frivolous matters, and that he committed the Government of *Maracanda*, and the Country about it, to *Clytus*, and how he slew him soon after, for valuing the vertue of *Philip* the Father before that of *Alexander* the son, or rather because he objected to the King the death of *Parmenio*, and derided the Oracle of *Hammon*: for therein he toucht him to the quick, the same being delivered in publick, and at a drunken Banquet. *Clytus*, indeed, had deserved as much at the Kings hands, as any man living had done, and had in particular saved his life, which the King well remembred when he came to himself, and when it was too late. Yet, to say the truth, *Clytus* his insolency was intolerable. As he in his Cups forgat whom he offended, so the King in his (for neither of them were themselves) forgat whom he went about to slay: for the grief whereof he tare his own face, and sorrowed so inordinately, as, but for the perswasions of *Calisthenes*, it is thought he would have slain himself.

Wine begat Fury, Fury matter of Repentance: but preceding mischiefs are not amended by succeeding bewailing: *Omne vitium ebrietas & incendit, & detegit; obstantem malis conatibus verecundiam removet; ubi possedit animum nimia vis vini, quicquid mali latebat, emergit: non facit ebrietas vitia, sed protrahit; Drunkenness both kindles and layes open every vice; it removes out of the way that shame which gives impediment unto bad attempts; where wine gets the mastry, all the ill that before lay hidden breaks out: drunkenness indeed rather discovers vices, than makes them.*

Soon after this, *Spitamenes*, who slew *Bessus*, and had lately revolted from *Alexander*, was murdered by his Wife, and his head presented to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* being taken away, the *Dacans* also seized upon his fellow-conspiratour *Dataphernes*, and delivered him up. So *Alexander* being now freed from all these petty-Rebels, disposed of the Provinces which he past over, and went on with his Army into *Gabaza*, where it suffered so much Hunger, Cold, Lightning, Thunder, and Storm, as he lost in one Tempest a thousand of his Train. From hence he invaded the *Sacans*, and destroyed their Country. Then came he into the Territory of *Cohortanes*, who submitted himself unto him, feasted him greatly, and presented him with thirty beautiful Virgins, among whom *Roxana*, afterwards his Wife, was one: which although all the *Macedonians* disdained, yet none of them durst use any freedome of speech after *Clytus* his death. From hence he directed his course towards *India*, having so increased his numbers, as they amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand armed men.

In the mean while he would needs be honoured as a god: whereto that he might allure the *Macedonians*, he employed two pernicious Parasites, *Hagis* and *Cleo*; whom *Calisthenes* opposed: For, among many other honest arguments used to the assembly, he told *Cleo*, That he thought, that *Alexander* would disdain the gift of God-head from his Vassals; That the opinion of Sanctity, though it did sometime follow the death of those, who in their life-time had done the greatest things, yet it never accompanied any one as yet living in the world. He further told him, That neither *Hercules* nor *Bacchus* were Deified at a Banquet, and upon drink (for this matter was propounded by *Cleo* at a carowsing feast:) but that, for the more than manly acts by them performed while they lived, they were in future and succeeding Ages numbred among the gods. *Alexander* stood behind a partition, and heard all that was spoken, waiting but an opportunity to be revenged on *Calisthenes*, who being a man of free speech, honest, learned, and a lover of the Kings honour, was yet soon after tormented to death; not for that he had betrayed the King to others, but because he never would condescend to betray the King to himself, as all his detestable flatterers did. For in a conspiracy against the King made by one *Hermolaus* and others (which they confest) he caused *Calisthenes* without confession, accusation, or trial, to be torn asunder upon the rack: This deed unworthy of a King, *Seneca* thus censureth; *Hoc est* Alexandri *crimen æternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum fœlicitas redimet: Nam quoties quis dixerit, Occidit Persarum multa millia; opponitur, &* Calisthenem. *Quoties dictum erit, Occidit* Darium; *opponitur, &* Calisthenem. *Quoties dictum erit, Omnia Oceano tenus vicit, ipsum quoq; tentavit novis classibus, & Imperium ex angulo Thraciæ usq; ad orientis terminos protulit; dicetur, sed* Calisthenem *occidit. Omnia licèt antiqua Ducum Regumque exempla transierit, ex his quæ fecit nihil tam magnum erit quam scelus* Calisthenis; *This is the eternal crime of* Alexander, *which no vertue nor felicity of his in War shall ever be able to redeem: For as often as any man shall say, He slew many thousand* Persians; *it shall be replyed, he did so, and he slew* Calisthenes. *When it shall be said, he slew* Darius; *it shall be replied, and* Calisthenes. *When it shall be said, he won all as far as the very Ocean, thereon also he adventured with unusual Navies, and extended his Empire from a corner of* Thrace, *to the utmost bounds of the Orient; It shall be said withall, But he killed* Calisthenes. *Let him have out-gone all the ancient examples of Captains and Kings; none of all his acts make so much to his glory, as* Calisthenes *to his reproach.*



## §. XX.

*Of* Alexanders *journey into* India. *The battel between him and* Porus.

With the Army before remembred, of one hundred and twenty thousand foot and horse, *Alexander* did enter the borders of *India*, where such of the Princes, as submitted themselves unto him, he entertained lovingly, the rest he constrained, killing Man, Woman, and Child, where they resisted. He then came before *Nisa*, built by *Bacchus*, which after a few dayes was rendred unto him. From thence he removed to a Hill at hand, which on the top had goodly Gardens, filled with delicate fruits and Vines, dedicated to *Bacchus*, to whom he made feasts for ten dayes together. Now when he had drunk his fill, he went on towards *Dedula*, and from thence to *Acadera*, Countries spoiled and abandoned by the Inhabitants; by reason whereof, victuals failing, he divides his Army: *Ptolomy* led one part, *Cenon* another, and himself the rest. They take many Towns, whereof that of greatest fame was *Mazage*, which had in it three hundred thousand men; but after some resistance, it was yielded unto him by *Cleophe* the Queen, to whom again he restored it; at the siege of this City he received a wound in the leg. After this, *Nora* was taken by *Polysperchon*, and a Rock of great strength by himself: he wan also a passage upon one *Eryx*, who was slain by his company; and his head presented to *Alexander*. This is the sum of *Alexanders* doings in those parts, before such time as he arrived at the River of *Indus*. Coming to *Indus*, he found there *Ephestion*, who (being sent before) had prepared Boats for the transportation of his Army, and ere *Alexanders* arrival, had perswaded *Omphis* King of that part of the Country, to submit himself to this great Conquerour. Therefore, soon upon *Alexanders* coming, *Omphis* presented himself with all the strength of his Country, and six and fifty Elephants, unto him, offering him his service and assistance. He made *Alexander* know, that he was an Enemy to the next two great Kings of that part of *India*, named *Abiasares* and *Porus*; whereupon *Alexander* was not a little pleased, hoping by this disunion to make his own Victory by far the more easie. He presented *Alexander* with a Crown of gold, so did he the rest of his Commanders, and withall fourscore talents of silver coyn; which *Alexander* not only refused, but to shew that he was covetous of glory, not of gold, he gave *Omphis* a thousand talents of his own treasure, besides other *Persian* rarities. *Abiasares*, having heard that *Alexander* had received his enemy *Omphis* into his protection, resolved to make his own peace also: For, knowing that his own strength did but equal that of *Omphis*, and that there was no other difference between them, than that which the chance of War gave, he thought it an ill match, when *Alexander*, who had already beaten under foot all the greatest Princes of *Asia*, should make himself a Party and Head of the quarrel. So had *Alexander* none now to stand in his way but *Porus*, to whom he sent a commandement, that he should attend him at the border of his Kingdom, there to do him homage. But from *Porus* he received this manly answer; That he would satisfie him in his first demand, which was to attend him on his borders, and that well accompanied; but for any other acknowledgment he was resolved to take counsel of his Sword. To be short, *Alexander* resolves to pass over the River *Hydaspes*, and to find *Porus* at his own home. *Porus* attends him on the farther bank with thirty thousand foot, fourscore and ten Elephants, and three hundred armed Chariots, and a great troop of Horse. If *Darius* had done the like on *Tigris*, *Alexander* had surely stayed somewhat longer ere he had seen *India*. The River was four furlongs broad, which makes half a mile, and withall deep and swift. It had

had in it many Islands, among which there was one well shadowed with wood, and of good capacity. *Alexander* sent *Ptolomy* up the River with a great part of the Army, shrowding the rest from the view of *Porus*: who by this device being drawn from his first incamping, sets himself down opposite to *Ptolomy*, supposing that the whole Army of *Macedon*, meant to force their passage there. In the mean while *Alexander* recovers the farther shore without resistance. He orders his troops, and advanceth towards *Porus*, who at first rather believes, that *Abiasares* his Confederate (but now the Confederate of fortune) had been come over *Hydaspes* to his aid, than that *Alexander* had past it. But he finds it otherwise, and sends his Brother *Hagis* with four thousand horse, and a hundred armed Waggons to entertain him. Each Waggon had in it four to fight, and two to guide it; but they were at this time of little use: for there had fallen so much rain, and thereby the fields were so moistned, as the horses could hardly trot. The *Scythians* and *Dahans* had the Vantguard, who so galled these *Indians*, as they brake their rains, and other furniture, overturning the Waggons, and those in them. *Perdiccas* also gave up the *Indian* horse-men, and the one and the other were forc'd to recoile. *Porus* moves forward with the gross of his Army, that those of his Vanguard scattered might recover his Rear; *Alexander* being followed with *Ephestion*, *Ptolomy*, and *Perdiccas*, took on him to charge the *Indian* horse-men on the left wing, commanding *Cenus* or *Cenon* to invade the right; *Antigonus* and *Leonatus*, he directed to break upon *Porus* his battel of foot, strengthened with Elephants, *Porus* himself being carried upon one of them, of the greatest stature. By these beasts the *Macedonian* foot were most offended; but the Archers and Darters, being well guarded with the long and strong pikes of the *Macedonians*, so galled them, as being inraged, they turned head, and ran over the foot that followed them: In the end, and after a long and doubtful fight, by the advantage of weapon, and by the courage and skilfulness of the *Macedonian* Captains, the victory fell to *Alexander*, who also far exceeded *Porus* in number: for besides the *Macedonians* and other Eastern and Northern Nations, *Porus* was assailed by his own Confederate and Country people. Yet for his own person he never gave ground otherwise than with his sword towards his enemies, till being weakened with many wounds, and abandoned by his Army, he became a prisoner to the Conquerour, from whom again he received his estate with a great enlargement.

## §. XXI.

*How* Alexander *finished his expedition, and returned out of* India.

I Forbear to trouble my self and others with a frivolous discourse of Serpents, Apes, and Peacocks, which the *Macedonians* found in these their travels: or of those petty Wars which *Alexander* made between the overthrow of *Porus*, and his sailing down the River of *Indus*. The descriptions of places about the head and branches thereof are better known unto us in this Age, by means of our late Navigations into those parts, than they were in any former times. The magnificence and riches of those Kings we could in no sort be perswaded to believe, till our own experience had taught us, that there were many stranger things in the World, than are to be seen between *London* and *Stanes*.

Our great traveller *Mandevile*, who died in the year 1372, and had seen so much of the World, and of the East *India*, we accounted the greatest fabler of the World; yet had he another reputation among other Nations, as well able to judge as we. Witness the Monument made of him in the Covent of the Friers *Guillimius* in *Liege*, where the Religious of that place keep some things of his, *Comme pour honourable memoire de son Excellence*; *For an honourable memory of his Excellency*, saith *Guichardine*. Guic. in Disc. of the Low Countries.

The Countries towards the Springs of *Indus*, and where those many Rivers of *Hydaspes*, *Zaradris*, *Acesines*, and the rest fall into the main stream, are now possest by the great *Mogol* the ninth from *Tamberlain*, who commands all the tract between *Persia* and *Indus* towards the West, as also a great extent of Country towards *Ganges*. In the mouth of *Indus*, the *Ascension*, a Ship of *London*, suffered shipwrack, in the year 1609. and some of the company travelled over Land till they came to *Agra*, the same great City (as I take it) which our later Cosmographers call *Nagra*, being named of old *Dionysopolis*.

*Philostratus* in the life of *Apollonius Tyanæus*, speaking of the expedition of *Bacchus* and *Hercules* into the East *India*, tells us, that those two great Captains (whom *Alexander* sought by all means to out-fame) when they endevoured to subject to them the *Oxidracæ*, a people inhabiting between the Rivers of *Hyphasis* and *Ganges*, they were beaten from the



the assault of their Cities with thunder and lightnings. This may well be understood by the great Ordnance that those people had then in use. For it is now certainly known, that the great Kings of the uttermost East, have had the use of the cannon many hundreds of years since, and even since their first civility and greatness, which was long before *Alexander*'s time. But *Alexander* pierc'd not so far into the East. It sufficed, that having already over-wearied his Army, he discovered the rest of *India* by fame. The *Indian* Kings whom he had subdued, informed him, that a Prince called *Aggrameues*, who commanded many Nations beyond the River *Ganges*, was the powerfullest King of all those Regions: and that he was able to bring into the field two hundred thousand Foot, three thousand Elephants, twenty thousand Horse, and two thousand armed Chariots. With this report, though *Alexander* were more inflamed than ever to proceed in this discovery and conquest, yet all the art he had, could not perswade the Souldiers to wander over those great Desarts beyond *Indus* and *Ganges*, more terrible unto them than the greatest Army that the East could gather. Yet at the last contented they were, after many perswasive Orations, to follow him towards the South, to discover such part of the Ocean Sea, as was nearer at hand, whereunto the River of *Indus* was their infallible guide. *Alexander* seeing that it would be no otherwise, devised a pretty trick, wherewith he hoped to beguile posterity, and make himself seem greater than he was. He enlarged his Camp, made greater trenches, greater Cabbines for Souldiers, greater Horse-stalls, and higher mangers than Horses could feed in. He caused all furniture of men and horses to be made larger than would serve for use; and scattered these Armours and Bridles about his Camp, to be kept as reliques, and wondred at by the Savages. Proportionable to these he raised up twelve great Altars to be the monument of his journies end. This was a ready way to encrease the fame of his bigness; to his greatness it could add nothing save a suspition, that it was less than is thought, seeing he strove so earnestly to make it thought more than it was.

This done, he returned again to the bank of *Acesines*, and there determined to set up his fleet, where *Acesines* and *Hydaspes* incounter; where to testifie by a surer monument, how far he had past towards the East, he built by those Rivers two Cities: the one he called *Nicæa*, and the other *Bucephalon*, after the name of his beloved Horse *Bucephalus*. Here again he received a fourth supply of six thousand *Thracian* Horse-men, seven thousand Foot; and from his Lieutenant at *Babylon* five and twenty thousand Armours, garnished with silver and gold, which he distributed among his Souldiers. About these Rivers he wan many Towns, and committed great slaughter on those that resisted; It is then written of him, that assaulting a City of the *Oxidracans*, he leapt from the top of the wall into it, and fought, I know not how long, against all the Inhabitants; tales like those of *Bevis* of *Southampton*, frivolous and incredible. Finally, he pass'd down the River with his fleet, at which time also the news came unto him of a rebellion in *Bactria*, and then of the arrival of an hundred Embassadours from a King of *India*, who submitted himself unto him. He feasted these Embassadours upon a hundred beds of gold, with all the sumptuosity that could be devised, who, soon after their dispatch, returned again with a present of three hundred Horses, one hundred and thirty Waggons, and to each of them four Horses, a thousand Targets, with many other things rare and rich.

Their entertainments ended, he sailed towards the South, passed through many obscure Nations, which did all yield unto him either quietly, or compelled by force: among these he builded another *Alexandria*. Of many places which he took in this passage, *Samos* was one, the Inhabitants whereof fought against him with poisoned swords, with one of which *Ptolomy* (afterward King of *Egypt*) was wounded, and cured by an herb which *Alexander* dreamt he had seen in the mouth of a Serpent.

When he came near the out-let of *Indus* (being ignorant of the tides of the Sea) his Gallies, as they were on a sudden shuffled one upon another by the Flood, so on the Ebb they were left on the dry ground, and on the sandy banks of the River, wherewith the *Macedonians* were much amazed; but after he had a few dayes observed well the course of the Sea, he past out of the Rivers mouth some few miles, and after Sacrifices offered to *Neptune*, returned: and the better to inform himself, he sent *Nearchus* and *Onesicritus*, to discover the coast towards the mouth of *Euphrates*. *Arrianus* in the beginning of his sixt Book hath written this passage down: the River of *Indus* at length, with the manner of the Vessels in which he transported his Army, the Commanders that were used, therein, and other the marvellous provisions made.

Near the out-lets of this River, he ſpent ſome part of the Winter, and in eighteen dayes march from thence recovered *Gedroſia*, in which paſſage his Army ſuffered ſuch miſery for want of food, that of a hundred and twenty thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe, which he carried into *India*, not the fourth part returned alive.

## §. XXII.

### *Of* Alexanders *Riot, Cruelty, and Death.*

FRom *Gedroſia*, *Alexander* led his Army into *Carmania*, and ſo drawing near to *Perſia*, he gave himſelf wholly to feaſting and drinking, imitating the triumphs of *Bacchus*. And though this Swiniſh vice be hateful enough in it ſelf, yet it alwayes inflamed this King to Cruelty. *For* (ſaith *Curtius*) *the Hang-man followed the feaſt: for* Aſpaſtes, *one of his Provincial Governours, he commanded to be ſlain; ſo as neither did the exceſs of voluptuouſneſs qualifie his cruelty, nor his cruelty hinder in ought his voluptuouſneſs.*

While he refreſhed his Army in theſe parts, a new ſupply of five thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, was brought him by *Cleander*, and his fellows, that had been employed in the killing of *Parmenio*. Againſt theſe Murderers, great complaint was made by the Deputies of the Provinces, in which they had commanded; and their offences were ſo out ragious, as *Alexander* was perſwaded, that, had they not altogether deſpaired of his return out of *India*, they durſt not have committed them. All men were glad of the occaſion, remembring the vertue of him, whom they had ſlaughtered. The end was, That *Cleander*, and the other chief, with ſix hundred Souldiers by them employed, were delivered over to the Hang-man: every one rejoycing that the Ire of the King was at laſt executed on the miniſters of his Ire.

*Nearchus* and *Oneſicritus* were now returned from the coaſt, and made report of an Iſland rich in gold, and of other ſtrange things; whereupon they were commanded to make ſome farther diſcovery: which done, that they ſhould enter the mouth of *Euphrates*, and find the King at *Babylon*.

*Arrianus* hath a far different deſcription of *Cyrus* Tomb.

As he drew near to *Babylon*, he viſited the Sepulchre of *Cyrus* in *Paſargada*, now called *Chalquera*: where he was preſented with many rich gifts by *Orſines*, one of the Princes of *Perſia*, of the race of *Cyrus*. But becauſe *Bagoas*, an *Eunuch* in ſpecial favour with the King, was neglected; he not only practiſed certain looſe fellows to witneſs againſt *Orſines*, that he had robbed *Cyrus* Tomb, for which he was condemned to dye; but he aſſiſted the Hang-man with his own hands in tormenting him. At which time alſo *Alexander* cauſed *Phradites* to be ſlain, ſuſpecting his greatneſs. *Coperat* (ſaith *Curtius*) *eſſe præceps ad repræſentanda ſupplicia, item ad deteriora credenda; He began head-longly to ſhed blood, and to believe falſe reports.* It is true, that he took a way to make all men weary of his Government, ſeeing cruelty is more fearful, than all adventures that can be made againſt it.

At this time it is ſaid, that *Calanus* the Philoſopher burnt himſelf, when he had lived threeſcore and thirteen years. Whether herein he followed the cuſtome of his Country, being an *Indian*, or ſought to prevent the grief and incommodity of elder age, it is uncertain: but in this the Hiſtorians agree, that fore-ſeeing and fore-ſhewing *Alexanders* death, he promiſed to meet him ſhortly after at *Babylon*.

From *Paſargada* he came to *Suſa*, where he married *Statira*, *Darius* his eldeſt Daughter, giving her younger ſiſter to his beloved *Epheſtion*, and fourſcore other *Perſian* Ladies to his Captains. There were ſix thouſand gueſts invited to the feaſt, to each of which he gave a cup of gold. Here there came unto him three thouſand young Souldiers, out of his conquered Provinces, whereat the *Macedonians* greatly murmured. *Harpalus*, his Treaſurer in *Babylon*, having laviſhly conſumed the monies in his keeping, got him going with five thouſand Talents, and ſix thouſand hired Souldiers; but he was rejected in *Greece*, and there ſlain. *Alexander* greatly rejoyced at the fidelity of the *Greeks*, whom *Harpalus* with theſe forces and treaſures could not ſtir: yet he ſent commandement, that they ſhould again receive their baniſhed men, whereunto (fearful of his indignation) all ſubmitted themſelves (except the *Athenians*) though they reſolved, that it was a manifeſt preparation towards their bondage. After this, there followed a marvellous diſcontentment in his Army, becauſe he had reſolved to ſend into *Macedon* all thoſe old Souldiers which could no longer endure the travel of War, and to keep the reſt in *Aſia*. He uſed many Orations to ſatisfie them, but it was in vain during the tempeſt of their fury. But afterward, as Whales are drawn to the Land with a twine-thred, when they have tumbled a while; ſo are the unconſiderate multitude eaſily conducted when their firſt paſſions are evaporate. With ſuch as were licenſed to depart, he



he ſent *Craterus*, to whom he gave the Lieutenantſhip of *Macedon*, *Theſſaly*, and *Thrace*, which *Antipater* had held from his firſt departure out of *Europe*, who had beaten the rebellious *Greeks* in his abſence, diſcharged the truſt committed unto him with great fidelity, and ſent him ſo many ſtrong ſupplies into *Aſia* from time to time. Certainly, if *Alexander* had not taken counſel of his cups, he would have caſt ſome better colour on this alteration, and given *Antipater* a ſtronger reaſon for his remove, than to have imployed him in the conduction of a new ſupply to be brought him to *Babylon*, the War being now at an end. For *Antipater* ſaw nothing in this remove, but the Kings diſpoſition to ſend him after *Parmenio*, and the reſt. With this *Antipater*, the King, notwithſtanding his great courage, had no great appetite to grapple: Princes, though jealous, do not ſtand in doubt of every man ill-affected, though valiant: but there is a kind of kingly courage, compounded of hardineſs and underſtanding, which is many times ſo fearful unto them, as they take leave both of Law and Religion, to free themſelves thereof.

After he had ſent for *Antipater*, he made a journey into *Media* to ſettle things there; where *Epheſtion*, whom he favoured moſt of all men, dies. The King, according to the greatneſs of his love, laments his loſs, hangs his Phyſician, and beſtows upon his Monument twelve thouſand talents: After which he returns to *Babylon*. Thither *Antipater* came not, but ſent; and not to excuſe himſelf, but to free himſelf. For if we believe *Curtius* (whom *Plutarch* and others gainſay) *Antipater* by his Sons, *Caſſander*, *Philip*, and *Iolla*, who waited on *Alexanders* cup, gave him poyſon; *Theſſalus* (who was of the Conſpiracy) having invited him to a drinking-feaſt of purpoſe. For after he had taken a carouſe in *Hercules* his cup, a draught of drink ſtronger than *Hercules* himſelf, he quitted the World within a few daies.

Certainly the Princes of the World have ſeldom found good, by making their Miniſters over-great, and thereby ſuſpicious to themſelves. For he that doth not acknowledge fidelity to be a debt, but is perſwaded, that Kings ought to purchaſe it from their Vaſſals, will never pleaſe himſelf with the price given. The only reſtorative, indeed, that ſtrengthens it, is the goodneſs and virtue of the Prince, and his liberality makes it more diligent; ſo as proportion and diſtance be obſerved. It may be, that *Antipater*, having commanded two or three Kingdoms ten or twelve years, knew not how to play any other part; no more than *Cæſar* did, after he had ſo long a time governed the *Gauls*, where he utterly forgat the art of obedience. A moſt cruel and ungrateful Traitor *Antipater* was, if *Curtius* do not belye him: For though he feared ſome ill meaſure upon his remove (the Tragedies of *Parmenio*, *Clytus*, and *Calliſthenes*, having been ſo lately acted) yet he knew nothing to the contrary, but that the King had reſolved to have given him ſome other great Government in *Aſia*: The old Souldiers thence returned, having perchance deſired to be governed by *Craterus*, whom they had followed in all the former War.

## §. XXIII.

### *Of* Alexanders *perſon and qualities.*

HOwſoever it were, *Alexanders* former cruelties cannot be excuſed, no more than his vanity to be eſteemed the Son of *Jupiter*, with his exceſſive delight in drink and drunkenneſs, which others make the cauſe of his fever and death. In that he lamented his want of enterpriſing, and grieved to conſider what he ſhould do when he had conquered the World, *Auguſtus Cæſar* found juſt cauſe to deride him, as if the well-governing of ſo many Nations and Kingdoms, as he had already conquered, could not have offered him matter more than aboundant, to buſie his brains withall. That he was both learned, and a lover of learning, it cannot be doubted. Sir *Francis Bacon*, in his firſt Book of the Advancement of Learning, hath proved it ſufficiently. His liberality, I know not how to praiſe, becauſe it exceeded proportion. It is ſaid, That when he gave a whole City to one of his ſervants, he, to whom it was given, did out of modeſty refuſe it, as diſproportionable to his fortune: to whom *Alexander* replied, That he did not enquire what became him to accept, but the King to give: of which *Seneca*; *Animoſa vox videtur & regia, cùm ſit ſtultiſſima. Nihil enim per ſe quenquam decet. Refert quid, cui, quando, quare, ubi, &c. ſine quibus facti ratio non conſtabit; habeatur perſonarum & dignitatum proportio, & cum ſit ubiq; virtutis modus, æquè peccat quod excedit, quàm quod deficit; It ſeems a brave and Royal ſpeech, whereas indeed it is very fooliſh. For nothing ſimply conſidered by it ſelf beſeems a man. We muſt regard what, to whom, when, why, where, and the like; without which conſiderations, no act can be approved. Let honours be proportioned unto the perſons: for whereas virtue is ever limited by* L. 2. de Ben. c. 1.

*by measure, the excess is as faulty as the defect.*

For his Person, it is very apparent, That he was as valiant as any man; a disposition, taken by it self, not much to be admired: For I am resolved, that he had ten thousand in his Army as daring as himself. Surely, if adventrous natures were to be commended simply, we should confound that virtue with the hardiness of Theeves, Ruffians, and Mastiff-Dogs. For certainly it is no way praiseworthy, but in daring good things, and in the performance of those lawful enterprises, in which we are employed for the service of our Kings, and Common-weals.

If we compare this great Conquerour with other troublers of the world, who have bought their glory with so great destruction and effusion of blood, I think him far inferiour to *Cæsar*, and many other that lived after him, seeing he never undertook any warlike Nation, the naked *Scythians* excepted; nor was ever encountred with any Army of which he had not a most mastering advantage, both of Weapons and Commanders, every one of his Fathers old Captains by far exceeding the best of his Enemies. But it seems Fortune and Destiny (if we may use those terms) had found out and prepared for him, without any care of his own, both heaps of Men, that willingly offered their necks to the yoke, and Kingdoms that invited and called in their own Conquerours. For conclusion, we will agree with *Seneca*, who speaking of *Philip* the Father, and *Alexander* the Son, gives this judgment of them: *Quod non minores fuêre pestes mortalium, quàm inundatio, qua planum omne perfusum est, quàm conflagratio, qua magna pars animantium exaruit*; *They were no less plagues to mankind, than an overthrow of waters, drowning all the level; or some burning drought, whereby a great part of living creatures are scorched up.*

## CHAP. III.

### *The Reign of* Aridæus.

#### §. I.

*Of the Question about Succession to* Alexander.

THE death of *Alexander* left his Army (as *Demades* the Athenian then compared it) in such case, as was that monstrous Gyant *Polyphemus*, having lost his only eye. For that which is reported in fables of that great *Cyclops*, might well be verified of the *Macedonians*: their force was intolerable, but for want of good guidance uneffectual, and harmful chiefly to themselves. The causes whereof (under the divine ordinance) were partly the uncertainty of Title to succession in the Kingdom of *Macedon*, partly the stubborn pride of *Alexander* himself, who thinking none worthy to be his heir, did refuse to establish the right in any one, leaving every one to his own fortune: but especially the great ambition of his followers, who all had learned of their Master to suffer no equals; a lesson soon taught unto spirits reflecting upon their own worth, when the reverence of a greater object faileth.

It hath formerly been shewed, That *Philip* (the Father of *Alexander*) governing in *Macedon* as Protector, assumed unto himself the Kingdom, not rendring it unto *Amyntas*, (the Son of his elder Brother *Perdiccas*) when he grew to mans estate; but only bestowing upon him in marriage a Daughter of his own: by which bond, and much more by his own proper strength, he assured the Crown unto himself: *Amyntas* never attempting ought against *Philip*; though (with price of his life) he did against *Alexander* in the beginning of his reign. Wherefore *Eurydice*, the sole issue of this marriage, ought in reason to have been acknowledged Queen after *Alexander*; as having better Title thereunto, than either He or *Philip* had, when they lived, unless (peradventure) some Law of that Nation forbad the reign of Women. But the excellent virtue of these two Princes had utterly defaced the right of all Pretenders, not claiming from their own bodies: and so great were their Conquests, that *Macedon* it self was (in regard of them) a very small Appendix, and no way deserving to be laid in ballance against the demand of their posterity, had they left any able



able to make challenge of the Royal Seat.

*Alexander* having taken many Wives, had issue by none of the principal of them. *Barsine* the Daughter of *Artabazus* a *Persian*, had born unto him a young Son: and *Roxane* the Daughter of *Oxyartes* (whom he had more solemnly married) was left by him great with child. But the baseness of the Mothers, and contempt of the conquered Nations, was generally alledged in Barr of Plea made for them, by some that would (perhaps) have wrought out their own ends, under the name of *Alexanders* children.

*Cleopatra* a Sister of *Alexander*, widow to the King of *Epirus*, and *Aridæus* his base Brother (Son to *Philip* by a Concubine of no account) who had married the Lady *Eurydice* before mentioned, were next in course. Of *Cleopatra* there was no speech, which may give suspition, that either Law or Custom had made that sex uncapable of the Soveraignty: *Aridæus* (besides his bastardy) was neither for person nor quality fit to rule as King; yet upon him the election fell, but slowly, and (as happeneth often) for lack of a better: when the Counsellors having overlaboured their disagreeing wits in devising what was best, were content for very weariness to take what comes next to hand.

*Ptolomy* (soon after King of *Egypt*) concurring with them who rejected all mention of the half-*Persian* brood, King *Alexanders* children, was of opinion, that the rule of all should be given to the Captains; that going for Law, which by the greater part of them should be decreed: so far was he from acknowledging any one as true Heir to the Crown.

This *Ptolomy* was called the Son of *Lagus*, but reputed of *Philip*: who having used the company of *Arsinoë Ptolomie*'s Mother, delivered her in marriage to *Lagus*, being great with child. Therefore, whether it were so, that he hoped well to work his own fortune out of those dissentions, which are incident unto the consultations of many ambitious men, equal in place, forcing them at length to redeem their quiet with subjection to one, deserving regard by his blood, and trust for his even carriage; or whether he desired only to get a share to himself, which could not have come to pass, had all been given to one: plain enough it is, that he thought not on preferring *Aridæus* before himself: and therefore gave such counsel as fitted his own and other mens purposes. Yea, this device of his took place indeed, though not in form as he had propounded it; For, it was in effect all one, to have assembled at *Alexanders* empty Chair, as *Ptolomy* had conceived the form of their consultations. or to set in the Chair such a King as *Aridæus*, no wiser than the Chair it self. Also the Controversies arising were determined by the greater part of the Captains; by the greater part, if not in number, yet in puissance.

But as these counterfeit shews of dissembling aspirers do often take check by the plain-dealing of them who dare to go more directly to work: so was it like to have fared with *Ptolomy* and the rest, when *Aristonus*, another of the Captains, interpreted the very words of *Alexander*, saying, That he left his Kingdom to the worthiest, as designing *Perdiccas*, to whom (lying at the point of death) he delivered his ring. It seemed good in reason, that *Alexander* should be disposer of his own purchases: and those tokens of *Alexanders* purpose appeared plain enough, so long as no man would interpose anothers construction: every one being uncertain how the secret affections of the rest might be inclined. Many therefore, either out of their love, or because they would not be of the latest, urged *Perdiccas* to take upon him the estate Royal. He was no stranger to the Royal blood; yet his birth gave him not such reputation, as the great favour of his dead King, with whom he had been very inward, and that especially since the death of *Ephestion* (a powerful Minion) into whose place he was chosen. For his own worth he might well be commended, as a good man of War, and one that had given much proof of his private valour. But very surly he was: which quality (joyned with good fortune) carried a shew of Majesty: being checkt with misadventure, it was called by a true name, Pride; and rewarded with death.

In the present business a foolish over-weening did him as great harm, as it had been great happiness to have succeeded *Alexander*. For, not content to have the acclamation of the Souldiers, approving the sentence of *Aristonus*, he would needs counterfeit modesty; thinking that every one of the Princes would have intreated him to take the weighty burden of an Empire, which would be the less envious, the more solemnity he used in the acceptance. It is truly said, He that feigneth himself a Sheep, may chance to be eaten by a Wolf. *Meleager*, (a man by nature envious, and bearing a particular hatred to *Perdiccas*) took advantage of his irresolute behaviour, and very bitterly enveighed against him. In conclusion, he pronounced, That whosoever was Heir to the Crown, the souldiers ought to be heirs to the Treasure; and therefore he invited them, who

who were nothing slow, to share it. This disturbed all the Consultation. The Captains were left alone, far enough from agreeing, and not able to have brought any conclusion to good effect without consent of the Souldiers, who greedy of spoil, thronged about *Meleager*.

## §. II.

### *The Election of* Aridæus, *with the troubles thereabout arising; the first Division of the Empire.*

During this up-roar, mention was made of *Aridæus* by some one, and entertained with good liking of many, until at last it grew to the voice of the Army. *Meleager* having withdrawn himself tumultuously from the company of the Lords, was glad of so fair an occasion to make himself great: therefore he produced *Aridæus*, commended him to the Souldiers, who called him by his Fathers name *Philip*, and brought him into the Palace, investing him in *Alexander*'s Robes, and proclaiming him King. Many of the Nobles withstood this election, but in vain: for they could not resolve what course to follow, rejecting this. Only *Python*, a hot-headed man, took upon him to proclaim the Son of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, according to the counsel which *Perdiccas* at first had given, appointing *Perdiccas* and *Leonatus* his Protectors. But the child was not yet born, which made that attempt of *Python* vain. Finally, *Perdiccas* with six hundred men, and *Ptolomy* with the Kings Pages, took upon them to defend the place where *Alexanders* body lay: but the Army conducted by *Meleager*, who carried the new King about whither he listed, easily brake in upon them, and inforced them to accept *Aridæus* for their Soveraign Lord. Then by the intercession of the ancient Captains, a reconciliation was propounded and admitted, but on neither side faithfully meant.

*Leonatus*, who was of Royal blood, a goodly Gentleman, and valiant, issued out of *Babylon*, being followed by all the horse, which consisted (for the most part) of the Nobility. *Perdiccas* abode in the City (but standing upon his guard) that he might be ready to take the opportunity of any commotion that should happen among the Infantry. The King (who was governed by *Meleager*) commanded, or gave leave to have *Perdiccas* made away; which attempt succeeded ill, being neither secretly carried, nor committed to sure executioners. Their coming was not unexpected: and they were by *Perdiccas* rebuked with such gravity, that they departed honester than they came; being sorry for their bad enterprise. Upon the news of this attempt, the Camp was in an up-roar, which the King seeking to pacifie, wanted authority, as having newly got the Crown by them, and holding it by their courtesie. The matter it self afforded no good excuses, and his indiscretion made them worse. He said that no harm was done, for *Perdiccas* was alive: but their exclamations were against the tyrannous enterprise, which he imputed to *Meleager*; abandoning the surest of his friends to the rage of the multitude, who were not appeased, until the King by offering to resign his estate unto them, renewed out of their pity that favourable affection, which had moved them to set him up at the first.

*Perdiccas* having now joyned himself with *Leonatus*, kept the fields, intending to cut off all provision of victuals from the City. But after sundry Embassies passing between the King and the Nobles, (they requiring to have the Authors of sedition given up into their hands; the King, that *Meleager* might be joyned with *Leonatus* and *Perdiccas*, as a Third in government of the Army) things were compounded according to the Kings desire. *Meleager* should have done well to consider, That such men as had one day demanded his head, were not like the day following to give him a principal place among them without any new occasion offered, had not some purpose of treachery lurked under their great facility. General peace was renewed, and much love protested where little was intended. The face of the Court was the same which it had been in *Alexanders* time: but no longer now did the same heart give it life; and windy spirits they were which moved in the arteries. False reports were given out by appointment of *Perdiccas*, tending to his own disgrace, but in such terms as might seem to have proceeded from *Meleager*: who finding part of the drift, but not all, took it as an injury done to himself; and (as desirous of a true friendship) desired of *Perdiccas*, that such authors of discord might be punished. *Perdiccas* (as a lover of peace) did wel approve the motion; & therefore agreed that a general Muster should be made, at which time the disturbers of the common quiet should receive their punishment (as was the manner for Souldiers offending) in presence of the Army. The plot was mischievously laid. Had *Meleager* given way to seditious rumours, he must needs have incurred the general hatred of all, as a



lower of dissention, and thereby with a publick approbation might have been cut off, as having often offended in that kind; his Prince being too weak a Patron. Now seeking redress of these disorders, he hastened his own ruine, by a less formal, but more speedy way. This kind of Muster was very solemn, and practised with many ceremonies, as for cleansing the Army. The Horse-men, the Elephants, the *Macedonian* foot, the Mercenaries were each according to their quality set in array, apart from others, as if they had been of sundry sorts, met at adventure: which done, the manner was to skirmish (as by way of exercise) according to the direction of their several Captains. But at that time the great battel of *Macedonian* Pikes, which they called the *Phalanx*, led by *Meleager*, was of purpose bestowed in a ground of disadvantage; and the countenance of the Horse and Elephants beginning to give charge upon them, was such, as discovered no jesting pastime, nor good intent. Kings were always wont to fight among the horsemen: of which custom *Perdiccas* made great use that day, to the utter confusion of his enemies. For *Aridæus* was always governed by him, who for the present had him in possession. Two or three days before, he sought the death of *Perdiccas* at the instigation of *Meleager*: now he rides with *Perdiccas* up and down about the foot-men, commanding them to deliver unto the death all such as *Perdiccas* required. Three hundred they were who were cast unto the Elephants, and by them slain, in the presence of the King (who should have defended them) and of their affrighted companions. But these three hundred were not the men whose punishment *Meleager* had expected: they were such as had followed him, when he disturbed the first consultation that was held about the election of a new King, and some of them his especial friends. Having therefore kept himself quiet a while, as unwilling to give offence to them that had the advantage; when he saw their proceedings tend very manifestly to his destruction, he fled away into a Temple, which he found no Sanctuary: for thither they sent and slew him.

The Army being thus corrected, was led into the City, where a new Councel of the Princes was held, who finding what manner of man their King was, divided all the Provinces of the Empire among themselves; leaving to *Aridæus* the office of a Visitor, and yet making *Perdiccas* his Protector, and Commander of the forces remaining with him. Then were the funerals of *Alexander* thought upon; whose body having been seven dayes neglected, was opened and embalmed by the *Egyptians*: no sign of poyson appearing, how great soever the suspicion might be. The charge of his burial was committed to *Aridæus*, one of the Captains, who was two years preparing of a great and costly shew, making a stately Chariot in which the corps was laid; many coarses of his friends being laid in the ground before that of *Alexander* was bestowed in *Alexandria*, a City of his own building, in *Egypt*.

## §. III.

### *The beginning of the* Lamian *War.*

Whilest these things were in doing, or presently after, *Antipater* and *Craterus*, two principal Noble-men, and inferiour to none of *Alexanders* followers, if not greater than any of the rest, were busied in *Greece* with a war, which the *Athenians* more bravely than wisely had begun in *Alexanders* life, but now did prosecute more boldly than before, upon the courage which they had taken by his death. *Alexander*, not long before he died, had commanded that all the banished *Greeks* (few excepted) should be restored unto their former places. He knew the factious quality of the *Grecian* Estates, & therefore thought so to provide, that in every City he would have a sure party. But it fell out otherwise: For he lost the hearts of many more than he won by this proud injunction. His pleasure indeed was fulfilled; yet not without great murmuring of the whole Nation, as being against all order of Law, and a beginning of open tyranny. The *Athenians* greatly decayed in estate, but retaining more than was needful of their ancient spirits, forbad the execution of this Decree in their Dominions; so did also the *Ætolians*, who were valiant men, and inhabited a Region well fortified by nature: yet neither of them took Arms, but seemed to bear themselves, as men that had done no more than they might well justifie by reason: nevertheless to prevent the worst, the *Athenians* gave secret instructions to *Leosthenes*, a Captain of theirs, willing him to levy an Army, but in his own name, and to keep it in a readiness for their use. This was no hard thing for *Leosthenes* to do: great numbers of *Greek* Souldiers being lately returned from the *Asian* War in poor estate, as defrauded of their pay by the Captains. Of these he had gathered up eight thousand, when the certain news was brought of *Alexanders* death: at which the City of *Athens* declared it self, and more ho-

honourably than wisely, proclaimed War against the *Macedonians* for the liberty of *Greece*. Hereupon *Leosthenes* drew in the *Ætolians* and some other Estates, gave battel to the *Bœotians*, who sided with *Antipater*, and overthrew them; growing so fast in reputation, and so strong in adherents, that *Antipater* (arming in all haste, yet suspecting his own strength) was fain to send into *Asia* to *Craterus* for succour.

Nothing is more vain than the fears and hopes of men, shunning or pursuing their destinies a far off, which deceive all mortal wisdom, even when they seem near at hand. One moneth was scarcely past, since nothing so heavily burthened the thoughts of *Antipater* as the return of *Craterus* into *Macedon*; which he then feared as death, but now desired as the most likely assurance of his life. *Craterus*, whom *Alexander* held as of all men the most assured unto him, was sent into *Macedon* to convey home the old Souldiers (that was the pretence) and to succeed *Antipater* in the government of *Macedon* and *Greece*. The suspitions were strong that he had a privy charge to put *Antipater* to death: neither did that which was commonly published sound much better; which was, That *Antipater* should be sent unto the King, as Captain of the young Souldiers, newly to be levied in *Europe*. For *Alexander* was much incensed against him by his Mother *Olympias*: and would sometimes give out speeches, testifying his own jealousie and hatred of him; but yet he strove to smother it, which in a cruel Prince betokeneth little good. Few of *Alexanders* Lieutenants had escaped with life: most of them indeed were mean persons in regard of those who followed him in his *Indian* expedition, and were therefore (perhaps) removed to make place for their betters. But if the Kings rigour was such, as could find rebellious purposes (for so he interpreted even lewd government) in base persons; little might *Antipater* hope for, who having sitten Vice-roy ten years in the strongest part of the Empire, was called away to the presence of so fell a Master, and the envie of a Court, wherein they had been his inferiours, which would now repine to see him their equal. Therefore whether his fear drew him to prevention, working first the Kings death by poyson, given by his Son *Iolaus*, *Alexanders* Cup-bearer; or whether it brake not forth untill opportunity had changed it into the passion of revenge, which was cruelly performed by his son *Cassander*; great cause of much fear he had; which I note in this place, as the ground of effects to be produced in very few years.

At the present, *Craterus* was sent for, and all the Captains of companies lying near, solicited to make haste. Not without cause: For in *Macedon* there could not at that time be raised more than thirteen thousand foot, and six hundred horse; which Muster was of raw Souldiers, all the force of the Countrey being emptied into *Asia*. The *Thessalians* indeed who had long stood firm for *Philip* and *Alexander*, who also were the best horsemen of *Greece*, furnished him with very brave troops, that might have done great service, had their faith held out, which they changed for the liberty of *Greece*. With these forces did *Antipater* in *Thessaly* try the fortune of a battel with *Leosthenes*; rather (as may seem) fearing the increase of his enemies power, and rebellion of the *Greeks*, (were they not checkt at the first) than presuming on his strength. For *Leosthenes* had of *Athenians*, *Ætolians*, and Mercenaries, two and twenty thousand foot, besides the assistance of many petty Signories, and of some *Illyrians* and *Thracians*: of horse he brought into the field about two thousand and five hundred; but over-strong he was that way also, when once the *Thessalians* had revolted unto him. So *Antipater* lost the day; and his loss was such, that he neither was able to keep the field, nor to make a safe retreat into his own Country; therefore he fled into the Town of *Lamia*, which was well fortified, and well provided of all things necessary to bear out a siege. Thither did *Leosthenes* follow him, present him battel again, and upon refusal close up the Town with Earth-works, and a Wall. There will we leave him for a while, travelling in the last honourable enterprise that ever was undertaken by that great City of *Athens*.

## §. IV.

### *How* Perdiccas *employed his army.*

KIng *Aridæus* living under the rule of *Perdiccas*, when all the Princes were gone each to his own Province, kept a naked Court: all his greatness consisting in a bare Title, supported by the strength of his Protector, who cared not for him otherwise than to make use of him. *Perdiccas* had no Province of his own peculiar, neither was he like to be welcome to any whom he should visit in his government. A stronger Army than any of the rest he had, which he might easily hope in that unsetled condition of things to make better worth to him than many Provinces could have been. The better to accomplish his desires, he closely sought the marriage of *Cleopatra*, the sister of *Alexander*; yet about the same time he either married *Nicæa* the daughter of *Antipater*, or made such love to her as blinded their eyes, who did not somewhat narrowly search into his doings.

*Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*, the second of that name, and tenth King of that Country, had continued faithfull to the *Persian* Empire as long as it stood: following the example of his fore-fathers, even from *Pharnaces* the first that reigned in *Cappadocia*, who married *Atossa* sister to the great *Cyrus*. Some of his Ancestors had (indeed) been oppressed by the *Persian*: but what Fortune took from them at one time, Vertue restored at another, and their faithful Princes had much encreased all. But now in the fatal Period of so great an Empire, with much wisdom, and (*Darius* being slain) with sufficient honour, he might have acknowledged the *Macedonian* in the *Persians* room. This he did not; neither did *Alexander* call him to account, being occupied with great cares. But *Perdiccas*, who had no greater business wherein to entertain his Army, found it expedient both for the honour of the Empire, to take that in-land Kingdom, surrounded with Provinces of the *Macedonian* conquest, and for his own particular, to have one opportune place of sure retreat, under the government of a stedfast friend. Therefore he entred *Cappadocia*, fought with *Ariarathes*, who drew into the field 30000. foot, and 15000. horse (a strong Army, had it not encountred a stronger, and better trained) wan the victory, and thereby the whole Kingdom. But with much cruelty did he use the victory: for having taken *Ariarathes* prisoner, with many others, he crucified him, and as many of his Kindred as he could light upon, and so delivered that Province to *Eumenes*, whom of all men living he trusted most. Another part of his forces he had committed to *Python*, rather as to the most honourable of such as remained about him, than as to the most assured. *Python* was to subdue the *Greeks* rebelling in the high Countrys of *Asia*. About twenty thousand foot, and 3000. horse they were, (all old Souldiers) who planted in Colonies by *Alexander* to bridle the barbarous nations, were soon weary of their unpleasant habitations, and the rude people, among whom they lived: and therefore took advantage of the present troubles to seek unto themselves a better fortune. Against these *Python* went, more desirous to make them his own, than to destroy them: which intent of his *Perdiccas* discovering, did both give him in charge to put all those Rebels to the sword, giving the spoyles of them to his Souldiers, and further enjoyned it unto *Pythons* Captains (his own creatures) that they should see his commandment executed. These directions for use of the victory, might have proved needless; so uncertain was the victory it self. A Captain of the Rebels commanding over three thousand, corrupted by *Python*, did in the heat of the fight (which was very doubtful) retire without necessity to a hill not far off. This dismayed the rest, and gave the day to *Python*: who being far enough from *Perdiccas*, offered composition to the vanquished, granting unto them their lives and liberty, under condition of laying down their arms; & hereupon he gave them his faith. Being master of these Companies, he might well have a good opinion of his own power: all power being then valued by strength in followers, when as none could vaunt himself as free Lord of any Territory. He had thirteen thousand foot, and eight thousand eight hundred horse, besides these new Companions, whom needless fear without great loss had caused to leave the field: but in true estimation, all the greatness whereof *Python* might think himself assured, was (and soon appeared to be) inherent in *Perdiccas*. For by his command were ten thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, of those which followed *Python*, levied; the Rulers of the Provinces carefully obeying the letters of *Perdiccas*, by which they were enjoyned to give assistance to that business; & by vertue of the precept given unto them by *Perdiccas*, did the *Macedonians* cut in pieces all those poor men who had yielded themselvs; leaving *Python* as naked as he came forth to return unto his great Master.

Now was *Perdiccas* mighty above the mighty, and had fair leisure to pursue his hopes of marriage with *Cleopatra*, and thereby to make himself Lord of all: but this must be secretly carried for fear of opposition. How it succeeded, will appear when the *Lamian* War taketh ending.

## §. V.

### *The proceſs of the* Lamian *War.*

WE left *Antipater* hardly besieged, wanting means to free himself without succours from his friends in *Asia*. Those helps not appearing so soon as he expected, he came to parley with *Leosthenes*, and would have yielded unto any terms of

reason, wherewith men possessed with hope of victory, do seldome limit their desires. *Leosthenes* willed him without further circumstance to submit himself to discretion. This was too much for him that had once commanded over them, who now required of him such a dishonourable composition. Wherefore knowing that the extremity, from which as yet he was far enough, could bring no worse with it, *Antipater* prepared for the defence; and the other for winning the Town, which felt great want of victuals.

In this lingring War the *Ætolians* (whether weary of sitting still at a siege, or having businesse which they pretended at home) took their leave, and returned into their own Countrey. Their departure left the trenches so thinly manned, that *Antipater* found means to sally out upon his enemies to their great losse: for many were slain, and *Leosthenes* himself among them, ere he could be repulsed into the Town. Yet hereby the *Macedonians* were nothing relieved, their victuals wasted, and they were not strong enough to deal with the *Greeks* in open fight. *Craterus* was long in coming. *Lysimachus*, who was neerest at hand in *Thrace*, had work too much of his own, leading no more than four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, against *Seuthas* the *Thracian* King, who brought into the field above four times that number; and though *Lysimachus*, not without losse had gotten one victory, yet the enemy abounding in multitude, felt not the blow so much as might abate his courage. Therefore *Leonatus* was earnestly solicited by *Antipaters* friends, to make all haste to the rescue. He had the government of *Phrygia* the less, and was able to raise an Army of more than twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; whether levied out of his Province, or appointed unto him out of the main Army, it is uncertain. Certain it is, that he was more willing to take in hand the journey into *Greece*, than *Antipater* was to have him come. For *Cleopatra* had written unto him, desiring his presence at *Pella*, the chief City of *Macedon*, and very kindly offering her self to be his Wife; which letters he kept not so close as had been requisite, and therefore brought himself into great suspition, that soon ended with his life. *Antiphilus*, chosen General by the *Athenians* in place of *Leosthenes*, hearing of his approach, forsook the siege of *Lamia*, and took the ready way to these great Conquerors of *Asia*, with purpose to give them an evil welcome home, before *Antipater* and they should joyn in one. He had (notwithstanding the departure of the *Ætolians*) the advantage of *Leonatus* in horse, by the odds of two thousand *Thessalians*; in other things he was equal with him; in cause he thought himself Superiour; in the fortune of that day he proved so: for he wan a great victory (chiefly by vertue of the *Thessalians*) which appeared the greater by the end of *Leonatus* himself; who fighting valiantly, was driven into a marish piece of ground, where he found his death, which he desperately had sought among the *Indians*, but it waited for him at home, not far from the place of his nativity. He was the first of *Alexanders* Captains which dyed in battel; but all, or most of the rest shall follow him the same way. After this day, the *Athenians* did never any thing suitable to their ancient glory.

The vanquished *Macedonians* were too weak to renew the fight, and too proud to flie. They betook themselvs to high grounds, unfit for service on horse-back, and so abode in the sight of the enemy that day; the day following, *Antipater* with his men came into their Camp, and took the charge of all. The *Athenians* perceiving their strength to be at the greatest, and fearing lest that of the enemy should increase, did earnestly seek to determine the matter quickly by another battel. But still *Antipater* kept himself on ground of advantage; which gave more than reasonable confidence to the *Greeks*, many of whom departed to their homes, accounting the enemy to be vanquished. This wretchlesnes (incorrigible in an Army of Voluntaries) was very inexcusable; seeing that the victories by Land were very much defaced by losses at Sea, where the *Athenians*, labouring to have made themselves once again Masters, were put to the worst.

But now the fatal captivity of *Greece* came on, of which she never could be delivered unto this day. *Craterus* with a strong Army having made great marches from *Cilicia*, passed over into *Europe*, and coming into *Thessaly*, joyned himself with *Antipater*. The forces of *Leonatus*, *Antipater*, and *Craterus* being joyned in one, contained forty thousand weightily armed, three thousand light-armed men, and five thousand horse; of which numbers the *Greeks* wanted a thousand and five hundred in horse; in foot, eighteen thousand. Carefully therefore did *Antiphilus* labour to avoid the necessity of a battel, until such time as the Towns confederate should return unto the Camp those bands which had straggled from it. But those companies were so slow in coming, and



and *Antipater* so urgent upon the *Greeks*, that compelled they were to put the matter in hazard without further attendance. Like enough it is, that with a little more help they had carried away the victory: for the *Thessalians* had the upper hand, and held it, until such time as they perceived their battels (over-laid with multitude) retire unto the higher ground, which caused them also to fall back. So the *Macedonians* became Lords of the field, having little else to boast of, considering that with the loss of an hundred and thirty men, they had only purchased the death of some five hundred enemies. Yet hereof was great use made: For the *Greeks*, as not subject unto the full command of one General; and being every one desirous to preserve his own estate and City: concluded to make a treaty of peace with *Antipater*; who being a subtle Artificer, and well understanding their aptnes to division, refused to hearken to any general composition, but willed every City to deal apart for it self. The intent of his device was so apparent, that it was rejected: the *Greeks* choosing rather to abide the coming of their assistants, whose unreasonable carelesnes betrayed the cause. *Antipater* and *Craterus* besieging and winning some Towns in *Thessaly*, which the Army of the Confederates wanted means and courage to relieve, wearied that Nation from attending any longer upon other mens unlikely hopes, with their own assured and present calamity.

## §. VI.

*Of the peace granted to* Athens *by* Antipater. *Of* Demosthenes *his death.*

THe *Thessalians* falling off, all the rest soon followed severally, and sued for peace; the gentle conditions given to the most forward, inviting such as were slack. Only the *Athenians* and *Ætolians* held out. Little favour could they hope for, having been Authors of this tumult, and their fear was not great; the seat of the war being far from them. But the celerity of *Antipater* confounded all their imaginations; who sate still at *Athens*, devising upon courses of prosecuting the War to come, which came to their doors before their consultation could find issue. He was ready to enter upon their Frontiers; they had no ability to resist, and were as heartless as friendless. All that remained was to send Embassadours, desiring peace upon some good terms: necessity enforcing them to have accepted even the very worst. *Phocion*, with *Demades* the Orator, and *Xenocrates* the Philosopher, were chief of this Embassage; *Phocion*, as the most honourable; *Demades*, as a strong perswader (both of them well respected by *Antipater*;) and *Xenocrates*, as one admired for wisdom, gravity of manners, and vertue; but all these ornaments consisting in speculation, and therefore of lesse regard, when their admiration was to cost them much in real effects.

*Antipater* calling to mind the pride of *Leosthenes*, required of the *Athenians*, that they should wholly submit themselves to his pleasure; which being (perforce) granted, he commanded them to defray the charges of the War past, to pay a fine, and entertain a Garrison. Further, he abrogated the popular estate, committing the government of the City to those of most wealth, depriving of the right of suffrage all such as wanted a convenient proportion of riches.

About nine thousand they were, all men of good substance, to whom the administration of the Common-wealth was given; a number great enough to retain the name and form of a Democratie. But the rascal multitude of beggarly persons, accustomed to get their livings out of the common troubles, being now debarred from bearing offices and giving their voyces, cryed out, that this was a meer Oligarchie, the violent usurpation of a few incroaching upon the publick right. These turbulent fellows (of whom King *Philip* had been wont to say, That war to them was peace, and peace war) *Antipater* planted in *Thrace*, and gave them lands to manure; leaving as few of them as he could to molest the quiet of *Athens*.

To the same end (yet withal for satisfying his own suspitions and hatred) he caused *Demosthenes* and *Hyperides*, famous Orators, with some others, to be slain. Had the death of these two, especially of *Demosthenes*, been forborn, the rest of his proceedings in this action might well have passed for very mild; whereas now, all such as either are delighted with the Orations of *Demosthenes*, or have surrendred their judgements to Authors justly admiring him, as the most eloquent of all that ever did speak and write, condemn him utterly, calling him a bloody Tyrant. Such grace and reputation do the Learned Arts find in all Civil Nations, that the evil done to a man, famous in one of them, is able to blemish any action, how good soever otherwise it be, or honourably carried.

*Demosthenes* had taken Sanctuary in the Temple of *Neptune*, in the Isle of *Calauria*; there

there did *Archias* (ſent with Souldiers by *Antipater* for the purpoſe) find him, and gently perſwaded him to leave the place; but not ſo prevailing, he threatned violence. Then *Demoſthenes* entreating a little reſpite, as it had been to write ſomewhat, ſecretly took poiſon, which he had kept for ſuch a neceſſity, and ſo died; rather chooſing to do the laſt execution upon himſelf, than to fall into the hands of ſuch as hated him. Only this act of his (commendable perhaps in a Heathen man) argued ſome valour in him; who was otherwiſe too much a coward in battel, howſoever valiant in perſwading to enterpriſes, wherein the way to very honourable ends was to be made through paſſages exceeding dangerous. He loved money well, and had great ſums given him by the *Perſian*, to encourage him, in finding work for the *Macedonians* at home. Neither did he ill (me thinks) in taking from the *Perſians* which loved not his Country, great reward, for ſpeaking ſuch things as tended to his Countries good; which he did not ceaſe to procure, when the *Perſians* were no longer able to give him recompence. Such as in tender contemplation of his death can endure no honourable, though true, mention of *Antipater*, may (if they can) believe *Lucian*, who tells us, That it was *Antipaters* purpoſe to have done him great honour. Sure it is, that he was a ſtedfaſt enemy to the *Macedonians*; therefore diſcretion required that he ſhould be cut off.

The matters of *Athens* being thus ordered, the chief command was left in the hands of *Phocion*, a vertuous man, and lover of his Country, yet applying himſelf to the neceſſity of the times; by which commendations he had both at other times done the City much good, and now procured this peace, which (though grievous to free-men, yet favourable to the vanquiſhed) he endeavoured carefully to preſerve.

## §. VII.

*How* Craterus *and* Antipater *were drawn from their* Ætolian *wars into* Aſia. *The grounds of the firſt civil war between the* Macedonian *Lords.*

SO *Antipater* with *Craterus* returned into *Macedonia*, where they ſtrengthened their friendſhip with a new alliance; *Craterus* taking *Phila*, the Daughter of *Antipater*, to Wife.

Shortly after they went againſt the *Ætolians*, whoſe poverty was not ſo eaſily daunted, as the luxurious wealth of the more powerful State of *Athens* had been. Their Country was rough and mountainous, having many places of great faſtneſs, into which they conveyed ſuch of their goods as they moſt eſteemed, and of their people, as were leaſt fit for War: with the reſt they fortified the ſtrongeſt of their Cities, and ſo abode the coming of the *Macedonians*, whom they manfully reſiſted. With great obſtinacy did the *Macedonians* contend againſt the difficulties of the places, which the *Ætolians* made good as long as their victuals held out. But when *Craterus* had ſhut up all paſſages, & utterly debarred them of relief, then were they put to a miſerable choice; either to deſcend from their ſtrong holds, and fight upon equal ground, with unequal numbers, or to endure the miſeries of hunger and cold, againſt which they could make no long reſiſtance; or to yield themſelves to the *Macedonians*, who, incenſed by the loſs of many good Souldiers, were not like to leave ſo ſtubborn enemies in places which might give confidence to rebellion. In caſes of extremity much fineneſs of wit apprehending all circumſtances of danger, commonly doth more hurt than a blunt conſideration of that only, which at the preſent is in hand. Theſe *Ætolians* did not as yet want meat; but their enemies daily moleſted them: wherefore as yet they thought upon nothing but fighting. Fortune was gracious to their courage. For ſuch news came out of *Aſia* into the *Macedonian* Camp, as made *Antipater* and *Craterus* think every hour a month, till they had rid their hands of theſe *Ætolians*, giving them whatſoever conditions they would ask: yet with purpoſe to call them to ſevere account; yea, to root them out of *Greece* by death, or by captivity, when once they ſhould have ſettled the affairs of *Aſia*; as they hoped and deſired. But of mens purpoſes God is diſpoſer: in whoſe high Counſel it was ordained, that this poor Nation ſhould continue a troubleſome bar to the proceedings of *Macedon* and *Greece*, and (when time had ripened the next Monarchy) an open gate to let the *Roman* Conquerors into thoſe and other Provinces. Likewiſe concerning the matters of *Aſia*, the reformation intended by *Antipater* and *Craterus*, was ſo far from taking effect, that it ſerved meerly as an introduction to all the civil Wars enſuing.

The grounds of the *Aſiatique* Expedition, which did ſet the world in an uproar, were theſe. *Antipater* and *Craterus* were of *Alexanders* Captains the mightieſt in reputation: The one, in regard of his ancient precedency, and the preſent rule which he bare in the parts of *Europe*. The other, as of all men



men the beſt beloved, and moſt reſpected, both of *Alexander* and of the whole Army. Next unto theſe had *Perdiccas* been; whom the advantage of his preſence at the Kings death did make equal, or ſuperiour, to either of theſe, if not to both together. The firſt intents of *Perdiccas* were, to have conſorted with theſe two, and to have been with them a third partner in the Government of all; to which purpoſe he entertained the diſcourſe of marriage with one of *Antipaters* Daughters. But feeling in ſhort ſpace the ſtrength of that gale of wind which bore him up, he began to take wing and ſoar quite another way. *Aridæus* was a very ſimple man, yet ſerved well enough to wear the title of that Majeſty, whereof *Perdiccas* being Adminiſtrator, and hoping to become proprietary, the practice was more ſevere than had been in the dayes of *Alexander*: the deſire to ſeem terrible, being very familiar with weak Princes, and their ambitious officers, who know no other means of preſerving themſelves from contempt, and of giving ſuch a fiery luſtre to their actions, as may dazle the eyes of the beholders. How cruelly the poor *Greeks* in the higher *Aſia* were all put to the ſword; and how tyrannouſly the King and Princes of *Cappadocia* were crucified, hath already been ſhewed. The *Piſidians* were the next who felt the wrath of theſe counterfeit *Alexanders*. One City of theirs was utterly razed; the children ſold for ſlaves, and all the reſt maſſacred. The *Iſaurians*, by this example grown deſperate, when after two or three dayes trial they found themſelves unable to continue the defence, lockt themſelves into their houſes, and ſet the Town on fire, into the flame whereof the young men did throw themſelves, after that they had a while repelled the *Macedonians* from the walls.

Theſe exploits being performed, the Army had no other work than to ſift the aſhes of the burnt City for gold and ſilver; but *Perdiccas* had buſineſs of greater importance troubling his brains. Nothing was more contrary to his ends, than to ſit ſtill without employment, letting his Souldiers grow idle about him, whilſt others grew great, and took deep root in their ſeveral Provinces. He purpoſed therefore to tranſport his forces into *Europe*, under pretence of bringing the King into *Macedonia*, the ſeat of his Anceſtors, and head of the Empire. The Kings preſence would make the Offices of his Vice-Roys (during the time) actually void; *Antipater* with *Craterus* being once in caſe of private men, and only *Perdiccas* holding authority, the match with *Cleopatra* might eaſily be made. So ſhould greatneſs meet with a good title; and what more could be wiſhed? Some impediment the power of *Ptolomy* might give, who held *Egypt* well fortified with men, but much better with love of the people; yet if the buſineſs proſpered in *Macedonia*, like enough it was that either *Ptolomy* would follow of himſelf, or be driven to come to reaſon. *Antigonus* likewiſe then Governing in *Phrygia*, a buſie-headed man, and ill affected to the ſide, was to be looked into and made away, for fear of further trouble. So thought *Perdiccas*, and was deceived in ſo thinking. *Antigonus* was as good a man of War, of as deep a judgement, as high a ſpirit, and as great undertaking, as any of *Alexanders* Captains. His imployments had been leſs than ſome of theirs, which made him alſo the leſs reſpected. But his thoughts were as proud as theirs: for he valued himſelf by his own worth, not by the opinions of other men; with careful attention had he watched *Perdiccas*, and ſounded the depth of his purpoſes, which it was now high time to diſcover. For *Perdiccas* having with a jealous eye pryed into the demeanour of *Antigonus*, and finding him no way fit for his turn, cauſed him to be charged with ſuch accuſations, as might ſuffice to take away his life, eſpecially by a Judge that ſought his death. This device *Antigonus* would not ſeem to perceive, but prepared himſelf in ſhew to make anſwer, indeed, to make eſcape; which eaſily he did, putting himſelf and his Son *Demetrius* aboord of ſome *Athenian* Gallies, that carried him to *Antipater*, laden with ſuch tidings as finiſhed the *Ætolian* War before mentioned.

As the coming of *Antigonus* made *Craterus* and *Antipater* manifeſtly perceive their own danger: ſo his flight gave *Perdiccas* to underſtand that his intentions were laid open, and muſt now be juſtified by the ſword. Therefore he prepared as faſt as he could, not only for defence, but (as having on his ſide the Kings name) to meet with them at home, who were nothing ſlack in providing to encounter him. *Ptolomy* being advertiſed of theſe proceedings, and conſidering how nearly they concerned him, ſided with *Antipater*. To his Government of *Egypt* he had annexed the Dominion of *Cyrene*, not without conſent of the chief Citizens; and now in the midſt of theſe garboyls he celebrated the funeral of *Alexander* with great ſolemnity, purchaſing thereby to himſelf much good will and many partakers, notwithſtanding the terrible report of the Kings Army coming againſt him.

§. VIII.

## §. VIII.

### Perdiccas *his voyage into* Egypt, *& his death.*

*Perdiccas*, uncertain which way to bend his main power, at length resolved to set upon *Ptolomy*; leaving *Eumenes* to keep to his use, against *Craterus* and *Antipater*, the parts of *Asia* bordering upon *Europe*.

It may seem strange, that he did not rather make head against those who were to come out of *Greece* with a great number, and of more able men than *Ptolomy* could bring. Perhaps he thought to make a quick end with *Ptolomy*; or believed that *Craterus* would not be ready for him soon enough. Sure it is, that he took a bad course, and made it worse with ill handling.

*Ptolomy* by his sweet behaviour allured many to his party, without help of any bad arts. *Perdiccas* contrariwise was full of insolency, which never failes to be rewarded with hatred; which is truly defined, An affection founded upon opinion of an unjust contempt. The whole story of his proceedings in *Egypt* is not worth relation: for he did nothing of importance; but (as a wilful man) tyred his followers, and wasted them in hard enterprises without success. His most forceable attempt was upon a little Town, called the *Camels Wall*: thither he marched by night, with more haste than good speed; for *Ptolomy* preventing him, did put himself into the place, where behaving himself not only as a good Commander, but as a stout Souldier, he gave the foil to *Perdiccas*, causing him to retire with loss, after a vehement, but vain, assault continued one whole day. The night following, *Perdiccas* made another journy, (which was his last) and came to the divisions of *Nilus*, over against *Memphis*. There with much difficulty he began to pass over his Army into an Island, where he meant to incamp. The current was strong, the water deep, and hardly foordable. Wherefore he placed his Elephants above the passage, to break the violence of the stream, and his horse-men beneath it, to take up such as were carried away by swiftness of water. A great part of his Army being arrived on the further bank, the channel began to wax deep; so that whereas the former companies had waded up to the chin, they who should have followed could find no footing. Whether this came by the rising of the water, or flitting away of the ground; (the earth being broken with the feet of so many Men, Horse, and Elephants) no remedy there was, but such as had passed must repass again, as well as they might: for they were too weak for the enemy, and could not be relieved by their fellows. With great confusion therefore they committed themselves to the River, wherein above two thousand of them perished, a thousand were devoured by Crocodiles, a miserable spectacle even to such as were out of danger; such as were strong and could swim, recovered the Camp; many were carried down the stream, and driven to the contrary bank, whereby they fell into the hands of their enemies.

This misfortune exasperated the Souldiers against their General, giving liberty to their tongues, which long time had concealed the evil thoughts of their hearts. While they were thus murmuring, news came from *Ptolomy*, which did set them in an up-roar. *Ptolomy* had not only shewed much compassion on those who fell into his hands alive, but performed all rights of funeral to the dead carkasses, which the River had cast upon his side: and finally, sent their bones and ashes to be interred by their Kinsmen or Friends. This did not only move the common Souldiers, but made the Captains fall to mutiny, thinking it unreasonable to make war upon so vertuous and honourable a person, to fulfill the pleasure of a Lordly ambitious man, using them like slaves. The sedition growing strong, wanted only a head, which it quickly found. *Python* was there, who inwardly hated *Perdiccas*, for the disgrace which he had suffered by his procurement, after the victory upon the rebellious *Greeks*. *Python* had lived in honourable place about *Alexander*; he was in the division of the Provinces made Governour of *Media*; he had followed *Perdiccas*, and being in all things (the Protectorship excepted) equal to him, had nevertheless been scornfully used by him, which now he requited. Drawing together a hundred of the Captains, and a good part of the Horse, which consisted of the Gentry, (the footmen having declared themselves before) he entred the Tent of *Perdiccas*, where without further circumstance they all ran upon him, and slew him. Such end had the proud mis-governing authority of *Perdiccas*. He might have lived as great as any, could he have suffered any as great as himself; yea, peradventure master of all, had he not been too masterly over those which were already his.

The next day *Ptolomy* came into the Camp, where he was joyfully received; he excused himself of things past, as not having been Author, or given cause of the War, and was easily believed: the favour of the Army being such toward him, that needs they



they would have made him Protector in the room of *Perdiccas*. But this he refused. It was an Office fit for one that would seek to increase his greatness with his trouble. *Ptolomy* was well enough already; wherefore, for his own quiet he forbare to accept it, and for their well-deserving of him, he procured that honourable charge to *Python*, and to *Aridæus* the Captain, who having had some companies of Souldiers, to furnish with their attendance the solemnities of *Alexanders* Funerals, did with them adhere to him against *Perdiccas*.

In the midst of these businesses came news of two great Victories obtained by *Eumenes*; which news, had they arrived two or three daies sooner, had been entertained with joyful acclamations; and would have given such reputation to *Perdiccas*, as had caused both his private maligners to continue his open flatterers, and his open enemies to have accepted any tolerable composition. But these good tidings coming in ill time, when death had stopped the ears which would have given them welcome, found bad acceptance, as shall be shewed hereafter.

## §. IX.

### *Victories of* Eumenes *in the lower* Asia.

BEfore we proceed in the relation of things happening about the person of the King, it is meet that we speak of those businesses in the lower *Asia*, which were handled by *Eumenes* with notable dexterity, whilst *Perdiccas* was occupied in the *Egyptian* Wars. *Alcetas* the Brother of *Perdiccas*, and *Neoptolemus*, had received command from *Perdiccas* to be assistant to *Eumenes*, and to follow his directions. But *Alcetas* made flat answer that he would not; alledging the backwardness of his men to bear Arms against so great a person as *Antipater*, and a man so much honoured as *Craterus*. *Neoptolemus* was content to make fair shew, but inwardly he repined at the precedency given to *Eumenes*, as thinking himself the better man. *Eumenes* discovering, through the counterfeited looks of *Neoptolemus*, the mischief lurking in his heart, wisely dissembled with him, in hope to win him by gentle behaviour, and sweet language, that commonly are lost, when bestowed upon arrogant creatures. Yet the better to fortifie himself, that he might stand upon his own strength, he raised out of the Countries under his jurisdiction, about six thousand horse, giving many privileges to such as were serviceable, and training them well up. Not without great need. For when upon advertisement of the great preparations made by *Craterus* and *Antipater* (who had newly passed the *Hellespont*) for the invasion of his Provinces, he willed *Neoptolemus* to come to him with all his power; *Neoptolemus* did (indeed) advance, but in hostile manner, though unprovoked, presented him Battel. *Neoptolemus* had secretly covenanted with *Antipater* to lay open the way for him to the Conquest of *Asia*, which now intending to perform, he was shamefully disappointed. For, though his foot-men, being all *Macedonians*, had much the better, and prevailed far upon *Eumenes* his Battels; yet were his horse driven out of the field, and himself compelled, with a few of them, to run away, leaving naked the backs of his *Macedonian* foot-men to be charged by *Eumenes*, who forced them in such wise, that casting down their Pikes, they cryed for mercy, and gladly took their oath to do him faithful service. *Antipater* and *Craterus* endeavoured with many goodly promises to draw *Eumenes* into their society, who contrariwise offered himself as a mean of reconciliation, between *Perdiccas* and *Craterus*, whom he dearly loved; professing withall his hatred to *Antipater*, and constant faith to the cause which he had undertaken to maintain.

Whilst these negotiations were on foot, *Neoptolemus* came with his broken crew to *Antipater*, and his Associates, vilifying *Eumenes*, and calling him a Scribe (at which foolish railing they laught) but extolling the virtue of *Craterus* (as well he might) with high commendations; assuring them, that if *Craterus* did but once appear, or that his voice were but heard by any *Macedonian* in *Eumenes* his Camp, the Victory was won; for they would all forthwith revolt unto him. Earnestly therefore he desired them to give him aid against *Eumenes*, and especially requested that *Craterus* might have the leading of the Army to be sent. Their own affections did easily lead them to condescend to his motion: a good hope there was, that the reputation of *Craterus* might prevail as much as the force which he drew along. For he had in the midst of *Alexander's* vanities, when others (imitating their King) betook themselves to the *Persian* fashions of garments and customs, retained the ancient *Macedonian* form of behaviour, and apparrel; whereby he became very gracious with the common Souldiers, who beheld these new tricks of *Asia* with discontented eyes, as reproachful and derogatory to the manners of their native Country. So *Antipater*

took the way toward *Cilicia*, to hold *Perdiccas* at bay, and to joyn with *Ptolomy*. *Craterus* uſed great celerity, to have taken *Eumenes* revelling (as he hoped) according to the common faſhion of Captains, after a great Victory. But he had a wary and well-adviſed enemy to encounter, who kept good eſpial upon him, and with much wiſdom fore-ſaw all that was to be feared, and the means of prevention, which his courage did not fail to execute. *Eumenes* was not ignorant that *Craterus* was able to defeat him without Battel, yea without ſtroke; him therefore he feared more than the Army following him: (yet the Army following him was ſuch, as much exceeded his own footmen, but was inferiour in horſe-men) and thought it more uneaſie to keep the *Macedonians* from revolting to him, than from knowing him. Hereupon he took in hand a ſtrange piece of work, which deſperation of all courſes elſe taught him, and wiſe managing proſperouſly accompliſhed. He gave out reports, that *Neoptolemus* was returned with ſuch company as he could gather together, and had gotten *Pigres* (a Captain of no great eſtimation, who lay not far off) to joyn with him. Having animated his men againſt *Neoptolemus*, whom he knew to be deſpiſed and hated among them, (as having been vanquiſhed by ſome of them, and forſaken others in plain field, whilſt they valiantly fought in his quarrel) he took great care to keep them from receiving any intelligence of the enemies matters. Peremptoilry he commanded that no meſſenger nor trumpeter ſhould be admitted; and not herewith ſatisfied, he placed againſt *Craterus* no one *Macedonian*, nor any other that much would have regarded him, had he been known: but *Thracians*, *Cappadocians*, and *Perſians*, under the leading of ſuch, as thought more highly of none, than of *Perdiccas* and himſelf. To theſe alſo he gave in charge, that without ſpeaking or hearkning to any word, they ſhould run upon the enemy; and gave him no leiſure to ſay, or do any thing but fight. The directions which he gave to others, he did not fail to execute in his own perſon: but placing himſelf in the right wing of his Battel, oppoſite to *Neoptolemus*, who (as he underſtood) conducted the left wing on the contrary ſide, he held the *Macedonians* arranged in good order, and ready to charge the enemy as ſoon as the diſtance would give leave. A riſing piece of ground lay between them, which having aſcended, the Armies diſcovered each other: but that of *Eumenes* every way prepared for the fight, the other wearied with long journies, which over-haſtily they had made, ſeeking the deceitful iſſue of frivolous hopes. Then was it high time for *Craterus* (having failed in ſurpriſing them as enemies) to diſcover himſelf to his old friends, and fellow-ſouldiers, of whom he could ſee none. *Phœnix* a *Tenidian*, and *Artabazus* a *Perſian*, had the leading of that ſide, who, mindful of their inſtructions, began to give battel upon him, with ſuch countenance as told him his error; which to redeem, he bade his men fight, and redeem the day, and take the ſpoil to themſelves; but the Bear, whoſe ſkin he ſells, is not yet caught. The ground whereon the Battel was fought, gave moſt advantage to the horſe, who encountred very roughly on all parts: eſpecially about *Eumenes* and *Neoptolemus*; who, as ſoon as they had diſcovered one another, could not contain themſelves, but with great rage met body to body, and letting looſe their bridles, grappled ſo violently together, that their horſes ran from under them, leaving both of them tumbling on the ground. *Neoptolemus* roſe firſt up, but *Eumenes* had his ſword firſt drawn, wherewith he houghed the other, cauſing him to fall down and fight upon one knee. In this conflict they received many wounds, but *Neoptolemus* giving ſlight ones, took ſuch as were deadly, by which he died in the place, and was there (being half-dead, half-alive) ſtripped by his mortal enemy, whoſe revilings he requited, lying even at the laſt gaſp, with one wound in the groin, dangerous had it not wanted force. The death of *Neoptolemus* cauſed his followers to run away upon the ſpurre, and ſeek ſhelter behind the Battels of their foot. They were nothing hotly purſued. For *Eumenes* pained himſelf to carry ſuccour to his left wing, which he ſuſpected much to be diſtreſſed; but found accompanied with the ſame fortune, that had aſſiſted him when he fought in perſon. *Craterus* had gallantly born himſelf a while, and ſuſtained the impreſſion of *Artabazus* and *Phœnix* with more courage than force; holding it nothing agreeable with his honour to retire and protract the fight, when he was charged by men of little eſtimation or note. Otherwiſe it is not unlikely that he might have either carried the day, or preſerved himſelf to a better adventure by giving ground, as the reſt (when he and *Neoptolemus* were ſlain) did. But whilſt he ſought to preſerve his reputation, he loſt his life by the fall of his horſe, or his falling from his horſe, through force of a wound received; upon which accident he was trampled under foot by many that knew him not, and ſo periſhed unknown, till it



it was too late to know it. *Eumenes* coming to the place where he lay, made great lamentation, as having alwaies loved and honoured *Craterus*, of whoſe death he was now become the inſtrument. The vanquiſhed Army entertained a treaty of peace with *Eumenes*, making ſhew of willingneſs to become his followers; but their intent was only to refreſh themſelves, which (by his permiſſion) having done, they ſtole away by night, and fled toward *Antipater*.

This Battel fought within ten daies of the former, wan to *Eumenes* more reputation than good will: for his own Souldiers took the death of *Craterus* heavily; and the Armies lying further off were inraged with the news. But other matters there were which incenſed men againſt him, beſides the death of *Craterus*, whereof it manifeſtly appeared, that he was as ſorry as any that pretended greater heavineſs. His Army wanted pay. This was a great fault; which he wiſely amended, by giving to them the ſpoil of ſuch Towns as were ill-affected to him. So hee redeemed the love of his own men, who of their meer motion appointed unto him a Guard for defence of his perſon. Others were not ſo eaſie to be reconciled. They who had been Traitors to *Perdiccas*, hated him for his faithfulneſs, as greatly, as they thought he would hate them for their falſhood; neither found they any fairer way of excuſing their late revolt, than by accuſing and condemning the ſide which they had forſaken. Wherefore they proclaimed *Eumenes* a Traitor, and condemned him to dye: but it was an eaſier matter to give that ſentence, than to put it in execution.

## §. X.

*Quarrels between* Eurydice *the Queen, and* Python *the Protector.* Python *reſigns his office, into which* Antipater *is choſen.*

PYthon and *Aridæus* being choſen Protectors of King *Aridæus*, and the children of *Alexander*; took the way to *Aſia* the leſs, conducting the Army thorow *Syria*. Of theſe two, *Python* was the greater in reputation, yet far too weak to ſuſtain ſo important a Charge. For *Eurydice*, wife to King *Aridæus*, was come to her husband, a Lady of a maſculine ſpirit, well underſtanding what ſhe was or ſhould be, and thinking her ſelf able to ſupport the weight which fortune laid upon her fooliſh husband, being due to her own title. Her Mother *Cyna*, Siſter to *Alexander*, by her Father King *Philip*, was married (as hath been ſhewed) to *Amyntas*, who was the right Heir to the Kingdom of *Macedon*, being the only Son of King *Perdiccas*, *Philips* elder Brother.

This *Cyna* was a warlike woman; ſhe had led Armies, and (as a true Siſter of *Alexander*) fighting hand to hand with *Cæria* Queen of the *Phrygians*, a *Virago*, like unto her ſelf, had ſlain her. She brought up this *Eurydice* in the ſame unwomanly Art of War, who now among the Souldiers began to put in practice the rudiments of her education, to the ſmall contentment of *Python*, that could not brook her too curious intermedling in his charge. Whether it were ſo, that *Python* had ſome purpoſe to advance the Son of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, to the Kingdom, (as once he had ſought to do;) or whether the Queen did ſuſpect him of ſome ſuch intent; or whether only deſire of rule cauſed her to quarrel with him; quarrel ſhe did, which diſturbed the proceeding againſt *Eumenes*. The Army having ſhaken off ſuch a rank-rider as *Perdiccas*, would not afterward be reined with a twined thread. *Python* bearing himſelf upon his office, took upon him to give directions in the Kings name, which the Queen did oftentimes controll uſing the ſame name with more authority, and better liking of the Souldiers. *Python* ſeeing this, would needs reſign his office, whether upon wearineſs of the contentions daily growing, or on purpoſe to bring the Queen into envy, it is uncertain. Perhaps he thought, that now being the far worthieſt man in the Camp, he ſhould be intreated to retain the place, and have his authority confirmed, or (as might be) increaſed, were it but for want of a fit Succeſſor. *Eurydice* was nothing ſorry at this courſe; for now ſhe thought to manage the affairs of the Empire at her own will, being freed from the troubleſome aſſiſtance of a Protector. But the Souldiers diſappointed both her and *Python* of their contrary expectations; chuſing *Antipater*, the only powerful man of *Alexanders* Captains, then living, into the room of *Python*. Hereat the Queen fretted exceedingly, and began to deal earneſtly with the *Macedonians*, that they ſhould acknowledge no Lord ſave only the King their Soveraign. Yet ſhe failed of her purpoſe, being hindred (as may ſeem) by three things: the apparent weakneſs of her husband; the growth of *Alexanders* children, who (though born of outlandiſh women) were bred in the *Macedonian* Camp; and the mightineſs of *Antipater*, who commanding a great Army neat at hand, arrived in few daies at the Camp, and enforced *Eurydice* to hold her ſelf content. *Antipater* was of ſuch power, that he needed not to work by any cloſe devices, as *Per-*

*diccas* had done: he had no concurrents, all the Governours of Provinces that remained alive, acknowledged him their better; yea many of them he displaced out of hand, putting others in their rooms. This done, he took the King, Queen, and Princes along with him into *Macedonia*, leaving *Antigonus* General of the Royal Army: to whom for his good services done, and to be done against *Eumenes*, he gave the rule of *Susiana*, besides his former Provinces, and committed into his hands the Government of *Asia* during that War.

## §. XI.

Antigonus *Lieutenant of* Asia, *wins a Battel of* Eumenes, *and besiegeth him in* Nora: *He vanquisheth other followers of* Perdiccas.

HEre begins the greatness of *Antigonus*, whose power in few years over-growing the rest, wanted little of spreading it self over the whole Monarchy. He was to make War upon *Eumenes*, *Alcetus*, the Brother, and *Attalus* the Brother-in-law to *Perdiccas*: work enough to keep his Army imployed in the publick service, till such time as he might find occasion to make use of it in his own business. The first of these which he undertook, was *Eumenes*, with whom *Alcetus* and *Attalus* refused to joyn, having unseasonably contended with him in time of common danger about the chief place. *Eumenes* had an Army strong in number, courage, and all needful provisions; but obedient only at discretion. Therefore *Antigonus* tryed all waies of corrupting his Souldiers; tempting first the whole Army with letters: which practice failing by the cunning of *Eumenes* (who made shew as if he himself had scattered abroad those letters to try the faith of his men) he dealt apart with such Captains as he thought most easie to be won. Of these Captains one rebelled, breaking out too hastily before any help was near him, yet looking so carelesly to himself, that he and his were surprised, when he thought his enemies far off. Another follower of *Eumenes* (or rather of good fortune, which he thought now to be in company with *Antigonus*) kept his treachery secret, reserving it for the time of execution. Upon confidence of the treason which this false man, *Apollonides*, had undertaken, *Antigonus* presented battel to *Eumenes*; in the heat whereof *Apollonides*, General of the horse to *Eumenes*, fled over to the contrary side, with such as he could get to follow him: but was closely followed by some, whose company he desired not. *Eumenes* perceiving the irrecoverable mischief which this traiterous practice had brought upon him, pursued the villain, and cut him off before he could thrust himself into the troops of *Antigonus*, and boast of his treachery. This was some comfort to *Eumenes* in the loss of that Battel, which disabled him utterly to keep the field, and left it very hard for him to make a safe retrait. Yet one thing he did which much amazed his enemies, and (though a matter of small importance) caused *Antigonus* himself to admire his high resolution. It was held no small part of the Victory, to get possession of the dead bodies. *Eumenes*, whilst *Antigonus*, held him in chase, turned out of the way, and fetching a compass, returned to the place where the Battel had been fought; there he burned (according to the manner of the time) the bodies of his own men, and interred the bones and ashes of the Captains and common Souldiers apart, raising up heaps of earth as mountains over them, and so went his way. As this bold adventure bred in the *Macedonians* (returned to their Camp) great admiration of his brave spirit: so the news which *Menander* (who was set to look unto their carriages) brought and published among them, enticed them to love him as their honourable friend. He had found *Menander* in an open Plain, careless, as after an assured Victory, and loaden with the spoils of many Nations, the rewards of their long service; all which he might have taken: but fearing lest such a purchase should prove a heavy burden to him, whose chief hope consisted in swift expedition, he gave secret warning to *Menander* to fly to the mountains, whilst he detained his men (whom authority could not have restrained) by this sleight, setting them to bait their horses. The *Macedonians* extolled him for this courtesie, as a noble Gentleman, that had forborn when it lay in his power to strip them out of all their wealth, and make their children slaves, and to ravish their wives: but *Antigonus* told them, that he had not forborn to do this out of any good will to them; but out of meer subtilty had avoided those precious fetters, which would have hindred his speedy flight. He told them true. For *Eumenes* did not only think all carriages to be over-burdensome, but the number of his men to be more troublesome than available in his intended course. Wherefore he sent them from him as fast as he could, wishing them to shift for themselves; and retaining only five hundred horse, and two hundred foot. When he had wearied *Antigonus* a while in following him up and down, he came to *Nora*: where again keeping no more about him than necessity required to make good the place, he lovingly dismissed all the rest. *Nora* was a little fortress in the borders of *Lycaonia* and *Cappadocia*, so strongly situated, that it seemed impregnable, and so well victualled and stored with all necessaries, that it might hold out for many years. Thither did *Antigonus* follow him, with more desire to make him his friend, than to vanquish him in War. To this purpose he entertained parley with him, but in vain. For, whereas *Antigonus* offered him pardon and his love; *Eumenes* required restitution of his Provinces, which could not be granted without *Antipaters* consent. Then was *Nora* closed up; where *Antigonus* leaving sufficient strength for continuance of the siege, took his journey into *Pisidia* against *Alcetus* and *Attalus*, with whom he made short work. He came upon them unexpected, and seised on passages, which wanted not men, but such a Captain as *Eumenes*, to have defended them. *Alcetus* and *Attalus*, as they had been too secure before his coming, so were they too adventrous, in fighting at the first sight, upon all disadvantages: and their folly was attended with suitable event. *Attalus* with many principal Captains was taken; *Alcetus* fled to the City of *Termessus*, where the love of the younger sort toward him was so vehement, that stopping their ears against all perswasions of the ancient men, they needs would hazard their lives, and their Country in his defence. Yet this availed him nothing: for the Governours of the Town having secretly compounded with *Antigonus*, caused the young men to sally out; and using the time of advantage, they with their servants did set upon *Alcetus*, who unable to resist, slew himself. His dead body was conveyed to *Antigonus*, and by him barbarously torn, was cast forth without burial. When *Antigonus* was gone, the young men interred the carkass with solemn funerals, having once been minded to set on fire their own Town in revenge of his death. Such favour had he purchased with courteous liberality. But, to make an able General, one virtue, how great soever, is insufficient.



## §. XII.

Ptolomy *wins* Syria *and* Phœnicia. *The death of* Antipater.

WHilst these things were in doing, the rest of the Princes lay idle, rather seeking to enjoy their Governments for the present, than to confirm or enlarge them. Only *Ptolomy* looking abroad, wan all *Syria* and *Phœnicia*: an action of great importance, but not remarkable for any circumstance in the managing. He sent a Lieutenant with an Army, who quickly took *Laomedon* prisoner, that ruled there by appointment of *Antipater*, and formerly of *Perdiccas*; but (as may seem) without any great strength of Souldiers, far from Assistants, and vainly relying upon the authority which had given him that Province, and was now occupied with greater cares, than with seeking to maintain him in his Office.

*Antipater* was old and sickly, desirous of rest, and therefore contented to let *Antigonus* pursue the dispatch of those businesses in *Asia*. He had with him *Polysperchon*, one of the most ancient of *Alexanders* Captains, that had lately suppressed a dangerous insurrection of the *Ætolians*, which Nation had stirred in the quarrel of *Perdiccas*, prevailing far at the first, but soon losing all that they had gained, whilst *Antipater* was abroad in his *Cilician* Expedition. In this *Polysperchon*, *Antipater* did repose great confidence; so far forth, that (suspecting the youth of his own Son *Cassander* of insufficiency in so great a charge) he bequeathed unto him on his death-bed the Government of *Macedon* and *Greece*, together with his office of Protectorship. So *Antipater* died, being fourscore years old, having alwaies travelled in the great affairs of mighty Princes, with such reputation, that *Alexander* in all his greatness was jealous of him, and the successors of *Alexander* did either quietly give place unto him; or were unfortunate in making oppositions. In his private qualities, he was a subtle man, temperate, frugal, and of a Philosophical behaviour, not unlearned, as having been Scholar to *Aristotle*, and written some Histories. He had been much molested by *Olympias*, *Alexanders* Mother; whom after the death of her Son, he compelled to abstain from coming into *Macedonia*, or entermedling in matters of State: yea, at his own death he gave especial direction, that no woman should be permitted to deal in the administration of the Empire. But this precept was soon forgotten; and yet, ere long, by sorrowful experience approved to have been found and good.

§. XIII.

## §. XIII.

*Of* Polysperchon, *who succeeded unto* Antipater *in the Protectorship. The insurrection of* Cassander *against him.*

*Polysperchon* was very skilfull in the Art of War, having long time been Apprentice in that occupation; other qualities, requisite in so high an Office as he undertook, either Nature had not given to him, or Time had robbed him of them. He managed his business more formally than wisely, as a man of a second wit, fitter to assist, than command in chief. At the first entrance upon the stage, he called to counsel all his friends, wherein for weighty considerations (as they who weighed not the contrary reasons held them) the Queen *Olympias* was revoked out of *Epirus* into *Macedon*, that the presence of *Alexanders* mother might countenance and strengthen their proceedings. For, the condition of the times requiring, that the Governours of Provinces abroad should keep greater Armies, than were needful or easie to be retained about the person of the King in *Macedonia*; it seemed expedient, that the face of the Court should be filled with all Majesty, that might give authority to the Injunctions from thence proceeding, and by an awful regard contain within the limited bounds of duty such as could not by force have been kept in order, being strong, and lying too far off.

Such care was taken for prevention of imaginary dangers and out of sight, whileſt present mischiefs lay unregarded in their bosomes. *Cassander*, the Son of *Antipater*, was not able to discover that great sufficiency in *Polysperchon*, for which his father had reposed in him so much confidence: neither could he discern such odds in the quality of himself and *Polysperchon*, as was in their fortune. He was left Captain of one thousand; which Office by practice of those times was of more importance, than the title now seems to imply. He should thereby have been as Camp-master, or Lieutenant general to the other: a place no way satisfying his ambition, that thought himself the better man. Therefore he began to examine his own power, and compare it with the forces likely to oppose him. All that had relyed on his Father, were his own assured, especially such as commanded the Garrisons bestowed in the principal Cities of *Greece*. The like hope was of the Magistrates, and others of principal authority, in those Common-weals, whose forms had been corrected by *Antipater*, that they would follow the side, and draw in many partakers: it concerned these men in their own particular to adhere unto the Captains, by whom their faction was up-held; and by whom the rascal multitude, covetous of re-gaining the tyrannous power which they had formerly exercised over the principal Citizens, were kept in order, obeying their betters perforce. Besides all these helps, *Cassander* had the secret love of Queen *Eurydice*, who had in private rendred him such curtesie, as was due only to her husband. But neither the Queens favour, nor all his other possibilities, gave him confidence to break out into open rebellion; because he saw *Polysperchon* much reverenced among the *Macedonians*, and strong enough to suppress him, before he could have made head. Therefore he made shew of following his pleasures in the Country, and calling many of his friends about him, under pretence of hunting, advised with them upon the safest course, and most free from all suspicion. The necessity was apparent of raising an Army, before the business was set on foot; and to do this, opportunity presented him with fair means. *Ptolomy* had by fine force, without any commission, annexed *Syria* to his Government of *Egypt* and *Cyrene*: this was too much either for the King to trust him with, or for him to part with. *Antigonus* upon the first news of *Antipaters* death, began to lay hold upon all that he could get, in such sort, that he manifestly discovered his intent of making himself Lord of all *Asia*. These two therefore stood in need of a civil War; which *Cassander* well noted, and presumed withall, That the friendship which had passed between his Father and them, would avail him somewhat. Whereupon he secretly dispatched messengers to them both; and within a little while conveyed himself on a sudden over the *Hellespont*, that he might in person advance the business with greater speed. Much perswasion is needless in winning a man to what he desireth. *Antigonus* coveting nothing more, than to find *Polysperchon* work, by raising some commotion in *Greece*. Yet (as formalities must not be neglected) *Cassander* did very earnestly press him, by the memory of his Father, and all requisite conjurations, to assist him in this enterprise; telling him, that *Ptolomy* was ready to declare for them, and urging him to a speedy dispatch. *Antigonus* on the other side repayed him with the same coin, saying, That for his own sake, and his dead Fathers, whom he had very dearly loved, he would not fail to give him all manner



manner of succour. Having thus feasted one another with words, they were nothing slack in preparing the common means, leading to their several ends.

## §. XIV.

*The unworthy courses held by* Polysperchon, *for the keeping down of* Cassander.

GReat necessity there was of timely provision. For, *Polysperchon* needed no other instructions to inform him of *Cassanders* drift, than the news of his departure. He was not ignorant of the ready disposition, which might be found in *Antigonus* and *Ptolomy*, to the strengthening of rebellion; and well he knew that one principal hope of *Cassander* was reposed in the confidence of such as ruled in the *Grecian* Estate. Therefore (loving to work circumspectly) he called another Council, wherein it was concluded, That the popular form of Government should be erected in all the Cities of *Greece*; the Garrisons withdrawn; and that all Magistrates and principal Men, into whose hands *Antipater* had committed the supreme authority, should forthwith be either slain or banished. This was a sure way to diminish the number of *Cassanders* friends, and to raise up many enemies to him in all quarters. Yet hereby was disclosed both an unthankful nature in *Polysperchon*, and a factious malice in his adherents. For, how could he be excused of extreme ingratitude, that for hatred of the son went about to dishonour the Fathers actions, whose only bounty had inabled him to do it? Or what could be said in their defence, who sought to destroy many worthy men, friends to the State, by whom the *Greeks* were held restrained from stirring against the *Macedonians?* and in opposition to their private enemy, gave the rule of things to base Companions, and such as naturally maligned the Empire? But as in mans body, through sinews newly issuing from one branch, a finger is more vexed by inflammation of his next neighbour, than by any distemper in the contrary hand: so in bodies politick, the humours of men, subdivided in faction, are more inraged by the disagreeable qualities of such as curb them in their neareſt purposes, than they are exasperated by the general opposition of such as are divided from them in the main trunk. Hereby it comes to pass, that contrary religions are invited to help against neighbour Princes; bordering enemies drawn in, to a part in civil Wars, and ancient hatred called to counsel against injurious friends. Of this fault nature is not guilty; she hath taught the arm to offer it self unto manifest loss in defence of the head: They are depraved affections, which render men sensible of their own particular, and forgetful of the more general good, for which they were created.

The decree, whereby the *Greeks* were presented with a vain shew of liberty, ran under the Kings name; but so, as one might easily discern, that *Polysperchon* had guided his pen. For the main point was, That they should follow such directions, as *Polysperchon* gave, and treat with him about all difficulties. In the rest it contained such a deal of kindness, as proceeding on a sudden from those who had kept them in hard subjection, might well appear to have some other root than the pretended good will; and was of it self too base and unfit for a King to use toward his conquered Subjects, and often-subdued Rebels.

## §. XV.

*Of the great Commotions raised in* Athens *by* Polysperchons *decree. The death of* Phocion.

NEvertheless the *Athenians* with immoderate joy entertained this happy-seeming Proclamation, and sought how to put it in execution without further delay. But *Nicanor*, Captain of the Garrison, which kept one of their Havens, called *Munychia*, in the lower part of the Town, would needs take longer time of deliberation, than was pleasing to their hasty desires.

*Nicanor*, as a trusty follower of *Cassander*, was by him shifted into the place, and *Menillus* (that was Captain there before) discharged, when *Antipater* was newly dead. His coming to *Athens* was no way grateful to the Citizens, who soon after hearing the news of *Antipater's* death, cried out upon *Phocion*, saying, That he had sufficient intelligence of that accident, and might, by advertising them in due time, have put into their hands a fair opportunity of thrusting out the *Macedonians*. But these exclamations argued no more than a desire to shake off the *Macedonian* yoke. Far more grievously would they have been offended, had they known the instructions which *Cassander* had given to *Nicanor*, and his resolution to follow them. It was concluded, That he should not only retain *Munychia*, any injunction to the contrary notwithstanding; but that he should find means to thrust some companies

companies into *Piræus*, and fortifie that also, which was the principal Haven, against the high Town. How to accomplish this, he rather wanted some reasonable pretence, than good ability. But the *Athenians* were not long in giving him sufficient cause to do that, which he would have done without any cause given. They desired him to come unto their Council, assembled in the *Piræus*, there to consider of the Kings Proclamation: whither upon *Phocions* word and safe conduct he came, and earnestly pressed them to hold with *Cassander* in the War which was ready to break forth. Contrariwise, they urged him first of all, to make them masters of their own, which how to use, they might consult afterwards. Each of them refusing to condescend unto the others demand; the *Athenians* (who did always measure justice by profit, yet seldome thrived by that course) practised with *Dercillus*, a Captain following *Polysperchon*, and then lying near at hand, that he should enter into the Town, and take *Nicanor* prisoner. But *Phocion*, who then governed in *Athens*, a man very unlike to the rest of the Citizens, being nothing pleased with such a trick of politick dishonesty, did quietly suffer him to depart and save himself.

*Nicanor* hereupon began to devise upon taking *Piræus*; not as following now the project of *Cassander*, but prosecuting his own just revenge. He levied as many Souldiers as he could, and drew them closely into *Munychia*; which done, he issued into *Piræus*, took it, and intrenched himself therein, to the exceeding discomfort of the *Athenians*, who lately impatient of his keeping the one Haven, saw him now master of both. *Alexander*, the son of *Polysperchon*, came thither shortly after with an Army. Then were the Citizens in great hope of recovering all, and addressed themselves unto him; who made fair shews, intending meer mischief, which they perceived not, being blinded with the vain Epistles of his Father, and of *Olympias* the old Queen. *Olympias*, taking upon her to command, before she durst well adventure to return into *Macedon*, had peremptorily charged *Nicanor* to restore to the *Athenians* the places which he held: but he would first consider more of the matter. *Polysperchon* had further ordained, that the Isle of *Samos* should be rendred unto them: a goodly offer, had it accorded with his power and meaning. He was (indeed) so far from purposing to let them have *Samos*, that as yet he did not throughly intend to let them have themselves. The commodity of their Havens was such, as he would rather get into his own hands, than leave in theirs; yet rather wished in theirs, than in *Cassanders*. His Son *Alexander*, not ignorant of this, made fair shew to the *Athenians*, and spent much labour in communing with *Nicanor*, but suffered not them, for whom he seemed to labour, to intermeddle with the business. Hereupon the Citizens grew jealous, and the displeasure they conceived against him, they poured out upon *Phocion*, depriving him of his office. This was done with much tumult: banished men and strangers thrusting themselves into the assembly of the Citizens, who distracted with sundry passions, growing out of their present misfortunes, thought every one that best could inveigh against things past, a most likely man to find some remedy for the evil threatning them. In this hurly-burly was *Alexander* devising how he might come to some good point of composition with *Nicanor*, and held much privy conference with him; which he could not so secretly carry, but that his negotiation was discovered, whereby the uproare in the Town was so far increased, that *Phocion* with many of his friends were accused, and driven to seek safeguard of their lives by flight. So they came to *Alexander*, who entertained them gently, and gave them his letters of commendation to his Father, desiring him to take them into his protection.

*Polysperchon* was in the Country of *Phocis*, ready to enter with an Army into *Attica*. Thither came *Phocion* with his companions, hoping well that the letters which they brought, and their own deserts, (having alwayes been friends to the *Macedonians*, as far as the good of their Country gave leave) should be enough to get patronage to their innocency. Besides all this, *Dinarchus* a *Corinthian*, *Polysperchons* familiar friend, went along with them (in an evil hour) who promised to himself and them great favour, by means of his acquaintance. But *Polysperchon* was an unstable man, very earnest in what he took in hand, yet, either for want of judgement in following them, or of honesty in holding the best of them, easily changing his intended courses, and doing things by the halves, which made him commonly fail of good success. For fear of *Cassander* he had offered wonderful kindness to the *Athenians*; this had caused them to love him: out of their love he gathered hope of deceiving them, which made him to change his mind, and seek how to get into his own hands those keys, with which *Cassander* held them fast lockt up: finding himself disappointed of this purpose, and suspected as a false dishonourable man, he stood wavering between



tween the contrary allurements of profit and reputation. To keep the *Athenians* perforce at his devotion, would indeed have done well: but the effecting of this began to grow desperate; and many Towns of importance in *Greece*, began to cast their eyes upon his proceeding in that action. Wherefore he thought it the wisest way to redeem their good opinion, by giving all contentment unto the popular faction, which was then grown to be Master of that City. And in good time for this purpose were the *Athenian* Embassadours come, treading (as one may say) upon *Phocions* heels, whom they were sent to accuse. These had solemn audience given to them in the Kings presence, who was attended by many great Lords, and for ostentations sake was glorified with all exteriour shews of Majesty; yet all too little to change *Aridæus* into *Alexander*: for he did nothing there, but either laugh or chafe, as he saw others do. For beginning of the business, *Polysperchon* commanded that *Dinarchus* should be tortured and slain. This was enough to testifie his hearty affection to the Commonalty of *Athens*; in that he spared not his old acquaintance for their sake; whose Embassadours he then bade to speak. When their errand was done, and answer to it made by the accused, who had no indifferent hearing; *Phocion* and the rest were pronounced guilty of treason; but to give sentence, and do the execution upon them, was (for honours sake) referred unto the City of *Athens*, because they were Burgesses. Then were they sent away to *Athens*, where the rascal multitude, not suffering them to speak for themselves, condemned them to dye. So they perished being innocent. But the death of *Phocion* being very conspicuous, made the fortune of the rest to be of the less regard. Five and forty times had he been chosen Governour of the City, never suing for the place, but sent for when he was absent, so well was his integrity known, and so highly valued, even of such as were no pretenders to the same virtue. He was a good Commander in War, wherein, though his actions were not very great, yet were they of good importance, and never unfortunate. Never did the City repent of having followed his counsel; nor any private man of having trusted his word. *Philip* of *Macedon* highly esteemed him; so, and much more did *Alexander*, who (besides other signs of his love) sent him two hundred talents of silver, and offered to bestow upon him of four Cities in *Asia*, any one which he would chuse. But *Phocion* refused these and other gifts, howsoever importunately thrust upon him; resting well contented with his honest poverty: wherein he lived about fourscore years, and then was compelled by the unjust judgment of wicked men, to drink that poison, which by just judgment of the righteous God, so infected the City of *Athens*, as from that day forwards it never brought forth any worthy man resembling the virtue of their Ancestors.

## §. XVI.

*Of* Polysperchon *his vain Expedition against* Cassander.

NOt long after these things were done, *Cassander*, with such forces as *Antigonus* lent him, entred into *Piræus*; which news drew *Polysperchon* headlong into *Attica*, with a great Army, but so ill victualled, that he was fain to depart without any thing done. Only he had given some impediment to the enemy; who, not contented with defending what he held, began to look out, and made new purchases abroad. Finding therefore himself unable to drive *Cassander* out of *Athens*, he left his Son *Alexander*, with such number of men as exceeded not the proportion of victuals, to withstand his further incroaching. The greatest part of his Army he carried into *Peloponnesus*, to make the Country sure to himself, wherein *Cassander* had many friends.

His doings in *Peloponnesus* were such, as they had been in other parts of *Greece*. First, he began to fight with Edicts, restoring the Democraty, or popular form of Government. He commanded that the principal Citizens, that had by *Antipater* been made Rulers, should be either slain, or driven into exile. This Decree took immediate effect in most places: the vulgar sort being very ready to seal the Charter of their freedome and authority, with the blood of those who had kept them in subjection. Yet many Cities there were, which delighted in the rule of the chief Citizens; and many which wished well to *Cassander*, especially they of *Megalopolis*, on whom *Polysperchon* meant to inflict an exemplary punishment of disobedience to him, which he termed Rebellion. *Megalopolis* had in it fifteen thousand serviceable men, well furnished of necessaries, & resolved to endure the worst. And need there was of such resolution. For *Polysperchon* coming thither with all his power, did so much, that he overthrew, by a Mine, three of their Bulwarks, and all the space of wall between them. But the Defendants manfully

repelled the *Macedonians* which came up to the breach; and at the same time with great labour they raised up an inner wall, to bear out the next assault. The Assailants having failed to carry the Town at the first attempt, took much pain to clear the ground, and make fair way for their Elephants, whose violence was likely to overthrow all that came in their way. But the Towns-men perceiving their drift, prepared boards driven thorow with long nails, which they used as gall-throps, bestowing them sleightly covered, with the points upward, in the way by which the beasts were to pass. Neither did they set any to encounter them in front, but appointed certain light-armed men to beat upon their sides with Arrows and Darts, as they were instructed by some that had learned the manner of that fight in the *Asian* Wars. Of these provisions they made happy use in the next assault. For, by them were the Elephants (wherein the enemy chiefly trusted) either sorely hurt, or driven back upon the *Macedonians*, whom they trampled under feet. *Polysperchon* came as ill furnisht for long abode to *Megalopolis* as before to *Athens*. Therefore being neither able to dispatch the business quickly, nor to take such leisure as was requisite, he forsook the siege, with some loss, and much dishonour, leaving some part of his Army to lye before the Town for his credit.

After this he sent *Clitus*, his Admiral, to Sea, to joyn with *Aridæus* that was come out of *Phrygia*, and to cut off all succour which might come to the enemy out of *Asia*. *Cassander* also sent his whole fleet under *Nicanor*, who taking along with him some ships of *Antigonus*, came to the *Propontis*, where he fought with *Clitus*, and was beaten. But *Antigonus* hearing of the overthrow, gathered together the ships that were escaped, and manning them very well, sent out *Nicanor* again, assuring him of the Victory, as well he might. For he sent out sufficient numbers of light-armed men, whom he caused to be watted over the Streights in small Vessels by night; these before day-light setting upon *Clitus*, drave his men, that lay securely on the Land, head-long into their ships; in which tumult *Nicanor* arriving, did assail them so lustily, that few or none escaped them.

This loss at Sea, together with his bad success by Land, brought *Polysperchon* into great contempt. He had a good faculty in penning bloody Decrees, but when the execution was referred to his own sword, he could find the matter more difficult. Wherefore the *Athenians*, perceiving that he had left them to shift for themselves, and was not able to give them protection against the enemy which lay in their bosomes, came to agreement with *Cassander*; accepting a Governour of his appointment; and restoring all things to the same state wherein *Antipater* had left them. The like inclination to the party of *Cassander*, was found in very many Cities of *Greece*, which daily and willingly revolted unto him, as to an industrous man, and likely to prevail in the end. Thus was the whole Country set in a combustion, uneasie to be quenched; which presented unto *Antigonus* an opportunity, that he neglected not, of making himself Lord of *Asia*.

## §. XVII.

Antigonus *seeks to make himself an absolute Lord: and thereupon treats with* Eumenes, *who disappointeth him.* Phrygia *and* Lydia *won by* Antigonus.

*Antigonus* had in *Antipaters* life-time a firm resolution, to make unto himself the utmost benefit that he might of the Army committed to his charge. And in fair season for advancement of his purposes came the news of *Antipaters* death; even then, when all the business in *Pisidia* was dispatched, and no more employment for the Army remaining, save only the continuance of the siege of *Nora*, a small thing of it self, but as hard as a greater matter; and requiring few men, but much time; when time of all things was most precious. *Eumenes* lay in that Fort of *Nora*, able to make the place good, and hoping that the mutability, to which the present Estate was manifestly subject, would in continuance of some years (which he might abide) work more for him, than his enemies in that space could work against him. His most fear was, that for want of exercise in that narrow Castle, his men and horses might grow sickly and unserviceable: which made him to practise many devices of keeping them in health and lusty. But when he had continued shut up in this manner about a year, his hopes came to good pass, and he was eased of his cares by *Antigonus* himself, whose forces held him besieged.

*Antigonus* knowing the great sufficiency of *Eumenes*, and considering his fidelity shewed unto *Perdiccas*, thought that he could not find in all the world a fitter man than him, to employ in managing those high designs, wherein he doubted not that he should be withstood by the mightiest Princes of the Empire. He sent therefore to *Eumenes* by one that was friend to them both, acquainting him with some part of his intent, and promising to make him a better Lord than ever he had been, and the next man to himself, if things fell out as he desired: in regard whereof he required only his friendship, and thereupon sent him an oath to take; which done, he might at his good pleasure issue safely out of *Nora*, and enjoy his perfect liberty. *Eumenes* perusing the form of the oath, did perceive the meaning of *Antigonus*; which was, rather to make him his follower than his fellow. For whereas, in a few words, it mentioned the King & Princes of the blood, rather to keep the *Decorum*, than upon any loyal intent, the binding words and summ of all were such, as tied him fast only to *Antigonus*, omitting all reservation of duty to the King or any other. This he liked not, holding it unseemly to become a sworn man to him, with whom he had fought for the mastery; and being assured that his voluntary assistance, which way soever he gave it, would be more acceptable, and far more honourable, than the course propounded. Yet would he not therefore break off the negotiation, and wait for some better occasion of inlargement, which might perhaps be long in coming: but seeming to be well agreed with *Antigonus*, he prepared to give up his Hold and depart. As for the oath it self, when he came to take it, he made shew of dislike, in that it was not solemn enough for such personages as they were, who could not be too ceremonious in testifying in their allegiance. The *Macedonians* which lay incamped before *Nora*, liked his words, and gave him leave to put in *Olympias*, and the children of *Alexander*, binding himself to them and their adherents, as well as to *Antigonus*; and so he departed.

*Antigonus* had taken upon him, as soon as he came down to the Sea-side, to remove some of the Governours of the Provinces, behaving himself according to the authority which he had received of *Antipater*, to exercise in the time of War. Neither did he want sufficient pretence whereby to justifie his proceeding. For, if *Polysperchon* might lawfully hold the Protectorship, which the old man doting on his death-bed bequeathed unto him, as a legacy, without consent of the Princes and Souldiers; why might not he himself as well retain the Lieutenantship of *Asia*, that was granted unto him for the general good of the State, in presence of the whole Army, by the King, and by *Antipater*, who had power to ordain what should seem convenient whilst he lived, not to dispose of things that should happen after his death? To give a fair colour to his ambition, this was enough: if any were not herewith satisfied, he had threescore thousand footmen, ten thousand horse, and thirty Elephants in a readiness to answer them.

The first that perceived his drift, and provided to resist him, was *Aridæus* Governour of *Phrygia*; who fortified the Towns of his own Province, and sought to have won *Cizicus*, a fair Haven Town, and seated very conveniently for him, but was fain to go away without it. Hereupon *Antigonus* took occasion to command him out of the Country. *Aridæus* was so far from obeying him, that he sent forces to relieve *Eumenes*. Nevertheless finding that he was unable of himself to make long resistance, he took such companies as he could draw along with him, and so passed over into *Europe*, to complain at the Court. The like fortune had *Clytus*, who ruled in *Lydia*, and sought the like remedy of his fortune, with some hope at the first (for both of them were entertained with very good words) which quickly vanished; and grew desperate, when they were beaten at Sea, as hath already been declared.

## §. XVIII.

Antigonus *pursues* Eumenes. Eumenes *having authority from the Court, raiseth great war against* Antigonus *in defence of the Royal house.*

*Antigonus* having thus gotten into his hands all, or most of all *Asia* the less, was able to have entred *Macedon*, and seized upon the Court; which that he forbare to do, it proceeded (as may seem) from some of these reasons. It would have bred as much jealousie in *Cassander*, as fear in *Polysperchon*, which might have brought them to terms of reconciliation: It would ask more time than he could spare; and the envy which followed the Protectorship was such, as he that had power enough without the office, ought rather to shun, than to pursue. Besides all this, it was manifest that *Eumenes* would not only refuse to take his part, but would make war upon him in defence of the Royal house, to which it was found that *Antigonus* did not stand well-affected. Against him therefore he bent his course, and with an Army of twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, made great haste toward *Cilicia*, hoping to suppress him before he should be able to make head.

*Eumenes* was one of those few that continued faithful to their dead Master, which being well known in the Court, he had commission sent unto him from thence to raise an Army, and make war upon *Antigonus*, taking of the Kings treasure as much as he should need. Other letters also there were directed to all the Governours of Provinces, requiring them to give assistance to *Eumenes*, and be ordered by his direction: especially to the Captains of the old Souldiers, called the *Argyraspides*, or silver-shielded bands, commandment was given to be at his appointment. He had of his old followers gathered together two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, before this authority was given him: but now he purposed with all the strength which he could make, to fight with *Antigonus* in defence of the Royal blood. *Olympias* had written to him, desiring him to bring help to her, and her Nephew the Son of *Alexander*; and in the mean time to give her his advice in that which *Polysperchon* required of her: for she was desirous to return into *Macedon*, but suspected his ambition, as not contained within lawful bounds. *Eumenes* therefore counselled her to remain in *Epirus*, till such time as he could bring the war to a good issue; which done, he promised that his faith and care should not be wanting to the seed of *Alexander*.

Strange it is to consider, that in all the Empire, scarce any one could be found among the Noble-men, in whom *Alexanders* Mother, Wives, and Children, might repose firm confidence, saving only this *Eumenes*, a stranger to the *Macedonian* blood, born at *Cardia*, a City of *Thrace*. His reputation was no more than his own virtue had made it; his followers obeyed at their own discretion; and compelled he was to travel as far as *Persia*, to gather together an Army sufficient to resist the enemies that pursued his heels.

## §. XIX.

*How the Princes of* Macedon *stood affected mutually.* Olympias *takes* Aridæus *and* Eurydice, *whom she cruelly puts to death.*

NOw, forasmuch as in this present War all the Rulers of the Provinces did intermeddle; and great alterations happened, not only in the parts of *Asia*, but *Macedon* it self, which brought a new face unto the State, by the extirpation of the Royal house of *Philip* and *Alexander*: I hold it convenient in this place, before we enter inter into the particulars of the War it self, to shew briefly how the great Ones did mutually stand affected; and by what passions they were drawn into those courses, which overthrew most of them, and out of their ruines built the greatness of a few: as likewise to what extremity the faction brake out in *Macedon* it self, about the main Controversie of the Title to the Crown, whereupon all other quarrels were or should have been depending.

*Aridæus* the King, being simple and fearful, did only what he was bidden.

*Polysperchon*, desirous to continue long in Office, had a purpose to advance the Son of *Alexander* by *Roxane* to the Kingdom, and become Governour to a King of his own making.

*Eurydice* the Queen discovering plainly this intent, and meaning nothing less than to let her husband serve as a Stale, keeping the Throne warm till another were grown old enough to fit in it, grew acquainted with *Cassander*, who hated the memory of *Alexander*, and was therefore the fitter for her turn.

*Cassander* held fresh in mind the danger wherein his family had been through *Alexanders* malice, together with the indignity offered to himself by *Alexander*, who knocked his head against a wall for deriding one that adored him after the *Persian* manner. The displeasure hereof, and the pleasure which he took in the amorous Queen, made him to resolve, both to suppress the linage which he hated, and to maintain his beloved Mistress, either by supporting her weak Husband, or by taking her to be his own Wife.

The rest of the Lords held it a thing indifferent, who reigned over all, so as they might reign in their several Countries, and establish their authority in such wise, that it might not be taken from them.

Among these, *Ptolomy* and *Antigonus* were well enough already, if their ambition would have suffered them to see it.

*Pitho* and *Seleucus* lying far off, and being strong, had some good hope to incroach upon their neighbours. Against these, *Peucestes*, and some others, which much ado hardly made resistance, until such time as *Eumenes* came to them; who propounded to himself great matters, which he lived not to accomplish.

*Olympias* the old Queen (as it is common with step-dames) hated the children of her husband by his other wives. It was thought that she had given poison to *Aridæus*, which failing to take away his life, had much impaired both his body and wits. Now she considering, that *Eumenes* was too full of business to come home so soon as she wished that he should; and that *Cassander* daily prevailed in *Greece*: thought it the best way to joyn with *Polysperchon*, and set up, as King, her Nephew *Alexander*, the Son of *Roxane*, removing *Aridæus* before *Cassander* were able to defend him. To this intent she procured men among her kindrd in *Epirus*, and so took her way towards *Polysperchon*, who joyning with her, entred into *Macedon*.



*Eurydice* hearing these news, wrote very earnestly to *Cassander*, praying him to set aside all other business, and come to succour her. She her self by entreaty, gifts, and promises, drew to her party as many of the *Macedonians* as she could, until she thought her own side strong enough; and then taking her husband with her, went boldly forth against *Olympias*, and the Traitor *Polysperchon*.

These two Queens met armed, as if the matter should have been determined by their own hands, which ended without any stroke stricken, by the revolt of those who followed *Eurydice*. For as soon as the *Macedonians* beheld *Olympias*; calling to mind her former Estate, and the victorious reigns of her Husband and Son, they refused to lift any weapon against her. *Eurydice* finding her self thus forsaken, fled towards *Amphipolis*, but was intercepted, and made prisoner with her Husband.

*Olympias* having obtained this Victory without blood, thought that all things would succeed as easily, and upon the same considerations for which they had refused to bear Arms against her, the *Macedonians* would not stick to maintain her, whatsoever her proceedings were. Having therefore shut up *Aridæus* and his wife in a close room, where they could scarce turn round, she fed them thorow a little hole, till after a while it came in her head (for fear lest the people should have commiseration of him, that had reigned almost six years and a half) to put them to death. So she delivered *Aridæus* to some barbarous *Thracians*; who took away his life by cruel torments: to *Eurydice* she sent a sword, a halter, and a cup of poison, willing her to chuse the instrument of her own death, who praying that the like presents might one day be sent to *Olympias*, yielded her neck to the halter, having spent her last curses not in vain. *Nicanor* the Brother of *Cassander*, and a hundred the chief of his friends, did *Olympias* then chuse out, all whom she commanded to be slain. His Brother *Iolaus* that was already dead and buried, she accused of poison given to *Alexander*, and thereupon caused his Tomb to be thrown down, and his bones to be scattered abroad. The *Macedonians* wondring at this fury, began to condemn themselves, and the folly of *Polysperchon*, who had, quite contrary to *Antipaters* charge given on his deathbed, called this outragious woman to the Government of the Empire.

## §. XX.

*How* Cassander *was revenged upon* Olympias.

### †. I.

*The great Expedition of* Cassander. Olympias *shuts her self into* Pydna, *where* Cassander *besieged her.* Æacides *King of* Epirus, *coming to succour* Olympias, *is forsaken and banished by his own Subjects.*

*Cassander* at that time lay before *Tegea*, in *Peloponnesus*; whither when all these ill tydings were brought to him, he never stayed to take the City, nor to give order for the state of things in that Country, (though *Alexander* the Son of *Polysperchon*, were there with an Army) but compounding with them of *Tegea*, he willed his associates to look to themselves as well as they could, till his return; and so in all haste he took his journey towards *Macedon*, carried headlong with the greedy desire of just revenge. The *Ætolians* had taken the Streights of *Thermopylæ*, in favour of the Queen and *Polysperchon*, to hinder his passage; but he, not willing to mis-spend any time in dealing with them, got together as many ships as he could, great and small, with which he transported his Army into *Thessaly*. There he divided his companies, appointing some under *Callas*, a subtil Captain, to hold *Polysperchon* busied, who then lay incamped neer to *Perhæbia*, with the rest he marched directly against *Olympias*. She, having once prevailed by the respect given to her dignity took more care how to appear Majestical, than to make her self strong. To this end she made a solemn progress to *Pydna*, a Sea-Town, and well fenced, having in her company all the flower of the Court, especially the great Ladies, among whom was *Roxane*, and her young Son *Alexander*, heir to the great *Alexander*, by his grand-mothers designment: who during his minority, kept his Soveraign power in her own hands. But all this pomp served to little use against the violence of the enemy, that soon presented himself before the walls; only it fed the besieged

ſieged with a vain hope of ſuccour, that would from all parts arrive, to reſcue perſons of their quality. And hereof there ſoon appeared fair likelihood, which as ſoon vaniſhed, and went away in ſmoak.

For *Æacides* King of *Epirus* made great haſte to bring ſuccour to *Olympias* his couſen, with whom *Deodamia* his daughter was alſo ſhut up. Nevertheleſs, his Subjects were nothing forward in this Expedition; but finding certain paſſages taken in the way by *Caſſanders* men, they called upon him to retire, and quit the enterpriſe. The Kings importunity urging them to proceed, and the obſtinate refuſal of the Army, brake out at length into ſuch terms, that when he had raged in vain againſt the multitude, his authority, with which he thought to have prevailed upon them, was by them taken from him, and he compelled to forſake his Kingdom, and to wander up and down in forein Countries a baniſhed man, his people joyning with the enemy, againſt whom he had led them forth to war.

*Pydna* in the mean time was cloſed up ſtreightly, both by Sea and Land, ſo that neither any could iſſue out of the City, nor any relief be conveyed into it, but it held out as long as any food was left; no memorable ſervice being done there, whilſt great actions were managed abroad.

## †. II.

*A continuation of* Olympias *her ſtory.* Polyſperchon *defeated.* *Extreme Famine in* Pydna. Olympias *yields to* Caſſander.

NOw, though order of time require it, that we ſhould rehearſe the doings of *Eumenes* and *Antigonus* in this place, leaving *Olympias* yet a while to the hour of her deſtiny; which grows the faſter upon her, becauſe ſhe may diſcern it coming: yet that we may not be compelled to interrupt the courſe of our narration, by inſerting her Tragedy in the midſt of things not manifeſtly coherent with it; we will here (as elſewhere we have done, and elſewhere muſt) continue to an end one Hiſtory, that we may not be therewith diſtracted, when we ſhall come to the relation of another. All the hope of the beſieged, remaining in *Polyſperchon*, was in like manner diſappointed as their former truſt had been, which was repoſed in the ſuccours of the *Epirots*. For *Callas*, who was ſent againſt him, found the means to corrupt the greateſt part of his Army with mony, leaving him within a little while ſo ſlenderly accompanied, that he was fit for no other buſineſs of war, than a ſwift retrait. When famine had ſo far prevailed in the City, that the horſes were killed as a precious food, many men feeding on the dead carkaſſes of their fellows, and ſaw-duſt being given to the Elephants for provender; ſome of the Souldiers obtaining the Queens leave, (who could not deny it) others, without asking leave, yielded themſelves to the enemy, and were by him gently relieved, and ſent abroad into the Country. The news of the Queens affairs, diſperſed by theſe men, did ſo affright her well-willers, that ſuch as had reſerved themſelves to the event, came in apace, and ſubmitted to *Caſſander*. At length, when the mortality was ſo great in the Town, that the living were even poiſoned with the noiſome ſent of the dead; *Olympias* bethought her ſelf of ſtealing away by Sea in a Galley that ſhe had: wherewith her ſucceſs was as bad as in the reſt. For God had appointed this Town, by her choſen as a place of refuge, to be unto her as a houſe of torment, and a Gaol, out of which ſhe ſhould not be delivered, but unto an evil death. Being therefore utterly broken with miſeries, which daily afflicted her and the other Ladies, unaccuſtomed to ſo wretched a kind of life, ſhe offered compoſition, and with much labour hardly obtained of *Caſſander* (who having fetcht her Gally out of the Haven, accounted himſelf as good as maſter of her body) a grant of her own life. Immediately upon her apprehenſion, *Pella*, the chief City of the Kingdom, was yielded to *Caſſander*. *Amphipolis* did ſtand out: for *Ariſtonus* (to whom *Olympias* had given charge of ſuch forces as were left abroad in the Country, taking courage from the ſucceſs of ſome petty ſervices wherein he had prevailed) began to promiſe himſelf great unlikelihoods. But *Olympias*, to win *Caſſanders* favour, very earneſtly required him upon his faith to her, that he ſhould give it up. He did ſo, and preſently after was killed by his private enemies, that were ſet on by *Caſſander*, who partly hated him upon old reſpects, partly doubted him, as a man likely to ſeek Innovation.

## †. III.

*The Death of* Olympias, *and her conditions.*

WHen *Olympias* had now heard ſorrowful tydings of all her friends, ſhe her ſelf was called into queſtion, and accuſed in an aſſembly of the *Macedonians*, for the murthers (they were ſo ſtiled in her affliction, which



which in time of proſperity ſhe called juſtice) by her committed. There was ſhe (before not heard, nor called to ſpeak) condemned to die. The ſute was commenced and proſecuted againſt her, by the kindred of thoſe whom ſhe had ſlain. But it was at *Caſſanders* inſtigation, who (to haſten the execution) ſent her word, that he would furniſh her with a ſhip, and other neceſſaries, to ſave her ſelf by flight: which when ſhe refuſed, ſaying, that ſhe would plead for her ſelf, and tell her own tale; he diſſembled no longer, but ſent unto her ſuch men, as hated her moſt, who took away her miſerable life. She was Daughter, and Siſter, unto two Kings of *Epirus*; Wife, and Mother unto two the mightieſt Kings, of that, or many other ages; a ſtout Lady, and of unreproveable chaſtity; but her ambition was boundleſs, her hatred unappeaſable, and her fury in revenge moſt unwomanly. Her perverſe conditions made her Huſband ſeek other Wives and Concubines, which cauſed her to hate both him, and them. She was thought privy to her Husbands death; after which, very cruelly ſhe ſlew his late Wife *Cleopatra*, having firſt murdered one of her two children in her arms, and with a beaſtly fury broiled the other alive in fire, in a Copper-baſon. For theſe things, her Son *Alexander* (otherwiſe loving her well) forbade her to meddle in the Government of *Macedon*. But God, more ſevere unto cruel Tyrants, than only to hinder them of their wills, permitted her to live and fulfil the reſt of her wickedneſs (which was his juſtice upon the adulteries of *Philip*, and the oppreſſion done by him and others;) after all which, he rewarded her malice, by returning it upon her own head.

## †. IV.

Caſſander *celebrates the Funeral of* Aridæus *and* Eurydice; *and ſeeks to make himſelf King of* Macedon.

AFter her death, *Caſſander* gave honourable burial to *Aridæus* and *Eurydice*, among their Progenitors, Kings of *Macedon*. And looking further into his own poſſibilities of greatneſs, he married the Lady *Theſſalonica*, whom he had taken at *Pydna*, being the Daughter of King *Philip*, by another of his Wives; that by her he might have ſome title to the Crown. For the ſame end he committed *Roxane*, and her young Son to cloſe priſon, removing thereby ſome part of his impediment. And, the better to encreaſe his fame, and purchaſe love, built a City, called by his own name *Caſſandria*, that ſoon grew to be very great and powerful. He re-edified likewiſe *Thebes* in *Greece*, and reſtored it unto the old inhabitants, after it had layn twenty years waſte, being utterly razed by *Alexander*. By theſe means, eſpecially by the reſtauration of *Thebes*, whereunto all *Greece* voluntarily contributed, he grew ſo ſtrong, that few remained enemies unto him; and they, with much labour, hardly could reſiſt him. Leaving him therefore daily prevailing in *Greece*, we will return to them, who contended in *Aſia*, for leſs titles, but larger Provinces, with greater forces.

# CHAP. IV.

## *Of the great Lordſhip which* Antigonus *got in* Aſia.

### §. I.

*The Journey of* Eumenes *into* Perſia. *His wiſe dealing with thoſe that joyned with him.*

EUmenes, having joyned unto his company the *Argyraſpides*, made haſte into the Eaſtern parts, to take poſſeſſion of thoſe Countries, according to his commiſſion, and ſtrengthen himſelf againſt *Antigonus*. He took his journey through *Cœloſyria* and *Phœnicia*, hoping to reclaim thoſe Provinces, uſurped with the reſt of *Syria* (as hath been ſhewed) by *Ptolomy*, to the Kings obedience. But to effect this, his haſte of his paſſing forward was too great, his Army too little, and the readineſs of the people, to return their due obedience, none at all. Beſides all which Impediments, one inconvenience troubled him in all his proceedings, making them the leſs effectual. The Captains of the *Agyraſpides* were ſo froward,

froward, that they ſcorned to repair to him, and take his directions; and their fidelity was ſo unſteady, that he might more eaſily have dealt with open traitors. It was not expedient, that he, being General, ſhould weaken his authority by courting them; neither lay it in his power to keep them in order by compulſion. Therefore he feigned, that *Alexander* had appointed unto him, in a dream, a place for their meeting, namely, in a rich pavilion, wherein an empty throne was placed, as if *Alexander* himſelf had been preſent at their conſultations. Thus he freed himſelf from their vain pride; but of their faith he could have no aſſurance. Yet when *Ptolomy* requeſted them, and *Antigonus* bribed them to forſake him, they continued (though not without conſidering of the matter) to take his part. So he marched on, ſending before him the Kings warrant; which *Pytho* and *Seleucus* refuſed to obey; not as rejecting the Kings authority, but excepting the perſon of *Eumenes*, as a man condemned to die by the *Macedonian* Army, for the death of *Craterus*. *Eumenes*, knowing well that he was not to rely upon their aſſiſtance, who ſtood otherwiſe affected than his affairs required, and were not to be dealt with by perſwaſion, ſought paſſage by ſtrong hand through the Country of *Babylon*, in ſuch wiſe that *Seleucus*, having in vain aſſaied to hinder him, by opening the ſluces of *Euphrates*, was glad at length to grant him friendly way, as deſirous to be rid of him. Thus he came to *Peuceſtes* and the reſt of the Eaſtern Lords, who were glad of his company, becauſe of the differences between *Pytho*, *Seleucus*, and themſelves. Yet the contention about ſuperiority grew very hot among them, every one finding matter enough to feed his own humour of ſelf-worthineſs. But the former device of aſſembling in one pavilion, made all quiet; the concluſion ever being ſure to follow that which *Eumenes* propounded, who was both wiſeſt in giving advice, and beſt able to reward, by means of the authority given him, to take what he pleaſed of the Kings treaſures. By theſe means he won to himſelf many of thoſe, who had moſt power to do good or hurt.

### §. II.

*How* Antigonus, *coming to ſet upon* Eumenes, *was driven off with loſs.*

*Antigonus*, hearing that *Eumenes* lay in the Province of *Suſa*, had an earneſt deſire to follow him, and drive him further from the Kings treaſures, which were kept there. To which end, as ſoon as he had made himſelf ſtrong enough, he removed out of *Meſopotamia*, where he had wintered; and taking to him *Pytho* and *Seleucus*, with their men, he marched directly againſt the enemies, with intent to give them battel. *Eumenes* had fortified the Caſtle of *Suſa*, and was retired back toward *Perſia*, keeping the River of *Tigris* between him and his purſuers. The paſſages of the River were well guarded, and good eſpial kept upon *Antigonus*, to obſerve which way he took. Before he came to *Tigris* it ſelf, he was to paſs over *Coprates*, a great River, and not foordable, which he ſought to do by ſmall veſſels, whereof he had no great ſtore. A great part of his Army had gotten over, when *Eumenes*, who kept a bridge upon *Tigris*, came with a thouſand horſe, and four thouſand foot, to ſee their demeanour: and finding them out of order, charged them, brake them, and drave them headlong back into *Coprates*, wherein moſt of them were drowned; very few eſcaping with life, except four thouſand that yielded themſelves priſoners in ſight of *Antigonus*, that was not able to relieve them. This loſs made *Antigonus* glad to fall off; and the heat of that Country in the dog-dayes, breeding diſeaſes in his Army, by which many periſhed, cauſed him to remove as far as into *Media*. So he took *Python* with him; (leaving *Seleucus* to beſiege the Caſtle of *Suſa*) and ſeeking to go the neareſt way, paſſed through ſavage Nations, that continually vexing him with skirmiſhes, ſlew great numbers of his men, before he could arrive in *Media*, with his troups that were quite heart-broken.

### §. III.

*Of* Eumenes *his cunning. A battel between him and* Antigonus.

After his departure, *Eumenes* with his aſſociates fell into conſultation, about the remainder of their buſineſs. Fain he would have had them to enter upon thoſe Provinces, which *Antigonus* had left behind him; to which alſo the Captains of the *Argyraſpides* or *Silver-ſhields*, were very inclinable, as deſiring to draw nearer to *Greece*. But *Peuceſtes*, and the reſt, whoſe dominions lay in the high Countries, had more care of their own particular Eſtates, and would needs march Eaſtward. Theſe carried it; for the Army was not ſtrong enough to divide it ſelf into parts.

When



When they came into *Perſia*, *Peuceſtes*, ruling there, feaſted them royally, and fought by all means to win the Souldiers love to himſelf. *Eumenes* perceiving whereunto thoſe doings tended, ſuffered him a while to keep good chear, till the time of War drew near. Then did he feign an Epiſtle, directed, as from *Orontes* Governour of *Armenia*, to *Peuceſtes* himſelf: The purport whereof was; that *Olympias* had vanquiſhed *Caſſander*, and ſent over a great Army under *Polyſperchon*, to joyn with *Eumenes*. Theſe news, as they filled the Camp with vain joy, ſo they wrought in all mens minds a great willingneſs to obey *Eumenes*, by whom was the likelieſt appearance of their preferment; wherein they dealt wiſely, he being far the moſt ſufficient Commander, as they found ſoon after. For when *Antigonus*, coming out of *Media*, drew near unto them, *Eumenes*, by ſome miſchance was fallen ſick, and fain to be carried in a Litter; the Army marched in very bad array, and was likely to have been forced to take battel in that diſorder. But *Eumenes*, when the reſt of the Captains were amazed, was carried about the Army in his Litter, and upon the ſudden did caſt his men into ſo good form, that *Antigonus*, perceiving him a far off, could not refrain from giving him deſerved commendations. Yet he did not ceaſe to promiſe great rewards to the Captains, and all ſorts of men, if they would forſake *Eumenes*: which hopes deceiving him, he came to the trial of a battel. *Eumenes* had more Elephants than *Antigonus*; otherwiſe, he was inferiour in number both of horſe and foot by a third part. The battel was fought with variable ſucceſs, and great loſs on both ſides, continuing a great part of the day, and of the night following. Yet the victory was uncertain. For *Eumenes* could not force his men to lye far from their carriages: by which means *Antigonus* (who had a more abſolute command over his) incamping on the ground whereon they fought, had in his power the dead bodies, which was accounted the ſign of victory; for he buried his own, and gave leave to his enemies craving it, to do the like. But a greater ſign of victory had *Eumenes*. For he abode ſtill in the ſame place, and not only buried his men very honourably, at great leiſure, but held the Country round about; whereas *Antigonus* was glad (having tarried but one day) to ſteal away by night, and return into *Media*, from whence he came.

### §. IV.

*Of divers ſtratagems practiſed by* Antigonus, *and* Eumenes, *one againſt the other.*

THus did the War continue doubtful, and was protracted to a greater length, each part having ſtout Souldiers, and skilful Generals: but the ſide which had hitherto prevailed, being hindred by the equal authority of many, from purſuing all advantages to the beſt, *Antigonus* grew daily weaker, in men and reputation, ſo that to repair himſelf he could find no way ſafer, than to put all to adventure. He knew that his enemies lay in their wintering places, quartered far aſunder, ſo that if he could ſuddenly come among them, he was likely to put them in great diſtreſs. Between him and them, the way was not long, being only nine dayes journey, but very bad, through a rough dry wilderneſs, hardly paſſable. Another way, fairer and leading through a Country well peopled, but requiring twenty five dayes journey, he forſook; partly for the length, partly, and chiefly, becauſe he would come undiſcovered. So therefore taking his journy in the dead of Winter, he forbade unto his men the uſe of fire by night, becauſe he would not have them deſcried a far off. This commandement had been well obſerved four or five dayes, when continuance of time (as commonly) breeding negligence, and the cold weather pinching them, they were bold to cheriſh themſelves, being near to their wayes end. The light of theſe fires gave notice of their coming; which being reported to *Peuceſtes*, and other Captains, they were ſo aſtoniſhed with the ſudden danger, that in all haſte they betook themſelves to flight. But *Eumenes*, meeting with the news, began to hearten his affrighted companions, promiſing to make *Antigonus* march leiſurely, and willing them to abide, and draw up their men together. They could ſcarce believe him; yet they were content to be ruled, and did as he appointed, who failed not in making his word good. He took with him ſome companies of the readieſt men, wherewith he occupied certain tops of mountains, looking toward the Camp of *Antigonus*: there he choſe a convenient ground to incamp upon, and made great ſtore of fires in ſundry places, as if the whole Army had been preſent. This was a ſorrowful ſpectacle to *Antigonus*, who thought himſelf prevented of his purpoſe; and began to fear leſt he ſhould be compelled to fight, whileſt his men were tired with a long and painful journey. There-

fore he resolved to turn aside, and take the way to such places, as might better serve to refresh his Army. This he did with great care and circumspection, at the first, as knowing how ready *Eumenes* would be upon all advantages. But after a while, considering that no enemy stirred about him, he began to pause, and think in himself, that somewhat or other was not fallen out according to his opinion. To be the bteter informed in the matter, he caused some Inhabitants of that desart to be taken, and brought before him; of whom he learned, that they had seen no other Army than his thereabout, but only a few men that kept fires on the hill-tops. It vexed him exceedingly to find that he had been so deluded. Therefore he went against these troups with great fury, meaning to take sharp vengeance on them, for having so deceived him. But by this time, sufficient strength was arrived there, which could not be forced without much business, and long stay. All the Army was come, save only *Eudamus*, Captain of the Elephants, who, besides those beasts, had no more than four hundred horsemen in his company. *Antigonus* hearing of this supply coming to his enemies, sent above two thousand horse, and all his light-armed foot-men, to cut it off by the way. *Eudamus* being fallen into this danger, was fain to place his Elephants round about his carriages, and so to defend himself as well as he could; for his horse-men, overlaied with multitudes, were quickly broken, and driven to run away upon the spur. Neither knew they, who sate upon the Elephants, which way to turn them, for on all sides they received wounds, and were not able to requite them with the like. In this extremity there appeared brave troups of horse and foot, that came unexpected to the rescue; and charging the assailants upon the back, drave them to seek their own safety by speedy flight. These were sent by *Eumenes*; who though he knew not what his adversary meant to do, yet he knew very well what was fitteſt for him to do: and therefore, playing both games himself, provided the remedy.

## §. V.

*The conspiracy of* Peucestes *and others against* Eumenes *his life.*

BY these means *Eumenes* won great honour, and was by the whole Army acknowledged a most expert General, and well worthy of the chief command. But *Peucestes*, and the other Captains, guilty of their own much insufficiency, were so transported with Envy, that they could no longer contain their vile thoughts, but held communication, as upon a necessary point, how they might find means to murder him.

Surely, it is great injustice to impute the mischief contrived against worthy men, to their own proud carriage, or some other ill deserving: For, though it often happen, that small vices do serve to counterpoise great vertues; (the sense of evil being more quick and lasting than of good) yet he shall bewray a very foolish malice, that, wanting other testimony, will think it a part of wisedom, to find good reason of the evils done to vertuous men, which oftentimes have no other cause than vertue it self. *Eumenes*, among many excellent qualities, was noted to be of singular courtesie, of a very sweet conversation among his friends, and careful by all gentle means to win their love, that seemed to bear him any secret ill affection. It was his meer vertue that overthrew him; which even they that sought his life acknowledged. For they concluded that he should not be slain, before the battel were fought with *Antigonus*, wherein they confessed that it stood best with their safety, to be governed by his direction. Of this treason he was quickly advertised by *Eudamus*, to whom he had done many pleasures, and by some others of whom he used to borrow money when he needed not, to the end that they should be careful of his good, for fear of losing their own. Considering therefore, and discoursing with himself of the villany intended against him, he made his last Will, and burnt all his Writings that contained any matter of secret: which done, he revolved many things in his mind; being doubtful what course he were best to follow. All the Nobles of the Empire stood ill affected to the Royal blood, excepting those which were with him, that were more in number than in worth. How things at that time stood in *Macedon* and *Greece*, either he knew not, or, knowing the truth, knew nothing that might incourage him to seek their help, that needed his. To make his own peace with *Antigonus*, had been against his faith to *Olympias*, and the Princes, that had committed this great power into his hands. For which cause also it may be thought, that he forbare either to lose the battel willingly, or to fly into *Cappadocia*, and make shift for himself among his old friends. At length he resolved to do his best against the common enemy, and afterwards to look to himself as well as he might.

§. VI.



## §. VI.

*The last battel between* Antigonus *and* Eumenes.

THe Souldiers, especially those old bands of the *Silver-shields*, finding *Eumenes* perplexed, and not knowing the cause, entreated him not to doubt of the victory, but only to bring them into the field, and set them in array; for the rest, they alone would take sufficient order. The like alacrity was generally found in the common Souldiers faces; but the chief Commanders were so mischievously bent against him, that they could not endure to think of being beholding to him for the victory. Yet he ordered the battel so well, that, without their own great fault, they could hardly fail of getting the upper hand.

Before the Armies came to joyning, a horse-man from the side of *Eumenes*, proclamed with a loud voice unto the followers of *Antigonus*, That their wickedness in fighting against their own Fathers, would now be punished, as it well deserved. This was not spoken in vain. For the *Silver-shields* were men of threescore or seventy years old, & strengthened more by continual exercise, than decayed by age, and excelling in courage, as having passed through greater dangers, than any like to be presented in that fight.

Therefore *Antigonus* his men (who had often been beaten by them, and were now to try their last hope with these resolute warriours, the most Ancient and best regarded of all *Alexanders* Souldiers) grew very pensive, and advanced heavily, suspecting their own cause, and fearing that the threatnings uttered would prove true.

*Antigonus* was now again far the stronger in horse, which gave him cause of great hope; the ground, on which they were to fight, being a plain levelled field. Placing therefore himself and his son *Demetrius* in the right wing, and committing the left wing to *Python*, he did set forward couragiously against the Enemies, that were ready to give him a sharp entertainment.

*Eumenes* took unto him *Peucestes*, with the rest of the Lords, and stood in the left wing of his battel, in the face of *Antigonus*; meaning both to prevent the Traitors, his Companions, of all means to make head against him on the sudden; and (withall) to give proof of his own valour, which perhaps he should no more do, in the face of all his Enemies. In the right wing, opposite unto *Python*, he bestowed the weakest of his horse and Elephants, under one *Philip*, an honest man, and (which was enough at such a time) obedient: commanding him to protract the fight, and make a reasonable retrait, expecting the event of the other side.

So they joyned very fiercely; *Antigonus*, labouring to make himself master of all; *Eumenes*, to die an honourable death, or to win such a victory upon his open enemies, as might give him leisure and opportunity to deal with his false friends.

The footmen of *Antigonus*, being, even in their own opinions, far inferiour to those whom they must encounter, were at the first brunt presently defeated by the *Silver-shields*, who slew above five thousand of them, losing of their own not one man. But in Horse, *Eumenes* was so over-matched, that he could not repell *Antigonus*, who pressed him very hard, but was fain to stand wholly upon defence. Yet his courage wrought so well by example, among his followers, that the Enemy could not win one foot of ground upon him, untill such time as *Peucestes*, with one thousand five hundred Horse, withdrew himself out of the battel, leaving his companions fighting to defend his back.

Then did *Eumenes* desperately rush amongst his Enemies, labouring to break open the way unto *Antigonus* himself. And though he failed of his purpose; yet with great slaughter he did so beat upon them which came in his way, that the victory hung a long time in suspence, uncertain which way to incline.

The ground whereon they fought, being of a slight sandy mould, through the trampling of horses, men, and Elephants, did cast up such a cloud of dust, as hindred the prospect, so that no man could see what was done a little from him. *Antigonus* finding this advantage, dispatched away some companies of horse, that passed undiscovered beyond *Eumenes* his battels, and came to his carriages, which lay about half a mile from the place of fight, slenderly guarded, (for that the whole body of the Army lay between them and danger) and therefore easily taken. Had *Peucestes* retired himself no further than unto the carriages, he might not only have defended them, but peradventure have surprised those which came to surprise them, and so have done as good a piece of service as a better man. But he was gotten somewhat further, to a place, where out of danger he might expect the event: and *Eumenes* was so over-laboured both in body and mind, that he could not possibly give an eye to every place, being not well able to continue where he was.

It happened so, that the Elephants meeting together, those of *Antigonus* had the better hand; whereupon *Eumenes*, finding himself every way over-charged, began to give back, and withdrew himself and his companies in good order, to the other side of the battel, where *Philip* (as he was directed) had by fighting and retiring together, kept that wing from loss. The *Antigonians* had felt so much of *Eumenes* that day, that they were well content to let him depart quietly, and wished not to see him come again; as fain he would have done.

The loss of the carriages was reported unto him, as soon as he had any leisure to hear how things went: whereupon he presently ordered his men for a fresh charge, and sent for *Peucestes* that was not far off, requesting him to bring in his men, and renew the fight, whereby he trusted, not only to recover their own goods, but to enrich themselves with the spoils of the enemies. *Peucestes* not only refused to joyn with him, but immediately withdrew himself into a safer place, where he might be further from such dangerous temptations.

By this the night grew on; and both Armies, wearied with fighting, were desirous to return into their Camps. Yet *Antigonus* conceived hope of doing somewhat more, and therefore taking half his horsemen, he waited upon *Eumenes* a part of his way homewards, but found no opportunity to offend him: the other half he committed to *Python*, willing him to set upon the *Silver-shields* in their retrait; which yet he forbare to do, because it appeared too full of danger. So the battel ended; wherein *Antigonus* had not so much the better in horse, as the worse in foot: but the spoil which he got, by surprising his enemies carriages, made amends for all his other losses.

## §. VII.

*How* Eumenes *was betrayed to* Antigonus, *and slain.*

*Eumenes*, coming into his Camp, and finding the *Silver-shields* extremely discontented with their misfortune, began to cheer them up, and put them in hope of recovering all with advantage. For their brave demeanour that day had so crushed the enemy, that he had no power left, wherewith to abide them in open field, and was much less able to draw their Carts after him, through that great wilderness, over the high mountains.

But these perswasions availed nothing. *Peucestes* was gone; the other Captains would needs return into the high Countries; and the Souldiers had no desire either to fly or to fight, but only to recover their goods. Wherefore *Teutamus*, one of the two Captains of the *Silver-shields*, (who had in former times readily consented unto traiterous motions, in hope of gain, but was letted by his partner *Antigenes*) finding, as he thought, a fit occasion of making himself great, and winning the love of those bands, dealt secretly with *Antigonus*, requesting him to restore unto those old Souldiers their goods, which he had taken, being the only reward of their services, in the Wars of *Philip* and *Alexander*.

*Antigonus*, as a subtile man, knew very well, that they which requested more than they had reason to expect, would also with little entreaty, perform a great deal more than they promised; and therefore he lovingly entertained the messengers, filling them with hopes of far greater matters than they desired, if they would put *Eumenes* into his hands, by whom they were seduced to make War against him. This answer pleased them so well, that they forthwith devised how to deliver him alive. Wherefore coming about him, as at other times, to do their duty, and pretending more joy of their victory, than sorrow of their loss, which they said they would redeem by another fight; in the midst of this goodly talk, they leapt upon him, caught hold of his sword, and bound him fast. So they haled him away; and, stopping their ears against all perswasions, would not yield so far, as to loosen one of his hands, and let him kill himself, but brought him alive (that was their own General, under whom they had obtained many victories) as it had been in triumph, into the Camp of their enemies.

The press of men, running out of the Camp to see him, was so great, that *Antigonus* was fain to send a guard of horse-men and Elephants, to keep him from being smothered; whom he could not suddenly resolve either to kill or save. Very few they were that sued for his life, but of these, *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus* was one, the rest were desirous to be rid of him quickly; thinking belike, that if he were saved, he would soon be the chief in reputation, for his great ability. So, after long deliberation, *Antigonus* concluded that it was the safest way to put him to death; which intending to have done by famine (perhaps because he would keep it a while in his own power, to reverse the sentence, as desiring, if it might be, to have him live his friend) haste of other business made him do it by the sword.



To this end came all the travels of that worthy General *Eumenes*; who had with great wisdom, fidelity, and patience, laboured in vain to uphold the family which God had purposed to cast down. He is reckoned among the notable examples of Fortunes mutability, but more notable was his Government of himself, in all her changes. Adversity never lessened his courage, nor prosperity his circumspection. But all his virtue, industry, and wit, were cast away, in leading an Army, without full power, to keep it in due obedience. Therefore it was not ill answered by *Gaspar de Coligny*, Admiral of *France* in our daies, to one that foretold his death, which ensued soon after in the massacre of *Paris*: That rather than to lead again an Army of Voluntaries, he would dye a thousand times.

*Antigonus* himself gave to the body of *Eumenes* honourals Funerable; and rewarded the Treason, wrought against him, with deserved vengeance. One chief Captain of the *Silver-shields* he burnt alive; many of the other Captains he slew; and to the whole multitude of the *Silver-shields*, that had betrayed so worthy a Commander, he appointed a Leader that should carry them into far Countries, under pretence of Wars; but with a privy charge, to consume them all, as perjured wretches, letting none of them return alive unto his friends and kindred, or so much as once behold the Seas that beat upon the shores of *Greece* and *Macedon*.

## §. VIII.

*How* Antigonus *slew* Python, *and occupied* Media. *How he removed Governours of Provinces, and made himself Lord of* Persia, *carrying away* Peucestes.

The two Armies being joyned thus in one, were carried into *Media*, where they spent the rest of the Winter: the common Souldier idly; the principal men intentively bent unto the business ensuing. *Python* began to consider his own deservings; for the whole War had been chiefly maintained by the strength, and riches of this Province. Besides, he thought himself as good a man as *Antigonus*, unless it were in the Souldiers opinion, which he judged easie to be purchased with gifts, and therefore spared not to assay them with great liberality. But in following this course he was driven by necessity to trust many, of whom he stumbled upon some, that were unsecret, and others, bearing him no sincere affection. Thus was his purpose discovered to *Antigonus*, who (nothing like to *Python*) dissembled his indignation, and rebuked the informers, as breeders of dissention between him, and his honourable friend, unto whom he meant to commit the Government of all those Countries: his own business calling him into the lower *Asia*. These reports, coming daily to his ears, did finely delude *Python*. By his greatness with *Alexander*; his authority in that Province where they lay, whereof he was Governour; and the love of the Souldiers which he had bought with mony; he was strong enough to maintain, even an offensive War. But what need had he to use the sword, when he was likely without contention, to obtain more than his own asking? Therefore he came as soon as he was sent for, to take his farewell of *Antigonus*, and to divide the Provinces with him, that meant nothing less than to yield to any such division. As soon as he came, he was taken, and accused, condemned to dye, and slain out of hand. For *Antigonus*, having begun with *Eumenes* his ancient friend, was not afterward restrained by any consideration of old acquaintance, from cutting down indifferently all that stood in his way: but swam carelesly thorow the blood, wherein at the first he doubtfully waded.

When this business was ended, he appointed a new Governour in *Media*, to order the Province, and a Captain, to suppress all commotions: thinking belike that the power and authority, so divided, would hardly agree in one against him, from whom both were derived.

After this he marched into *Persia*, where he was entertained as absolute Lord of *Asia*. There began he to shew how well he understood his own mightiness. For he placed and displaced at his own pleasure, Governours in all Provinces, leaving none in Office, that were not his own creatures, except such as lay too far off to be dislodged easily.

*Peucestes*, who ruled in *Persia*, thought with good cheer to redeem old offences, but was deceived, having to do with one that could not be taken with such baits: he was carried away, and feasted with goodly words of promise, that never after took effect. Thus he, that envied the virtue of his friend, was driven to flatter (in vain) the fortune of his enemy, after which he led a most contemptible life, till he died obscurely a man forgotten.

§. IX.

### §. IX.

*How* Seleucus *was chased out of* Babylon *by* Antigonus. *The great riches of* Antigonus.

*Seleucus* was the next in this Visitation; one that had from time to time continued in the same tenor of good will to *Antigonus*, and now gave proof of his hearty affection toward him, by making the Captain of the Castle of *Susa* to meet him on the way, rendring unto him that strong Piece, and all the treasures therein bestowed. This offer was so great, that *Antigonus* (though having in his hands the Keeper of the place) could hardly believe it; but used him with excessive kindness, for fear so good a mood should change. In that Castle he found all the treasures of *Alexander*, with the Jewels of the *Persian* Kings, which, added to his former store of mony, made up five and twenty thousand talents. Having all this, he might well account himself a happy man, if riches were sufficient to happiness. But large dominion was the mark at which he aimed; therefore he proceeded, with intent to leave no Country behind his back, that should not acknowledge him for Soveraign Lord. Coming to *Babylon*, he was entertained by *Seleucus*, with all possible demonstration of love, and honoured with presents beseeming the Majesty of a King. All this he accepted with great gravity, as being due to him; and began to require an account of the revenues of that Province. This demand *Seleucus* held unreasonable; saying, That it was not needful for him to render unto any man an account of that Province, which was given unto him, in respect of his many good services to the State. But whether he spake reason or no, it sufficed, that *Antigonus* was powerful; who urged him daily to come to a reckoning. Manifest it was, that neither want of mony, nor any other necessity, moved *Antigonus* to press him thus, but only the desire to pick matter of quarrel against him, whereof it was likely that he should find such issue, as *Python* and *Peucestes* had done. Therefore taking with him only fifty horse, he conveyed himself away, and fled into *Ptolomies* Dominions; desiring him to protect him from such a man as went about to oppress all, that in former times had been his betters, or at least his equals. *Antigonus* was glad of his flight; for now all those Countries were yielded unto him without battel, whereas to fight with *Seleucus* for them, he wanted all pretence; and to kill him it was not his desire, having received many benefits of him, and those not intermixed, as commonly it happens, with any injuries. Yet it is reported, that the *Chaldæans* brought a strange Prophecy to *Antigonus*, bidding him look well to himself; and know, that if *Seleucus* did escape his hands, he should recover *Babylon*, yea, win all *Asia*, and kill *Antigonus* in battel. Easie believers may give credit to this tale. Had it been true, methinks *Antigonus* rather should have hanged those *Chaldæans*, for giving him no warning till it was too late, than sent pursuers (as they say that he did) after him, whom the Destinies preserved for so great purposes. When he had settled things at *Babylon*, he took his journey into *Cilicia*, where he wintered. There he took up ten thousand Talents more of the Kings treasures, and casting his accounts, found his yearly in-come to amount unto eleven thousand Talents.

## CHAP. V.

*Of the great War between* ALEXANDERS *Captains: and how they assumed the Name and State of Kings.*

### §. I.

*The Combination of* Ptolomy, Cassander, *and others against* Antigonus. *Their demands, and his answer.*

THis great riches, and the rest of his power, made *Antigonus* dreaded, envied, and suspected, whereby he quickly was embarked in a new War. *Ptolomy*, *Cassander*, and *Lysimachus*, had privily combined themselves together, intending to hinder his further growth, and bring him to more reason than of his own accord he seemed like to yield unto. Of their practices he had some notice; the good entertainment given unto *Seleucus*, giving him sufficient



sufficient cause of mistrust. Therefore he sent Embassadours to them severally, entreating them to continue firm in their love toward him, that would be ready to requite them with the like. The cold answers which they made, occasioned his hasty preparation against the most forward of them, which was *Ptolomy*, it being likely that a good Army should prevail more than a fair message. Therefore, as soon as the season of the year would permit, he took the way toward *Syria*, and was encountred by Embassage from them all. These told him, that their Lords did much rejoyce at his victory, obtained against *Eumenes* their common enemy, and the honour that he had thereby gotten. In which War, forasmuch as they being his Confederates, must have indured great loss, with hazard of their whole Estates, if the contrary faction had prevailed; they held it very just, that all should be partakers in the fruits of that voyage, wherein they had been all adventurers. Wherefore they desired him, that making between them all an equal division of the treasures that were in his hands, (a thing easie to be done) he would also take some convenient order for enlarging their Dominions, according to the rate of his new purchases. This might best be to every ones liking, if he would make over *Cappadocia*, with *Lycia*, to *Cassander*; and *Phrygia*, bordering upon the *Hellespont*, to *Lysimachus*: for whereas his own Dominions were so much extended Eastward by his late victory, he might well spare some of those Western Provinces, to those that were seated in the West. As for *Ptolomy*, he would not crave any new addition, but rest contented within his own Territories. Provided alwaies, that *Seleucus* their common friend, and partner in the late War, might be restored to his own, out of which he had been driven so injuriously, that all of them were forced to take it deeply to heart; requiring amends, with his friendly consent unto their demands, which otherwise they must labour to obtain with armed hands.

*Antigonus* knew, that after many losses received, he should yet be able to redeem Peace whensoever he listed, with these, or perhaps with easier conditions. Neither was he so weak, to give away quietly any part of his strength into the hands of such bad friends, for fear only, lest it should be taken from him perforce. Rather he hoped that he should be able to find them work, more than enough to defend their own. Therefore he roundly answered the Embassadours, that it was no part of his meaning to communicate with other men the profit of that victory, which he alone without other mens help had obtained. Though indeed they had already sufficiently gained by him, if they could see it, having by his means kept their Government, whereof they were like to be dispossessed by *Polysperchon*, and the counsel of estate in *Macedon*. But what marvel was it, if they considered not how he had saved them, seeing one of them had forgotten the time, when coming to him as a fugitive, and begging succour, he was by his meer bounty relieved, and enabled to get all that he now held? *Cassander* did not (said he) in those daies command me to surrender Provinces, and give him his equal share of my treasures; but (for his Fathers sake) desired me to pity him, and help him against his enemies: which I did; by lending him an Army, and Fleet, on confidence whereof he now presumes to threaten me. As for *Seleucus*, How can he complain of wrong, that durst not stay to plead his right? I did use him well, but his conscience told him that he had deserved ill; else he would not have fled. Let them that so curiously search into my doings, consider well their own, which some of them can hardly justifie. I am now in the way to *Syria*, meaning to examine *Ptolomies* proceedings, and after him to deal with others, if they continue to provoke me.

### §. II.

*The preparation and beginnings of the Wars.*

WHen the Embassadours were dismissed with this answer, nothing was thought upon but War. *Antigonus*, perceiving that he should be invaded from *Europe*, as soon as he was entred into *Syria*, left his Nephew *Ptolomy* to guard the Sea-coast, and hinder *Cassander* from landing in *Asia*: giveing him also charge, to drive out of *Cappadocia*, some that were already sent over to molest him. Likewise he dispatched Messengers into *Greece* and *Cyprus*, not unfurnished of mony; to draw friends to his side, and raise up troubles to his enemies. Especially, he laboured to make himself the strongest by Sea; to which purpose he rather hastened, than foreslowed his journey into *Syria*, that he might get possession of Mount *Libanus*, which afforded many excellent commodities for building of a Navy. Therefore, having erected Beacons, and laid post-horses throughout all *Asia*, to give swift advertisement of all occurrences, he invaded *Syria*, that was not held against him

him by any power ſufficient to maintain the field.

*Ptolomy* lay in *Egypt*, the ſtrength and heart of his Dominion, where he was beloved and honoured of the people as their natural Lord: his other Provinces he kept with a few Garriſons, better ſerving to contain the people within obedience, than to confront a forein enemy. So *Antigonus* took many Cities and Places of that Country, and began to ſet great numbers of Artificers on work in making ſhips, which was one of his moſt earneſt cares. In theſe buſineſſes he conſumed a year and three months; not idly. For he took *Joppe* and *Gaza*, which were yielded unto his diſcretion, and well uſed. The ſtrong City of *Tyrus* held out long, but was compelled in the end by famine, to render it ſelf upon compoſition, that *Ptolomies* Souldiers might depart with their Arms; which was permitted.

*Ptolomy* was not aſleep, whilſt theſe things were in doing, though he kept himſelf within the bounds of *Egypt*, as indeed it behoved him to do. His forces were not able to ſtand againſt *Antigonus* in plain field, but likely they were to encreaſe; which made him willing to protract the time. Nevertheleſs by Sea (where his enemy was as yet unready) he ſent his Fleet into all quarters, whereof *Seleucus* had the chief command.

*Seleucus* paſſed with an hundred ſail along the coaſt of *Syria*, in the full view of *Antigonus*, and his Army, to their no little diſcomfort. He landed in *Cyprus*, which was then governed by many petty Lords: of whom the greateſt adhered to *Ptolomy*, the reſt were by the Factors of *Antigonus*, bought for him with gold, but now redeemed by the *Egyptian* with ſharp ſteel.

The ſame commodity of aid by Sea encouraged the Preſident of *Caria* (called alſo *Caſſander*, but not the Son of *Antipater*, howſoever by the painful and learned Writer *Reinerus Reineccius*, he is, by ſome overſight, counted for the ſame) to declare for *Ptolomy* and his Confederates, and buſily imploy in their quarrel all his forces, which he had hitherto kept in good neutrality, and thereby enjoyed reſt; but now he threw himſelf into dangerous War, chuſing rather to undergo trouble at hand, than to fall under certain ruine, though ſomewhat further diſtant, which would have overwhelmed him, if *Antigonus* had beaten all the reſt.

## §. III.

*How each party ſought to win the aſſiſtance of* Greece. Antigonus *his declaration againſt* Caſſander. Alexander *the Son of* Polyſperchon *revolteth from* Antigonus *who had ſet him up.*

IN the mean ſeaſon all care poſſible was taken on both ſides, to aſſure unto them the people of *Greece*, whoſe aid, which way ſoever inclined, was of great importance. Herein at the firſt, *Antigonus* ſped ſo well by large effuſion of his treaſure, that he drew to him the *Lacedæmonians*, and other *Peloponneſians*, of whom he waged eight thouſand; and cauſed *Polyſperchon* (who had a good while made hard ſhifts) to rowſe himſelf again, and taking upon him the title of Captain of *Peloponneſus*, to make head againſt *Caſſander*.

Theſe hopeful beginnings encouraged him to proceed further in the ſame kind. Wherefore to make *Caſſander* the more odious, he called together both his own Souldiers, and all the *Greeks* and *Macedonians* that were to be found thereabouts. To theſe he declared, that *Caſſander* had very cruelly ſlain *Olympias*, Mother to the great *Alexander*; and not herewith contented, had ſhut up in cloſe priſon the poor Lady *Roxane*, *Alexander*'s Wife, and his Son begotten on her body. That all this proceeded from a deſire to make himſelf King over the *Macedonians*; which well appeared by his enforcing the Lady *Theſſalonica*, Daughter to King *Philip*, a match unfit for a man of no greater parentage than he, to joyn with him in marriage. That in meer deſpight of thoſe dead Princes, *Philip* and *Alexander*, he had planted the *Olynthians*, rooted out by *Philip*, in a new City by him built, and called by his own name *Caſſandria*; and had redified the City of *Thebes*, which for the great treaſon of the Inhabitants, was levelled with the ground by the victorious hand of *Alexander*. For theſe reaſons he required them to make a Decree, that *Caſſander* ſhould reſtore to abſolute liberty the Lady *Roxane*, and her Son; and ſhould yield obedience to the Lord Lieutenant General of the Empire, (by which name *Antigonus* himſelf was underſtood) or elſe ſhould be reputed a Traitor, and open Enemy to the State. Furthermore he propounded, that all the Cities of *Greece* ſhould be reſtored into freedom: this he did, not becauſe he was careful of their good, but for the need which he had of their aſſiſtance.

Theſe things being decreed, *Antigonus* was



was perſwaded, that not only the *Greeks* would adhere unto him, as to their loving Patron, and fall off from *Caſſander*; but that the rulers of Provinces, who had hitherto ſuſpected him as a man regardful of nothing but his own benefit, would correct their opinion, and think him the moſt faithful of all others to the Royal blood. But concerning his loyalty to the young Prince, the world was too wiſe to be deceived with vain ſhews. His undertaking for the liberty of the *Greeks* was more effectual, and got eaſie belief, in regard of his preſent hatred to *Caſſander*. Yet herein alſo *Ptolomy* ſtrove to be as earneſt as he, making the like decree, in hope to win to himſelf that valiant Nation, which afforded men far more ſerviceable in War, than were to be found in any Province of the Empire.

And this indeed was the point at which both ſides aimed. Wherein *Antigonus* thinking to make all ſure, deceived himſelf, not without great coſt. For he gave to *Alexander* the Son of *Polyſperchon* five hundred talents, willing him to ſet the War on foot in *Peloponneſus*, whereby it might appear, that on his ſide was meant nothing elſe, than what was openly pretended.

In *Peloponneſus*, *Caſſanders* men had with much blood-ſhed, grievouſly afflicted the contrary faction, and he himſelf perceiving, that they were more eaſily ſpoiled as enemies, than retained as friends, thought it the beſt way to make what uſe he could of them, that were not long like to continue his. Finally, perceiving that *Alexander* came furniſhed with plenty of gold, wherewith he was able not only to win the doubtful, but to corrupt ſuch as might ſeem beſt aſſured; he thought it a part of wiſdom, to ſurrender upon fair conditions, that which he could not aſſure himſelf to hold any long time by force. Therefore he ſent one to deal with *Alexander* about the matters in controverſie; telling him, that *Antigonus* was very ſkilful in ſetting men together by the ears, not caring who prevailed, but only deſiring to have them weary themſelves, whilſt he was buſied elſewhere; that ſo at length he might find opportunity to ſet upon the ſtronger. If therefore *Alexander* were ſo wiſe, as to keep in his purſe the five hundred talents which he had, and, without ſtroke ſtricken, to receive the whole Lordſhip of *Peloponneſus*, it ſhould be freely put into his hands by *Caſſander*; provided, that he ſhould from thenceforth renounce all confederacy made with *Antigonus*, and enter into a ſure and faithful league with *Ptolomy*, *Caſſander*, and the reſt of the Confederates. Otherwiſe he might well perſwade himſelf, that the Country which his Father could not keep, when he was indeed the Lieutenant of the Empire, ſhould not in haſte be won by him, that was only the Factor of a proud injurious man, ſo ſtiling himſelf, but not acknowledged by others.

*Alexander* had lived a while with *Antigonus* ſince the beginning of theſe wars; among whoſe followers it was not hard to diſcover the intent, (which he did not carry very ſecret) of making himſelf abſolute Lord of all. Therefore he was ſoon entreated to accept ſo good an offer; and did not ſtick to enter into that league, whereby he was to become a free Lord, and ſubject unto no mans controll.

Howbeit, this his honour continued not long, ere he loſt both it and his life together, by treaſon of the *Sicyonians*; who thinking thereby to have made themſelves free, were ſoon after vanquiſhed in battel by *Crateſipolis*, *Alexanders* Wife, a diſcreet and valiant Lady. She in revenge of her Huſbands death; crucified thirty of the Citizens taken in fight; and having by ſeverity taught them obedience, did afterwards continue her Army in good order, and governed thoſe places that ſhe held, with the commendation of her Subjects and Neighbours.

## §. IV.

*The* Ætolians *riſe againſt* Caſſander *in favour of* Antigonus, *and are beaten. A Fleet and Land-Army of* Antigonus *utterly defeated by* Ptolomies *Lieutenant. In what terms the War ſtood at this time.* Antigonus *draws nearer to* Greece.

ANtigonus, when he found, that with ſo much mony he had only bought an enemy, began to raiſe troubles to *Caſſander*, and his other adverſaries in *Greece*, by ſtirring up the *Ætolians* againſt them: Likewiſe he laboured to win to his party the Iſlands in the *Greek* Seas, by whoſe aſſiſtance he might be the better able to deal with *Ptolomy*, that greatly prevailed by reaſon of his ſtrong Fleet. But neither of theſe attempts had the ſucceſs which he expected. The *Ætolians*, a factious Nation, and alwaies envying the greatneſs of their Neighbours, were often in commotion, but ſo, that commonly their gains equalled not their loſſes. *Caſſander* wan ſome of their own Country, fortified the *Acarnanians* againſt them, and compelled *Glaucias*, King of the *Illyrians*, whom he vanquiſhed in battel, to forſake their ſide, and bind himſelf,

ſelf to bear no Arms againſt *Caſſanders* friends.

On the other ſide, as many petty Iſlands were drawn to joyn with *Antigonus*; ſo the Fleet of the Rhodians under *Theodatus*, who was Admiral to *Antigonus*, paſſing along the coaſt of *Aſia* towards *Cyprus*, with an Army under conduct of *Perilaus* marching on the ſhore for mutual aſſiſtance, was quite overthrown by *Ptolomies* Navy. *Polyclytus*, who in *Ptolomies* behalf had been ſent into *Peloponneſus* againſt *Alexander*, finding no need of his ſervice in that Country, becauſe *Alexander* was come over to their ſide, returned homewards, and by the way heard of the courſe which theſe *Antigonians* held, whom he very cunningly ſurpriſed. He rode with his Fleet behind a Cape, which the enemies were to double; his Land-forces he placed in ambuſh, whereinto *Perilaus* falling was taken priſoner, with many of his men, and many were ſlain, making little reſiſtance. *Theodatus* the Admiral perceiving this, made all haſte to help his fellows that were on Land; but whilſt he with all his Fleet were intentive only to that buſineſs, *Polyclytus* appeared at their backs; who as ſoon as he perceived their diſorder, haſtened about the Cape, and charging them behind, ſuffered not one of them to eſcape him. Theſe ill tydings cauſed *Antigonus* to deal with *Ptolomy* about ſome compoſition. Firſt, he ſent Embaſſadours; afterwards they met in perſon. But *Antigonus* would not yield unto the demands of *Ptolomy*: ſo the parley was vain.

Hitherto each part ſeemed to have indifferently ſped in the War, and thereby to have equal cauſe of hope and fear. This late Victory, with the good ſucceſs of his affairs in *Cyprus*, did ſeem to make amends to *Ptolomy* for his loſſes in *Syria*. Likewiſe the revolt of *Alexander* from *Antigonus* did equal the confederacy made between the *Ætolians* and him; as alſo thoſe petty skirmiſhes, that had been in *Aſia* the leſs, to *Antigonus* his advantage, were ſufficiently recompenced by others of like regard, but adverſe to him, and by the troubles brought upon his eſtates in thoſe parts by the two *Caſſanders*.

Contrariwiſe, *Antigonus* valued the loſs of his men, mony, and ſhips, no otherwiſe than as the pairing of his nails, that were left long enough, and would eaſily grow again, but the enlargement of his Territory by addition of *Syria*, he prized at a higher rate; as if thereby he had fed upon a limb of *Ptolomy* his enemy, and ſtrengthened the body of his own Empire. Concerning other accidents, whereof the good were hitherto ſufficient to counterpoize the bad, he meant to proceed as occaſion ſhould direct, which commonly is not long wanting to them, that want no mony.

That which moſt moleſted him, was the attempts of his enemies upon *Aſia* the leſs; wherein though as yet they had gotten little, yet had he cauſe to fear, leſt the people being tied unto him by no bond of allegiance, might upon ſmall occaſion revolt from him, to men of as honourable reputation as he himſelf. To prevent this, and to be neerer to *Greece*, he held it expedient for him to be there in perſon, where his affairs did ſeem to proſper the worſe, by reaſon of his abſence. Therefore he left part of his Army in *Syria*, under his Son *Demetrius*, to whom being then but two and twenty years old, he appointed many ancient Captains, as Aſſiſtants, or rather as Directors: the reſt he carried with him into *Phrygia*, where he meant to winter.

## §. V.

*How* Lyſimachus *and* Caſſander *vanquiſhed ſome enemies, raiſed againſt them by* Antigonus. *The good ſucceſs of* Antigonus *in* Aſia *and* Greece: *with the rebellion of many Cities againſt* Caſſander.

THe coming of *Antigonus* into thoſe parts, wrought a great alteration in the proceſs of his buſineſs thereabouts. For his enemies had ſhort leiſure to think upon moleſting him in *Aſia*: they themſelves were held over-hardly to their own work on *Europe* ſide. *Seuthes* a King of the *Thracians*, joyning with ſome Towns that rebelled againſt *Lyſimachus*, brought alſo the bordering *Scythians* into the quarrel. All theſe relyed upon *Antigonus*, who was to help them with mony and other aid. The *Ætolians* likewiſe took courage, and roſe againſt *Caſſander*, having *Æacides*, lately reſtored to the Kingdom of *Epirus*, their Aſſiſtant. But *Lyſimachus* gave unto his Rebels no time to confirm themſelves. He ſuddenly preſented himſelf before two of the Cities that had rebelled, & compelled them by fear to return unto their former duty. He fought a battel with the *Scythians*, and wilde *Thracians*, and drave them out of the Country. Finally, he overcame *Seuthes*; and following the heat of his Victory, ſlew *Pauſanias* in Battel, whom *Antigonus* had ſent over with an Army; and all his men he did either put to ranſome, or fill up with them his own Bands. The like ſucceſs had *Philip*,



*Philip*, *Caſſanders* Lieutenant, againſt the *Ætolians*. For he waſted their Country; fought with the *Epirotes*, that came to help them: and after the victory, fought again with their forces joyned in one, overthrowing them, and, killing *Æacides* that unfortunate King. Finally, he drave the *Ætolians* out of moſt of their Country, and forced them to ſeek their ſafety among the wild Mountains. Of the *Epirotes* he ſent as priſoners to *Caſſander*, the principal Authors of the Kings reſtitution, and of the preſent War.

Yet theſe actions required ſome time, and wearied *Antigonus* his adverſaries with painful travel; after which they remained only favers. *Antigonus* himſelf at fair leiſure wan all *Caria* the whilſt, and ſent Armies into *Peloponneſus*, and other parts of *Greece*, beſtowing liberty upon all the Cities he took out of *Caſſanders* hands. The whole Country of *Peloponneſus* (excepting *Sicyon* and *Corinth*) with the Iſle of *Eubœa*, and many places of the firm Land, were by thoſe means won to be his in true and vehement affection, ready to do or ſuffer any thing for him that had made ſo evident a demonſtration of his readineſs, to give them the liberty in deed, which others had promiſed in idle words. Many States deſirous of the ſame benefit, would fain have ſhewed their good will; but they were kept in by *Caſſanders* Garriſons, who was too wiſe to truſt them looſe. Therefore *Antigonus* made ſhew as if he would paſs over into *Macedon*: by which terrour he forced *Caſſander* to repair thither in all haſte, with the beſt of his ſtrength, leaving many good Towns of *Greece* ſo weakly guarded, that well they might take courage to help themſelves, if any forein ſuccour appeared. The aid which they deſired was not long wanting. The Lieutenant of *Antigonus*, taking the advantage of *Caſſanders* departure, entred the Country; drave his Garriſons out of divers Cities; forced the Governour of *Athens* to enter into league with their Lord; wan the Citadel of *Thebes*, and ſet the people at liberty. This laſt action was ſomewhat remarkable. For *Thebes* had not long before been raiſed out of her old ruines by the meer power of *Caſſander*; of which act he was accuſed by *Antigonus*, as if it had been ſome hainous crime. Yet now the ſame *Antigonus* winneth the City, and the love of the Inhabitants, only by expelling him that was their Founder. So much are men readier to thank the Increaſer, than the Author of their good; and rather to look forward upon thoſe hopes, which vainly they extend beyond all meaſure, than backward upon their miſerable nullity, that held them uncapable of being any thing.

## §. VI.

*Victories of* Ptolomy *by Sea. A great Battel at* Gaza, *which* Ptolomy *and* Seleucus *wan, againſt* Demetrius *the Son of* Antigonus.

AS the preſence or neerneſs of *Antigonus* gave life to his affairs in the lower *Aſia* and *Greece*; ſo the deſigns of his enemies, taking advantage at his abſence, ruined the very foundations of thoſe great works in the Eaſtern parts, wherewith in the year preceding he had over-topped them. The Iſle of *Cyprus*, whoſe Princes wavered between contrary affections, inclining one while to *Antigonus*, another while faintly regarding their covenant with *Ptolomy*, was viſited by an *Egyptian* Fleet, wherewith *Ptolomy*, in his own perſon eaſily reduced them to a more ſettled order, putting ſome to death, carrying others away priſoners, & leaving a Lieutenant of his own appointment, Governour of the whole Country. With the ſame Fleet he ran alongſt the Sea-coaſts, waſting a great part of *Caria* and *Cilicia*, with the ſpoils of which he enriched his followers, and returned loaden to *Cyprus*. *Demetrius* the Son of *Antigonus*, hearing frequent reports of the miſeries, wherewith his Fathers ſubjects were oppreſſed, made all haſte out of *Syria* to the reſcue, taking only his horſes, and light-armed foot with him, becauſe the buſineſs required expedition. But in vain did he tire himſelf & his followers, in haſty ſeeking of one, that by lanching out into the deep, could in a few minutes delude the labour of ſo many daies, if need had ſo required. Anſwerable to the vanity of this expedition was the ſucceſs. For *Ptolomy* was gone, before *Demetrius* came into *Cilicia*. Neither was it certain, whether having lightned his ſhips of their burthen in *Cyprus*, he would return upon thoſe maritime Countries, or make towards *Syria*, where his coming was expected. He was indeed gone into *Egypt*, and there with *Seleucus* was deſcribing a Royal Army, which he levied with all convenient ſpeed, for the recovery of *Syria*. This was more than *Demetrius* knew. Therefore he was fain to chuſe out of uncertainties the moſt likelihood, and return the way that he came, with all his companies, which were fitter for ſervice in the open field, than to be beſtowed in Garriſons among the *Cilicians*. He had

scarce refreshed his men and horses in *Syria*, when the news arrived of *Ptolomy*'s coming with a puissant Army, to give him battel. Hereupon he called to counsel his principal friends, who advised him to give way to the time, and expect some better opportunity in the future, being a young man, and weakly furnished with means to resist such ancient and famous Generals, as *Ptolomy* and *Seleucus*. This counsel seemed rather to proceed from the cold temper of those aged men that gave it, than from any necessity growing out of the present business. For *Demetrius* considering himself to be the Son of *Antigonus*, and now General of his Fathers Army, thought his own title weighty enough to be laid in ballance against the bare names of those two great Commanders. Neither found he much reason that should move him to distrust his forces, as insufficient. His men were better exercised than the enemies, and promised as much as could be required. Therefore perswading himself, that such odds of number, and of great fame, would rather serve to adorn his victory, than hinder him in obtaining it, he resolved to put the matter to tryal, without expecting the advantage of more help. So animating his Souldiers with hope of spoil and rewards, he abode the coming of the Enemies at *Gaza*, with purpose to encounter them, as soon as they had finished their wearisome journey over the Desarts of *Arabia*.

*Ptolomy* and *Seleucus* issuing out of so rich a Province as *Egypt*, came so well provided of all necessaries, that their Army felt not any great grievance of the evil way, when battel was presented them, which confidently they undertook. In all things else they had the odds of *Demetrius*; of Elephants they were utterly unprovided. But how to deal with those beasts they were not ignorant. They had prepared a kind of Palisado, fastened strongly together with chains, and sharpened in such a manner, that the Elephants could not seek to break upon it, without receiving much hurt. The rest of their forces (which (besides that they had advantage in multitude) were heartened with many fortunate services, by them performed that year, whilst the enemies had wearied themselves, either with vain journeys, or long and dulling expectation) they disposed in such order, as best answered to the form, wherein *Demetrius* was embattelled. The fight began, and was maintained with equal courage, for a long time, each part striving more to win honour, than to satisfie any other passion, as having little cause of hatred, or revenge. But after some continuance, the greater number holding better out, the errour of *Demetrius*, who upon no necessity would needs fight a battel with disadvantage, began to appear by his losses. He had committed himself to Fortune, having more to lose by her than he could get: but in this fight she was idle, and left all to be decided by strong hands; unless it may be said, that the terrour brought upon his men, by the loss of his Elephants, was bad luck. Those beasts were in that kind of War hardly to be resisted on plain ground; and therefore at the first they made great spoil amongst *Ptolomy*'s men. Afterward seeking to break thorow the Palisado, they were sorely hurt, and every one of them taken. This disaster caused the horse-men of *Demetrius* to faint. They had laboured hard, and prevailed little, till now perceiving that all must lye upon their hands, who were ill able to make their own places good, they began to shrink, and many of them to provide for their safety by timely flight, which example the rest quickly followed. When *Demetrius* had stroven so long in vain to make his men abide, that he himself was likely to be lost; he was fain to give place to the stronger, making a violent retrait as far as to *Azotus*, which was about thirty miles from the place of Battel. A great part of his carriages was in *Gaza*, whither some of his company turned aside, hoping to save such goods, as in haste they could pack up. This foolish covetousness was their destruction, and the loss of the Town. For, whilst they, forgetful of the danger, had filled the streets with sumpter-horses, and cloyed up the gates, thronging, some to get in and fetch; others, to carry out what they had already loaden, *Ptolomy*'s Army brake in without resistance, taking them with their goods and the City altogether.

This Victory restored unto *Ptolomy* the best part of *Syria*, a Province more easie in those times to get, than to keep; and opened the way unto all the greatness of *Seleucus*. For between *Gaza* and *Phœnicia* no place offered resistance. In *Cœlosyria* and *Phœnicia*, some Towns held out a while, but were soon taken in by *Ptolomy*. Among these were the great Cities of *Tyrus* and *Sidon*; of which *Sidon* was given up by the Inhabitants; *Tyrus* by the Garrison, falling to mutiny against their Captain, who trusting to the strength of it, had made great vaunts, but was pardoned by *Ptolomy*, and honourably entertained in respect of his fidelity.

## §. VII.

*How* Seleucus *recovered* Babylon, *and made himself Lord of many Countries in the highest* Asia. *The* Æra *of the Kingdome of the* Greeks, *which began with the Dominion of* Seleucus.

WHile *Ptolomy* followed his business with such prosperity, *Seleucus* took leave of him, and went up to *Babylon*, to try his own fortune; which he found so favourable, that recovering first his own Province, he became at length master of the better part of *Alexanders* purchases.

This expedition of *Seleucus* was very strange, and full of unlikelihoods. His train consisted of no more than eighteen hundred foot, and two hundred horse, a number too small to have been placed as Garrison, in some one of those main great Cities, against which he carried it into the higher *Asia*. But little force is needful, to make way into strong places, for him that already stands possessed of their hearts which dwell within the walls. The name of *Seleucus* was enough; whom the *Babylonians* had found so good a Governour, that none of them would find courage to resist him; but left that work to *Antigonus* his own men, wishing them ill to speed. Some of the *Macedonians* that were in those Countries, had the like affection; others made a countenance of War, which by easie compulsion they left off, and followed new Ensignes. This added courage to the people, who came in apace, and submitted themselves joyfully to *Seleucus*. In a defection so general, it was not a safe course for the *Antigonians*, to thrust themselves into the Towns of most importance: for every man of them should have been troubled with daily enemies in his own lodging. It remained that they should issue forth into the field, and try the matter by fight. But the treason of one principal man, who revolted to the enemy, with more than a thousand Souldiers following him, so dismayed the rest, that they did no more than seek to make good one strong place, wherein were kept the Hostages and Prisoners, that *Antigonus* held for his security in those quarters. This Castle, belike, they had not fortified in times of leisure, against dangers, that were not then apparent. *Seleucus* quickly took it; and so got the entire possession of *Mesopotamia* and *Babylon*.

*Antigonus* had bestowed in *Media* and *Persia*, forces convenient for defence of those Provinces, that were the utmost of his Dominion. In the Countries about *Euphrates* he had not done the like: for his own great Army lay between them and all enemies. Therefore when the victory at *Gaza* had opened unto *Seleucus* the way into those parts; he found little impediment in the rest of his business. Having now gotten what he sought, it behoved him to seek how he might keep his gettings: for his own forces were too small, and his friends were ill able to lend him any more. That which his friends could not do for him, his enemies did. *Nicanor*, to whom *Antigonus* had committed his Army in *Media*, joyning unto himself, out of *Persia* and other Countries, all needful help, came, with ten thousand Foot, and seven thousand Horse, either to save all from being lost, or to drive *Seleucus* out of that which he had won.

Against this power, *Seleucus* had only four hundred Horse, and somewhat above three thousand Foot, wherewith to oppose himself: his large Conquest of unwarlike Nations having yielded him many loving Subjects, but few Souldiers. Therefore when his enemies were near to the River of *Tigris*, he withdrew himself from the place where his resistance was expected, into certain marishes not far off; where he lay secretly waiting for some advantage. *Nicanor* thought that he had been fled, and was the less careful in fortifying his Camp. In recompence of this vain security, his Camp was taken by surprise, the first night of his arrival; the *Satrapa*, or Lieutenant of *Persia*, together with sundry of the Captains, were slain; he himself was driven to flee for his life into the desarts, and the whole Army yielded unto *Seleucus*: whose gentle demeanour, after the victory, drew all *Media*, *Susiana*, and the Neighbour Provinces, to acknowledge him their Lord without any further stroke stricken.

This victory of *Seleucus* gave beginning unto the new stile, of *The Kingdom of the Greeks*, an accompt much used by the *Jews*, *Chaldæans*, *Syrians*, and other Nations in those parts. I will not make any long disputation about the first year of this *Æra*. The authority of that great Astrologer *Ptolomy*, from which there is no appeal, makes it plain, that *the five hundred and nineteenth year of* Nabonassar, *was the fourscore and second year of this accompt*. Other inference hereupon is needless, than that note of the learned *Gauricus*, *That the first of these years was reckoned compleat, at* Babylon, *together with the end of four hundred thirty and eight years after* Nabonassar. With the observation of the *Saturn*, recorded by *Ptolomy*, agrees (as it ought) the calculation of *Bunting*; finding

Pol. Almag. lib. 11. cap. 7. & 8.

L. Gauric. in annot. ad locum citatum.

finding the ſame Planet to have been ſo placed in the ſign of *Virgo*, as the *Chaldæans* had obſerved it, in the ſame year; which was from *Nabonaſſar* the five hundred and nineteenth; from *Seleucus* the fourſcore and ſecond year; and the laſt of the hundred thirty and ſeventh *Olympiad*. Theſe obſervations of the celeſtial bodies, are the ſureſt marks of time: from which he that wilfully varies, is inexcuſable. As for ſuch occurrences in Hiſtory, and the years of ſucceeding Princes (that are not ſeldom ambiguous, by reaſon of unremembred fractions) if they ſeem to be here-againſt, it is not greatly material. Yet thus much is worthy of note; that theſe years of the *Greeks* were not reckoned in all Countries from one beginning; as plainly appears in the difference of one year, that is found between actions, related by the ſeveral Authors of the two Books of the *Maccabees*, who follow divers accompts. He that ſhall adhere to the time defined by *Ptolomy*, may apply the other ſupputations thereunto, as being no farther from it, than a years diſtance.

## §. VIII.

*How* Ptolomy *loſt all he won in* Syria. *What the cauſes were of the quiet obedience, performed unto the* Macedonians, *by thoſe that had been ſubject unto the Perſian Empire. Of divers petty enterprizes, taken in hand by* Antigonus *and* Demetrius, *with ill ſucceſs.*

IN a happy hour did *Seleucus* adventure to go up to *Babylon*, with ſo few men as his friend could then well ſpare: for had he ſtayed longer upon hope of getting more Souldiers, *Ptolomy* could have ſpared him none at all. *Demetrius* the ſon of *Antigonus*, having loſt the battel at *Gaza*, received from *Ptolomy* all his own goods, his Pages, and Servants, in free gift, and therewithal a courteous meſſage, to this effect: That no perſonal hatred was the ground of this War, which he and his Confederates held with *Antigonus*; but only terms of honour, wherein they would ſeek to right themſelves after ſuch manner, that other friendly Offices, without reference to the quarrel, ſhould not be forgotten.

This Noble dealing of *Ptolomy*, did kindle in *Demetrius* an earneſt deſire of requiting him, with ſome as brave liberality. Which to effect, he gathered together the remainder of his broken troups; drew as many as could be ſpared, out of the Garriſons in *Cilicia*, or other Provinces thereabouts, and advertiſing his Father of his misfortune, beſought him to ſend a new ſupply, wherewith he might redeem his honour loſt. *Antigonus* upon the firſt news of this overthrow, had ſaid, That the victory which *Ptolomy* wan upon a beardleſs Boy, ſhould be taken from him by bearded men: yet upon deſire that his ſon, whom he tenderly loved, ſhould amend his own reputation, he was content to make a ſtand in *Phrygia*. *Ptolomy* hearing of *Demetrius* his preparations, did nevertheleſs follow his own buſineſs in *Celoſyria*; thinking it enough to ſpend part of his Army under *Cilles* his Lieutenant, againſt the remnant of thoſe, that had been already vanquiſhed, when *Cilles* too much undervalued the power of ſuch an Enemy. He thought that this young Gallant, having lately ſaved his life by flight, would now be more careful of having a fair way at his back, than adventurous in ſetting further forward, than urgent reaſon ſhould provoke him. In this confidence he paſſed on without all fear; as one that were already Maſter of the field, and ſhould meet with none, that would iſſue out of their places of ſtrength, to make reſiſtance. When *Demetrius* was informed of this careleſs march; he took the lighteſt of his Army, and made his journey with ſuch diligence, one whole night, that early in the morning, he came upon *Cilles* unexpected, and was on the ſuddain, without any battel, Maſter of his Camp: taking him alive, with his Souldiers, and their carriages all at once.

This exploit ſerved not only to repair the credit of *Demetrius*, which his loſs at *Gaza* had almoſt ruined: but further it enabled him, to recompence the bounty of *Ptolomy*, with equal favour, in reſtoring to him *Cilles*, with many other of his friends, accompanied with rich preſents. But neither was *Ptolomy* ſo weakned by this loſs, nor *Demetrius* ſo emboldned by his victory, that any matter of conſequence thereupon enſued. For *Demetrius* feared the coming of *Ptolomy*; and therefore he fortified himſelf in places of advantage: *Ptolomy* on the other ſide was loth to engage himſelf in an enterpriſe, wherein he might perceive, that if the coming of *Antigonus* found him entangled, he ſhould either be driven to make a ſhameful retrait, or a dangerous adventure of his whole eſtate, in hope of not much more than already he poſſeſſed.

*Antigonus*, indeed, was nothing ſlow in his way towards *Syria*; whither he made all haſte, not ſo much to relieve his ſon, as to embrace him. For he rejoyced exceedingly, that the young man had ſo well acquitted himſelf, and being left to his own advice, performed the office of a good Commander. Wherefore to increaſe the reputation of this late victory, he brought ſuch forces, as might ſerve to re-conquer all *Syria*: meaning, that the honour of all ſhould be referred unto the good foundation laid by his ſon; whom from this time forwards, he imployed in matters of greateſt importance.



*Ptolomy* had now leſs reaſon to encounter with *Antigonus*, than before his coming to have aſſailed the Camp of *Demetrius*. Yet he made it a matter of conſultation; as if he had dared more than he meant. But all his Captains adviſed him to retire into *Egypt*, alledging many good arguments to that purpoſe: which they might well perceive to be agreeable to his own intent, by his propounding that courſe; not without remembrance of the good ſucceſs againſt *Perdiccas*, in the like defenſive War. So he departed out of *Syria*, preſerving his honour; as being rather led by mature deliberation, than any ſuddain paſſion of fear: and he departed at fair leiſure, not only carrying his treaſures along with him, but ſtaying to diſmantle ſome principal Cities, that he thought moſt likely to trouble him in the future. All the Country that he left at his back, fell preſently to *Antigonus*, without putting him to the trouble of winning it by pieces: ſo eaſie was it in thoſe times, for the Captain of a ſtrong Army, to make himſelf Lord of a great Province.

We may juſtly wonder, that theſe Kingdoms of *Syria*, *Media*, *Babylon*, and many other Nations, (which the victory of *Alexander* had over-run with ſo haſty a courſe, as gave him not leiſure to take any good view of them) were ſo eaſily held not only by himſelf, but by the Captains of his Army after him. The hot contentions for ſuperiority between the King of *Iſrael*, and thoſe of *Damaſcus*; between *Egypt*, and *Babylon*; *Babylon* and *Nineve*; the *Perſians* and many Countries; argue a more manly temper, to have once been in thoſe people; which are now ſo patient of a forraign yoke, that like Sheep or Oxen, they ſuffer themſelves to be diſtributed, fought for, won, loſt, and again recovered by contentious Maſters; as if they had no title to their own heads, but were born to follow the fortune of the *Macedonians*. This will appear the more ſtrange, if we ſhall conſider, how the ſeveral States of *Greece* (many of which had never poſſeſſed ſo large Dominion, as might cauſe their ſpirits to ſwell beyond their ability) did greedily embrace all occaſions of liberty: and how theſe proud Conquerours were glad to offer it, deſiring to have them rather friends than ſervants, for fear of further inconvenience.

It muſt therefore be noted, that moſt of theſe Countries had alwayes been ſubject unto the rule of Kings, or petty Lords, whom the *Babylonians* and *Perſians* long ſince had rooted out, and held them in ſuch bondage, that few of them knew any other Law, than the command of forraign Maſters. This had utterly taken from them all remembrance of home-born Princes, and incorporated them into the great body of the *Perſian* Empire: ſo that wanting within themſelves all ſoveraign power, or high authority, the life and ſpirit of every Eſtate; they lay as dead, and were bereaved of motion, when that Kingdom fell, whereof they lately had been members.

Why the *Perſian Satrapæ*, or Princes of that Empire, did not when *Darius* was taken from them, as the *Macedonian* Captains after the death of *Alexander*, ſtrive to lay hold upon thoſe Provinces, which had many ages been ſubject unto them, and ſcarce four years in quiet poſſeſſion of their enemies; or why at leaſt they contended not (when the terrible name of that great Conquerour did ceaſe to affright them) to get their ſhares among his followers, if not wholly to diſpoſſeſs them of their new purchaſes: it is a queſtion, wherein who is not ſatisfied, may find no leſs reaſon to ſuſpect the Hiſtory, than authority to confirm it. For we ſeldome read, that any ſmall Kingdom, prevailing againſt a far greater, hath made ſo entire a conqueſt, in the compaſs of ten years, as left unto the vanquiſhed no hope of recovery, nor means to rebel; eſpecially when ſuch diſorders, or rather utter confuſion hath enſued, by the fury of civil War among the Victors.

The cauſe why the *Macedonians* held ſo quietly the *Perſian* Empire, is well ſet down by *Machiavel*; and concerns all other Kingdoms, that are ſubject unto the like form of Government: the ſum whereof is this; Whereſoever the Prince doth hold all his Subjects under the condition of ſlaves, there is the conqueſt eaſie, and ſoon aſſured: Where ancient Nobility is had in due regard, there is it hard to win all, and harder to keep that which is won. Examples of this are the Turkiſh Empire, and the Kingdom of *France*. If any Invader ſhould prevail ſo far upon Turky, that the great *Sultan* and his Children (for Brethren he uſeth not to ſuffer alive) were taken or ſlain: the whole Empire would quickly be won, and

and easily kept, without any danger of rebellion. For the Bassaes, how great soever they may seem, are meer slaves; neither is there in all that large Dominion, any one man, whose personal regard could get the people to follow him in such an attempt, wherein hope of private gain should not countervail all apparent matter of fear. Contrariwise, in *France*, it were not enough for him that would make a conquest, to get into his hands the King and his Children; though he further got the better part of the Country, and were by far the strongest in the field. For, besides the Princes of the Royal blood, there are in that Kingdom store of great men; who are mighty in their several Countries, and having certain Royalties and Principalities of their own, are able to raise War in all quarters of the Realm; whereunto the remembrance of their own ancient Families, and long continued Nobility, will alwayes stir up and inflame them: so that untill every ones piece were won, and every one (an endless work) of the chief Nobility brought under or destroyed, the victory were not compleat, nor well assured. It is true, that such power of the Nobility, doth often-times make way for an Invader; to whom the discontentments of a few can easily make a fair entrance. But such assistants are not so easily kept, as they are gotten; for they look to be satisfied at full, in all their demands; and having what they would, they soon return to their old allegiance, upon condition to keep what they have, unless they be daily hired with new rewards: wherein it is hard to please one man, without offending another as good as himself. The *Turk*, on the other side, needs not to fear any peril, that might arise from the discontented spirits of his principal men. The greatest mischief that any of them could work against him, were the betraying of some frontier Town, or the wilful loss of a battel: which done, the Traitor hath spent his sting, and must either fly to the enemy, whereby he loseth all that he formerly did hold; or else, in hope of doing some further harm, he must adventure to excuse himself unto his Master, who seldom forgives the Captain, that hath not strived by desperate valour against misfortune. As for making head, or arming their followers against the great *Sultan*, and so joyning themselves unto any Invader; it is a matter not to be doubted: for none of them have any followers or dependants at all, other than such as are subject unto them, by vertue of their Offices and Commissions. Now as this base condition of the principal men, doth leave unto them no means, whereby to oppose themselves against the flourishing estate of their Prince; so would it weaken both their power and their courage in giving him assistance, if adversity should make him stand in need of them. For there is scarce any one among the *Turks* Bassaes, or Provincial Governours, that knows either from whence he was brought, or from whom descended, nor any one among them, that by the loss and utter ruin of the *Turkish* Empire, can lose any foot of his proper inheritance; and it is the proper inheritance of the subject, which is also a Kingdom unto him, which makes him fight with an armed heart against the Conquerour, who hath no other device painted on his Ensign, than the picture of slavery.

As is the *Turkish* Empire, so was the *Persian*, void of liberty in the Subjects, and utterly destitute of other Nobility, than such as depended upon meer favour of the Prince. Some indeed there were of the Royal blood, and others, descended from the Princes that joyned with *Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*, in oppressing the *Magi*: these were men of reputation in *Persia*, but their reputation consisted only in their Pedigree, and their safety in not medling with affairs of State, which made them little esteemed. In what small account these *Persian* Princes were held, it may appear by this, that the Kings Uncles, Cousin Germans, and Brethren, were called by the Kings, *Their slaves*, and so did stile themselves, in speaking unto these great Monarchs. That upon every light occasion of displeasure they were handled as Slaves, it is easie to be discerned, in that example of cruelty, practised by *Xerxes* upon his own brother *Masistes*; which hath been formerly noted, in place more convenient. As for the *Satrapæ*, or Governours of the Provinces, it is needless to cite examples, proving them to have been meer slaves: it may suffice, that their heads were taken from them at the Kings will; that is, at the will of those Women and Eunuchs, by whom the King was governed.

To this want of Nobility in *Persia*, may be added the general want of liberty convenient among the people: a matter no less available, in making easie and sure the conquest of a Nation, than is the cause assigned by *Machiavel*. For as *Æsope* his Ass did not care to run from the enemies, because it was not possible, that they should load him with heavier burthens, than his Master caused him daily to bear: so the Nations, that endure the worst under their own Princes, are



are not greatly fearful of a forein yoke; Nor will be hasty to shake it off, if by experience they find it more light, than was that whereunto they had been long accustomed. This was it that made the *Gascoignes* bear such faithful affection to the Kings of *England*; for that they governed more mildly than the *French*. This enlarged the *Venetian* jurisdiction in *Lombardy*; for the Towns that they wan, they wan out of the hands of Tyrannous oppressors: and this did cause the *Macedonians*, with other Nations that had been subject unto the posterity of *Alexanders* followers, to serve the *Romans* patiently, if not willingly; for that by them they were eased of many burthens, which had been imposed upon them by their own Kings.

So that of this tameness, which we find in those that had been subjects of the *Persian* Kings, the reasons are apparent. Yet some of these there were, that could not so easily be contained in good order by the *Macedonians*: for they had not indeed been absolutely conquered by the *Persian*. Such were the *Sogdians*, *Bactrians*, and other Nations about the *Caspian* Sea. Such also were the *Arabians* bordering upon *Syria*: against whom *Antigonus* sent part of his Army; thinking therewith to bring them under, or rather to get a rich booty. The Captains that he sent, fell upon the *Nabathæans*, at such time as they were busied in a great Mart; wherein they traded with the more remote *Arabians* for Mirrh, Frankincense, and other such commodities. All or most of these rich wares, together with five hundred talents of silver, and many prisoners, the *Macedonians* laid hold upon: for their coming was sudden and unexpected. But ere they could recover *Syria*, the *Nabathæans* overtook them, and finding them weary with long marches, made such a slaughter, that of four thousand foot, and six hundred horse, only fifty horse escaped. To revenge this loss, *Demetrius* was set out with a great power: yet all in vain; for he was not resisted by any Army, but by the natural defence of a vast Wilderness, lack of water, and of all things necessary. Therefore he was glad to make peace with them; wherein he lost not much honour: for they craved it, and gave him presents. Returning from the *Nabathæans*, he viewed the Lake *Asphaltites*, whence he conceived hope of great profit that might be raised, by gathering the Sulphure. With this good husbandry of his Son, *Antigonus* was well pleased, and appointed men to the work: but they were slain by the *Arabians*, and so that hope vanished.

These petty enterprises, with the ill success accompanying them, had much impaired the good advantage against *Ptolomy*, when the news of *Seleucus* his victories in the high Countries, marred all together. For neither was the loss of those great and wealthy Provinces, a matter to be neglected, neither was it safe to transport the War into the parts beyond *Euphrates*, whereby *Syria*, and the lower *Asia* should have been exposed to the danger of ill-affected Neighbours. A middle course was thought the best; and *Demetrius*, with fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse, was sent against *Seleucus*. These forces being sent away, *Antigonus* did nothing, and his Son did less. For *Seleucus* was then in *Media*; his Lieutenants about *Babylon* withdrew themselves from necessity of fight; some places they fortified and kept; *Demetrius* could hold nothing that he got, without setting in Garrison more men than he could spare, neither did he get much; and therefore was fain to set out the bravery of his Expedition, by burning and spoiling the Country; which he did thereby the more alienate, and, as it were, acknowledge to belong unto his enemy, who thenceforth held it as his own assured.

*Antigonus* had laid upon his Son a peremptory commandment, to return unto him at a time prefixed: reasonably thinking (as may seem) that in such an unsettled state of things, either the War might be ended, by the fury of the first brunt; or else it would be vain to strive against all difficulties likely to arise, where want of necessaries should frustrate the valour, that by strength of time was like to become less terrible to the enemy. *Demetrius* therefore leaving behind him five thousand foot, and a thousand horse, rather to make shew of continuing the War, than to effect much, where himself with greater forces could do little more than nothing, forsook the enterprize, and went back to his Father.

## §. IX.

*A general Peace made and broken. How all the house of* Alexander *was destroyed.*

THese ambitious heads, having thus wearied themselves with uneffectual travel, in seeking to get more than any one of them could hold; were contented at length to come to an agreement: wherein it was concluded, that each of them should hold quietly, that which at the present he had in possession. As no private hatred, but meer desire of Empire, had moved them to

enter into the War; so was it no friendly reconciliation, but only a dulneſs growing upon the ſlow advancement of their ſeveral hopes, that made them willing to breathe a while, till occaſion might better ſerve to fight again.

Beſides that main point, *Of retaining the Provinces which every man held*, there were two Articles of the peace, that gave a fair, but a falſe colour, to the buſineſs; *That the Son of* Alexander *by* Roxane, *ſhould be made King when he came to full age*; and, *That all the Eſtates of* Greece *ſhould be ſet at liberty*. The advancement of young *Alexander* to his Fathers Kingdom, ſeems to have been a matter forceably extorted from *Antigonus*; in whom was diſcovered a purpoſe, to have made himſelf Lord of all. But this, indeed, more neerly touched *Caſſander*. For in his cuſtody was the young Prince and his Mother: neither did he keep them in a ſort anſwerable to their degree; but as cloſe priſoners, taken in that War, wherein they had ſeen the old Queen *Olympias* taken and murdered, that ſought to put them in poſſeſſion of the Empire. The mutual hatred and fear between them, rooted in theſe grounds, of injuries done, and revenge expected; upon this concluſion of peace, grew up faſter than any time before, in the heart of *Caſſander*: who ſaw the *Macedonians* turn their favourable expectation, towards the Son of their late renowned King.

All this either little concerned *Antigonus*; or tended greatly to his good. The young Prince muſt firſt have poſſeſſion of *Macedon*: whereby *Caſſander* ſhould be reduced to his poor office, *of Captain over a thouſand men*, if not left in worſe caſe. As for them that held Provinces abroad, they might either do as they had done under *Aridæus*; or better, as being better acquainted with their own ſtrength. He, in the mean time, by his readineſs to acknowledge the true Heir, had freed himſelf from that ill-favoured imputation, of ſeeking to make himſelf Lord of all that *Alexander* had gotten.

The like advantage had he in that Article, *Of reſtoring the Greeks to their liberty*. This liberty had hitherto been the ſubject of much idle diſcourſe: but it never took effect. *Antigonus* held ſcarce any Town of theirs, *Caſſander* occupied moſt of the Country: which if he ſhould ſet free, he muſt be a poor Prince; if not, there was matter enough of quarrel againſt him, as againſt a Diſturber of the common Peace.

In the mean ſeaſon, the Countries lying between *Euphrates* and the *Greek* Seas, together with a great Army, and mony enough to entertain a greater, might ſerve to hold up the credit of *Antigonus*, and to raiſe his hopes as high as ever they had been.

With much diſadvantage do many men contend againſt one that is equal to them all in puiſſance. *Caſſanders* friends had left him in an ill caſe; but he could not do withall: for, where every one mans help is neceſſary to the War, there may any one make his own peace; but no one can ſtand out alone, when all the reſt are weary. The beſt was, that he knew all their affections: which tended to no ſuch end as the becoming Subjects unto any man, much leſs to the Son of an *Aſiatique* woman, of whom they had long ſince refuſed to hear mention. Therefore he took a ſhort courſe, and cauſed both the Child and his Mother to be ſlain: freeing thereby himſelf in a trice, from the dangerous neceſſity of yielding up his Government, which he muſt have done when the Child had come to age. *Roxane* was a Lady of ſingular beauty, which was perhaps the cauſe, why *Perdiccas* deſired to have her Son, being as yet unborn, proclaimed Heir to the great *Alexander*. Immediately upon the death of *Alexander*, ſhe had uſed the favour (if it were not love) of *Perdiccas*, to the ſatiſfying of her own bloody malice, upon *Statira*, the Daughter of King *Darius*, whom *Alexander* had likewiſe married, according to the cuſtom of thoſe Countries, wherein plurality of Wives is held no crime. For, having by a counterfeit Letter, in *Alexanders* name, gotten this poor Lady into her hands, ſhe did, by aſſiſtance of *Perdiccas*, murder her and her Siſter, and threw their bodies into a Well, cauſing it to be filled up with earth. But now, by Gods juſt vengeance, were ſhe and her Son made away, in the like ſecret faſhion; even at ſuch time as the neer approaching hope of a great Empire had made her life, after a weariſome impriſonment, grow dearer unto her than it was before.

The fact of *Caſſander* was not ſo much deteſted in outward ſhew; as inwardly it was pleaſing unto all the reſt of the Princes. For now they held themſelves free Lords of all that they had under them; fearing none other change of their eſtates, than ſuch as might ariſe by chance of War; wherein every one perſwaded himſelf of ſucceſs, rather better than worſe. Hereupon all of them (except *Lyſimachus* and *Seleucus*, that had work enough at home) began to rowze themſelves: as if now the time were come, for each man to improve his own ſtock. *Antigonus* his Lieutenants were buſie in *Peloponneſus*, and about *Helleſpont*: while their Maſter was careful in following other, and ſome greater matters that were more ſecretly to be handled. He pretended the liberty of *Greece*: yet did the ſame argument miniſter unto *Ptolomy* matter of quarrel, againſt both him and *Caſſander*; *Ptolomy* complaining (as if he had taken the matter deeply to heart) that *Antigonus* had put Garriſons into ſome Towns, which ought, in fair dealing, to be ſet at liberty. Under colour of redreſſing this enormity, he ſent an Army into *Cilicia*, where he won four Towns, and ſoon after loſt them, without much labour of his own or his enemies.



After this, putting to Sea with a ſtrong Fleet, he ran along the coaſt of *Aſia*, winning many places: and in that voyage allured unto him a Nephew of *Antigonus* (a good Commander, but diſcontented with the ill requital of his ſervices) whom finding ſhortly, as falſe to himſelf as he had been to his own Uncle, he was fain to put to death. But in doing theſe things, his deſire to ſet the *Greeks* at liberty, appeared not ſo plain, as he wiſhed that it ſhould: for their caſe was no way bettered by his moleſting *Antigonus* in *Aſia*. Therefore, to get the love of that valiant Nation, he made at the laſt an Expedition into *Greece* it ſelf: where having ſet free ſome little Iſlands, and landed in *Peloponneſus*, he raiſed ſo great an expectation of finiſhing the long-deſired work, that *Crateſipolis*, the Widow of *Alexander*, *Polyſperchons* Son, gave up into his hands the Towns of *Sycion* and *Corinth*.

*Ptolomy* had conceived a vain belief, that the *Greeks*, emboldened by his countenance and aſſiſtance, would all of them take heart and riſe up in arms; whereby with little labour their liberty might be gotten; and he be acknowledged as Author of this immortal benefit. But long ſervitude had well-neer extinguiſhed the ancient valour of that Nation: and their ill fortune, in many likely attempts to recover freedom, had ſo tired their ſpirits, that they would no more ſtir in purſute thereof; but ſate idly ſtill, as wiſhing it to fall into their mouths.

The *Lacedemonians*, about theſe times, began to fortifie their Town with walls; truſting no longer in their virtue (for both it, and the diſcipline that upheld it, were too much impaired) that had been a wall to their Town and Territory.

The *Athenians* were become as humble ſervants, as they had been in times paſt inſolent Maſters: erecting as many ſtatues in honour of *Demetrius Phalereus*, as there were daies in the year. This *Demetrius* was now their Governour; and he governed them with much moderation: but, in ſpight of their hearts, as being ſet over them by *Caſſander*. By this baſe temper of the principal Cities, it is eaſie to gather, how the reſt of the Country ſtood affected. *Ptolomy* could not get them to ſet their helping-hands to their own good, and to furniſh him with the promiſed ſupplies of mony and victuals. Credible it is, that he had a true meaning to deliver them from thraldom; as judging the commodity that would ariſe by annexing them to his party, a matter of more weight than the loſs that *Caſſander* ſhould receive thereby, who could hardly retain them, if once *Antigonus* took the work in hand. But when he found ſuch difficulty in the buſineſs, he changed his purpoſe: and renewing his former friendſhip with *Caſſander*, he retained *Sycion* and *Corinth* in his own poſſeſſion.

Before the coming of *Ptolomy* into *Greece*, *Caſſander* had been held occupied with very much work. For (beſides his pains taken in Wars among barbarous Princes) he found means to allure unto himſelf the Lieutenants of *Antigonus*, that were in *Peloponneſus*, and about *Helleſpont*: making his own advantage of their diſcontentments. By the like ſkilful practice he freed himſelf from a greater danger, and made thoſe murthers which he had committed ſeem the leſs odious, by teaching his enemies to do the like. Old *Polyſperchon*, that had made ſo great a ſtir in the reign of *Aridæus*, did after the death of *Roxane* and her child, enter again upon the Stage: leading in his hand another Son of the great *Alexander*, and meaning to place him in his Fathers Throne.

The name of this young Prince was *Hercules*: he was begotten on *Barſine* the daughter of *Artabazus* a *Perſian*; but had been leſs eſteemed than the ſon of *Roxane*, either for that his Mother was held no better than a Concubine, or elſe perhaps, in regard of the favour which *Perdiccas*, and after him *Olympias*, did bear unto *Roxane*. At this time the death of his Brother had moved ſuch compaſſion, and regard of his being *Alexanders* only living child, had procured unto him ſuch good will, that the demand which *Polyſperchon* made in his behalf, was deemed very juſt and honourable. There were indeed more hearts than hands, that joyned with this young Prince: yet wanted he not ſufficient ſtrength of hands, if the heart of him that leaſt ought, had not been moſt falſe. *Caſſander* had raiſed an Army to withſtand his entry into *Macedon*: but little truſt could he repoſe in that Army, whoſe wiſhes he perceived to be with *Hercules*. Therefore he aſſailed

assailed *Polysperchon* himself with gifts and promises; wherewith at length he prevailed so far, that the old Villain was contented to murder his Pupil; chusing rather with many curses and foul dishonour, to take the offered Lordship of *Peloponnesus*, and Commander of an Army; than to purchase a noble fame with dangerous travel, in maintaining his faith, unto both his dead and living Soveraigns.

*Antigonus* had not all this while been asleep; though his losses were hitherto the chief witnesses of his having been a stirrer in these commotions. He thought it enough for him at the present to retain his own: and therefore took order for the recovery of those places which *Ptolomy* had taken pains to win. As for the rest, it no way grieved him to see *Cassander* incur the general hatred of men by committing those murders of which the profit was like to redound unto him that was the most powerful, or to see *Polysperchon* and *Ptolomy* sweat in a busie War against *Cassander*. If they would have continued their quarrels, he could well have afforded them leisure, and have thought the time well spent in beholding their contentions. For he was throughly perswaded, that when the rest had wearied themselves in vain with long strife, his Armies and Treasures, wherein he exceeded them all, would bring all under. According to these haughty conceits, he demeaned himself among his followers; looking big upon them, and like a King before his time. This was it that caused so many of them to revolt from him: but it was no great loss to be forsaken by those that looked with envious eyes upon that fortune whereon their own should have depended. Against this envy of his men, and the malice of others, *Antigonus* busily sought a remedy, such as was like to give him a goodly title to the whole Empire.

*Cleopatra*, Sister unto the great *Alexander*, lay for the most part in *Sardes*: whom he had a great desire to take to Wife. This his desire was not without good hope: for howsoever she discovered much unwillingness thereunto, yet was she in his power, and might therefore be entreated, were it only for fear of being enforced. But it was not his purpose to get her by compulsive means: either because his fancy, being an old man, was not over-violent; or rather because his ambition, whereunto all his affections had reference, could have made small use of her, by doing such apparent wrong. She had been married unto *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, after whose death she came to her Brother in *Asia*; hoping belike to find a new Husband in his Camp. But neither any of those brave Captains, that were, in times following so hot in love with her, durst then aspire unto her marriage: nor did her Brother, full of other cares, trouble himself with providing her of an Husband. She therefore, being a lusty Widow, suffered her blood so far to prevail against her honour, that she supplied the want of an Husband by entertainment of Paramours. *Alexander* hearing of this, turned it to a jest: saying, That she was his Sister, and must be allowed this liberty, as her portion of the Empire. When by his death the Empire lay in a manner void, and the portion due to her therein grew, in mens opinion, greater than it had been: then did many seek to obtain her, while she her self desired only a proper man, with whom she might lead a merry life. To this purpose did she invite *Leonatus* unto her; who made great haste, but was cut off by death ere he came to her presence. Now at the last, after long tarrying, she had her choice of all the great Commanders, *Antigonus*, *Ptolomy*, *Lysimachus*, and *Cassander*, being all her earnest Wooers. All these (*Antigonus* excepted) had Wives already; *Ptolomy* had many Wives, and many Concubines whom he respected as much as his Wives, being noted of too much dotage in that kind. This hindred not his sute: peradventure it advanced it, by giving to *Cleopatra* some hope of mutual toleration. To him therefore she bequeathed her self, and was taking her journey from *Sardes* towards him; when *Antigonus* his Deputy in that City, made her to stay, until his Masters further pleasure should be known. *Antigonus* had now a Wolf by the ears: he neither could well hold her, nor durst let her go. She would not be his Wife; he had no honest pretence to force her; and to keep her prisoner, had been the way, by which he might have incurred a general hatred, lasting perhaps beyond her life; as the course taken by *Cassander* against *Roxane* (a Lady less respected than *Alexanders* own Sister) did well testifie. Therefore he thought it the wisest way to procure her death: for to let any other enjoy the commodity of so fair a title to the Kingdom, it was no part of his meaning. To this purpose he sent instructions to the Governor of *Sardes*, willing him in any case to do it secretly. So the fact was committed, and certain women about her put in trust with the murder: which women afterwards were put to death, as mischievous conspirers against the life of that good Lady. So was *Antigonus* freed from blame, at the least in his own opinion:



opinion: but the world was less foolish, than to be so deluded. How the murther was detected, we need not ask: for seldom is that bloody crime unrevealed, and never so ill smothered, as when great persons are the Authours.

Thus was the whole race of *Philip* and *Alexander* the great extinguished, and it was extinguished by the hands of such as thought upon nothing less than the execution of Gods justice, due unto the cruelty of these powerful, but mercileſs Princes. Wherefore the ambitious frames, erected by these Tyrants, upon so wicked foundations of innocent blood, were soon after cast down, overwhelming themselves or their children, with the ruins, as the sequel will declare.

## §. X.

*How* Demetrius, *the son of* Antigonus, *gave liberty to* Athens, *expelling the Garrisons of* Cassander *out of those parts. The immoderate honour decreed by the* Athenians *to* Antigonus *and* Demetrius.

NOne being left alive that had any title to the Kingdom; it stood with good reason, that they which were Lords of the Provinces, acknowledging no Superiour, should freely profess themselves Kings in name, as they were already in substance. Yet had this name ill-beseemed the weaker, while the strongest of all did forbear it: neither seemed it convenient in the judgement of *Antigonus*, to crown his last action with such a title, as if he had attained unto greatness by that foul murder, the infamy whereof he was careful how to discharge from his own head. He purposed therefore to undertake a plausible enterprise, even the liberty of *Greece*: whereby it was apparent, that he might get such honour as would not only drown all bad reports, but make him be thought equal to any name of Royaltie, whereof in seeming modesty, he was not covetous. To this purpose he delivered a strong Army, with a Navy of two hundred and fifty sail, and five thousand talents of silver, unto *Demetrius* his son: willing him to begin at *Athens*, and thence to proceed, in setting all the Country free.

*Demetrius* came to *Athens* before he was expected: so that without resistance he entred the Haven; it being thought that a fleet of *Ptolomy*, *Cassanders* good friend, had been arrived. But when it was known, both who he was, and what was the cause of his coming; the joy of the Citizens brake out into loud acclamations: *Demetrius Phalereus* forsook the Town, and withdrew himself to *Thebes* under safe conduct; only the Garrison in *Munychia* strove to make good that piece, which after a while was won upon them by force. During the siege of *Munychia*, *Demetrius* went to *Megara*; whence he expelled the Garrison of *Cassander*, and so restored the City to liberty.

I think it not impertinent, sometimes to relate such accidents, as may seem no better than meer trifles: for even by trifles are the qualities of great Persons as well disclosed, as by their great actions; because in matters of importance, they commonly strain themselves, to the observance of general commended rules; in lesser things they follow the current of their own Natures. The Lady *Cratesipolis* lay in *Patras*, and had a great desire to see *Demetrius*; hoping, belike, that she might by his means better her estate, and recover her Towns of *Sycion* and *Corinth*, detained by *Ptolomy*; to whose Lieutenant in those places, *Demetrius* before his departure out of *Greece*, offered mony for the surrender of them. Yet the only business pretended was love. He being advertised hereof, left his forces in the Country of *Megara*, and taking a company of his lightest armed, for guard of his person, made a long journey to meet with her. This troop also he caused to lodge a great way from his Tent, that none might see her when she came. As closely as the business was carried, some of his enemies had gotten knowledge of it; whereby they conceived good hope, that the diligence of a very few men might overthrow all the great preparations of *Antigonus*; and bring him to any terms of reason, by taking his dear son prisoner. Their project fell but a little short of the effect. For they came so suddenly upon him, that he had no better shift, than to muffle himself in an old cloak, and creep away disguised; leaving them to ransack his Tent. There was in this Prince a strange medly of conditions; especially an extreme dissoluteness in wanton pleasures, and a painful industry in matter of War. He was of a most amiable countenance, a gentle nature, and a good wit; excellent in devising Engines of War, and curious in working them with his own hands. He knew better how to reform his bad fortune, than how to rule his good. For adversity made his valour more active: prosperity puffed him with over-weening, wherein he thought that he might do what he listed. His fortune was changeable, as were his qualities: turning often round, like the picture of her Wheel, till she had wound up the thred of his life,

in

in ſuch manner as followeth to be ſhewed.

Returning to his Camp, and finiſhing his buſineſs at *Megara*; he reſolved no longer to attend the iſſue of a ſiege, to aſſail *Munychia* by force, that ſo he might accompliſh the liberty of *Athens*: which, untill it was fully wrought out, he refuſed to enter into the City. *Munychia* was ſtrongly fortified: yet by continuance of the aſſault, the multitude without, through help of their Engines that ſcoured the walls, prevailed upon the reſolution of thoſe that lay within it, and wan the place in two dayes. The walls, and all the defences of that piece againſt the City, were levelled with the ground, and ſo was it freely put into the Citizens hands, to whom withal was given their liberty, with promiſe to aid them in maintaining it.

The fame of this action was lowder, than of any other victory gotten by *Demetrius* with greater skill and induſtry. For the *Athenians*, having forgotten how to employ their hands, labored to make up that defect with their tongues: converting to baſe flattery, that eloquence of theirs which the vertues of their Anceſtors had ſuited unto more manly arguments.

They decreed unto *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* the name of Kings; they conſecrated the place in which *Demetrius* leaped from his Chariot, when he entred their City, and built there an Altar, calling it of *Demetrius The alighter*; they called them by the names of the *gods their Saviours*, ordaining that every year, there ſhould be choſen a Prieſt of theſe gods; and further, that ſuch as were employed by their State, in dealing with either of theſe two Princes, ſhould not be called Embaſſadours, but *Theori*, or *Conſulters with the gods*; like as were they, whom they ſent unto the Oracle of *Jupiter* or *Apollo*.

It were a frivolous diligence to rehearſe all their flatteries, theſe being ſo groſs. Hereby they not only corrupted the young Prince; but made that acclamation, which beſt would have pleaſed the old man, to be of no uſe. For he could not handſomely take upon him the name of King, as impoſed by the *Athenians*, unleſs he would ſeem to approve their vanity, in loading him with more than humane honours. Yet was he ſo tickled with this their fine handling him, that when their *Theori* or *Conſulters* came ſhortly after, deſiring him to relieve them with Corn and Timber to build ſhips; he gave them almoſt a hundred thouſand quarters of wheat, and matter ſufficient to make a hundred Gallies. So gracious was his firſt Oracle: or rather ſo weak is great power in reſiſting the aſſaults of flattery.

## §. XI.

*The great victory of* Demetrius *againſt* Ptolomy *in* Cyprus. *How* Antigonus *and* Demetrius *took upon them the ſtile of Kings; wherein others followed their example.*

FRom this glorious work, *Antigonus* called away *Demetrius*, unto a buſineſs of greater difficulty; meaning to employ his ſervice againſt *Ptolomy*, in *Cyprus*. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he was willed to eſtabliſh a general Council, that ſhould treat of matters concerning the common good of the Country. About the ſame time *Antigonus* withdrew his own Garriſon out of *Imbros*, committing their liberty entire, into the peoples hands; whereby it might appear, that as he would not permit any other to oppreſs the *Greeks*, ſo would he be far from doing it himſelf. This was enough to hold his reputation high, among theſe new purchaſed Friends: it followed, that he ſhould convert his forces, to the winning of ground upon his Enemies.

A pittiful Tragedy had lately happed in *Cyprus*, through the indiſcretion of *Menelaus*, *Ptolomies* brother, and his Lieutenant in that Iſle. *Nicocles*, King of *Paphos*, was entred into ſome practice with *Antigonus*: yet not ſo far that he thought himſelf paſt excuſe; by which confidence, he was perhaps the more eaſily detected. To cut off this negotiation, and the falſ-hearted King of *Paphos* at one blow, *Menelaus* was ſent thither: who ſurrounding *Nicocles* his houſe with Souldiers, required, in *Ptolomies* name, to have him yielded to the death. *Nicocles* offered to clear himſelf; but *Menelaus* told him, that dye he muſt, and bad him come forth quietly. This deſperate neceſſity cauſed the unhappy King to rid himſelf of life: and his death ſtrook ſuch an impreſſion into his wife, that ſhe not only ſlew her ſelf, but perſwaded the wives of her husbands brethren to do the like. Alſo thoſe brethren of *Nicocles*, unto whom *Ptolomy* had intended no ill, being amazed with the ſuddenneſs of this calamity, did ſhut up the Palace, and ſetting it on fire, conſumed it, with all that was in it, and themſelves together.

Whatſoever the crime objected was; *Nicocles* periſhed as a man innocent, becauſe he was not ſuffered to make his anſwer. Of this ſad accident, though *Menelaus* deſerved the blame, for his rigorous proceeding; yet it is to be thought, that much diſlike fell alſo upon *Ptolomy*: as men that are grieved, caſt an ill affection even upon thoſe that gave the furtheſt removed occaſion.



Not long after this, *Demetrius* came into *Cyprus*, with a power ſufficient, againſt any oppoſition that *Ptolomy* was like to make. The *Cypriots* did little or nothing againſt him, either becauſe they had ſmall ſtrength, or for that they held it a matter indifferent, whom they acknowledged as their Lord, being ſure that they ſhould not themſelves have the rule of their own Country. *Menelaus* therefore, out of his Garriſons, drew forth an Army, and fought with *Demetrius*. But he was beaten, and driven to ſave himſelf within the walls of *Salamis*, where he was ſo hardly beſieged, that without ſtrong ſuccour, he had no likehood to make good the place, much leſs to retain poſſeſſion of the whole Iſland. His greateſt help at the preſent was the fidelity of his Souldiers; whom no rewards could win from him, nor good uſage (when any of them were taken priſoners, and inrolled in the enemies bands) keep from returning to him, with the firſt opportunity. Moſt of them were Mercenaries: but all their goods were in *Egypt*, which was enough to keep them faithful. Yet could not this their reſolution have ſtood long againſt the odds of number, which *Demetrius* had of men as reſolute, and againſt his terrible Engines of battery, if *Ptolomy* had not haſted to the reſcue.

*Ptolomy* brought with him a hundred and forty Gallies, beſides two hundred Ships of burden, for tranſporting his Army and Carriages. This Fleet made a terrible ſhew, when it was deſcried afar; though more than half of it was unfit for ſervice in fight at Sea. Wherefore to make the opinion of his forces the more dreadful, *Ptolomy* ſent unto *Demetrius* a threatning meſſage: willing him to be gone, unleſs he would be overwhelmed with multitudes, and trampled to death in a throng. But this young gallant repayd him with words of as much bravery, promiſing to let him eſcape upon condition, that he ſhould withdraw his Garriſons out of *Sycion* and *Corinth*.

*Demetrius* had no more than one hundred and eighteen Gallies; but they were, for the moſt part, greater than thoſe of *Ptolomy*; better ſtored with weapons fit for that ſervice; and very well furniſhed with Engines in the prows, to beat upon the enemy. Nevertheleſs he ſtood in great doubt of threeſcore Gallies that lay in the Haven of *Salamis*, leſt *Menelaus* with them ſhould ſet upon his back: in which caſe, it was very likely that all would go very ill with him. Againſt this miſchief, he beſtowed ten of his own Gallies in the mouth of that Haven, to keep *Menelaus* from iſſuing forth, and ſetting his horſemen on the ſhore, to give what aſſiſtance they could, he with the reſt of the Fleet, puts to Sea againſt *Ptolomy*.

The fight began early in the morning, and continued long, with doubtful ſucceſs. The generals were not ranged oppoſite one to the other; but held each of them the left wing of his own Fleet. Each of them prevailed againſt the ſquadron wherewith he encountred; but the ſucceſs of *Demetrius* was to better purpoſe. For his victory in one part was ſuch, as cauſed others to fall out of order, and finally drave all to betake themſelves unto ſpeedy flight. As for *Ptolomy*, he was fain to leave his advantage upon the enemy in one part of the fight, that he might relieve and animate thoſe of his own which needed him in another: wherein he found his loſs over-great to be repaired, by contending any longer againſt the fortune of that day; and therefore he laboured only to ſave himſelf, in hope of better event, that might follow ſome other time.

There fell out in this battel no unuſual accident; yet was the victory greater than could have been expected. The occaſions whereof were, partly the great skill in Sea-ſervices, which the *Greeks* and *Phœnicians* that were with *Demetrius*, had above thoſe which followed *Ptolomy*: partly, the good furniture of the Ships, wherein conſiſted no leſs, than in the quality of thoſe with whom they were manned. Further, we may reaſonably judge, that the two hundred ſhips of burthen, carrying the ſtrength of *Ptolomies* Army, did not more encourage his own men, and terrifie his enemies the day before the fight, than breed in each part the contrary affections, when in the beginning of the fight they fell off, and ſtood aloof. For though it were fitting that they ſhould ſo do; yet a multitude, prepoſſeſſed with vain conceits, will commonly apprehend very ſlight occaſions to think themſelves abandoned. Beſides all this, the expectation that *Menelaus*, iſſuing with his fleet out of *Salamis* ſhould charge the enemy in the ſtern, was utterly fruſtrate. He was kept in perforce, by the ten ſhips appointed to bar up the mouth of the Haven: which they manfully performed, as great neceſſity required.

Such diſappointment of expectation doth much abate the courage of men in fight; eſpecially of the aſſailants: whereas on the contrary, they find that ſome part of their fears

fears vain, do easily gather hopeful spirits, and conceive an opinion of their own ability, to do more than they thought upon, out of their not suffering the harm that they had imagined.

Whatsoever the causes of this victory were, the fruit was very great. For *Ptolomy* had no more than eight Gallies that accompanied him in his flight: all the rest of his fleet was either taken or sunk. Neither did *Menelaus* any longer strive against the violence of fortune; but yielded up all that he held in *Cyprus*, together with his Army, consisting of twelve thousand foot, and a thousand and two hundred horse, and those Gallies in the Haven of *Salamis*. The same dejection of spirit was found in the common Souldier, as well that was taken at Sea, as that had served the *Egyptian* by Land; none of them reposing any more confidence in *Ptolomy*, but willingly becoming followers of a new Lord, whose Army they now increased.

It was generally believed, that much more depended on the event of this fight, than the Isle of *Cyprus*, for which they contended. Wherefore the common expectation was great; especially *Antigonus*, whom it most concerned, was deeply perplexed with cares, thinking every day a year, till he were advertised of the issue. In this mood *Aristodemus* found him, a noble flatterer, whom *Demetrius* had honoured with the Message of these good news. *Aristodemus* had bethought himself of a trick, whereby to double the welcome of his joyful errand: He caused his ships to ride at Anchor, a good distance from the shore; he himself landed in a Cock-boat, which he sent immediately back to the ship; and so all alone he went forward, looking very sadly, that no part of his tidings might appear in his countenance. Report of his arrival (for it was not known where he had been) came presently to *Antigonus*, who sent Messenger after Messenger to meet him on the way, and bring speedy word how all went. But neither any answer, nor so much of a look, as might intimate the purport of his errand, could be won from this demure Gentleman. Thus marched he fair and softly forward with a great throng at his heels (that served well to set out his Pageant) untill he came in sight of *Antigonus*, who could not contain himself, but went down to meet him at the Gate, and hear the news. Then did *Aristodemus*, upon the sudden, with a high voyce salute *Antigonus* by the name of King; uttering the greatness of the victory (with as much pomp, as before he had covered it with silence) in the hearing of all the people; who with loud acclamations, gave that name of King, both to *Antigonus* and his son *Demetrius*. *Antigonus*, in requital of the long suspence, wherein *Aristodemus* had held him, said, That it should also be long ere he received his reward. But the Title of King, together with the Diademe, which his friends did set on his head, he could not wish a fairer occasion to assume: wherefore he readily accepted them, and sent the like to his son.

When it was once noysed abroad, that *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* called themselves Kings; it was not long ere their fellows were ready to follow the good example. *Ptolomy* his friends would by no means endure, that their Lord should be thought a man dejected for the loss of a fleet; therefore they saluted him also King. *Lysimachus* in *Thrace* had boldness enough to put the Diadem about his own head. *Seleucus* had, before this time, among the barbarous people, taken upon him as King: but now he used the stile indifferently, as well among the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*, as in dealing with others. Only *Cassander* held himself contented with his own name: whereby, howsoever he might shadow his pride, he no way lessened the fame of his cruelty against his Masters house. But the name which he forbore, his sons after him were bold to usurp, though with ill success, as will appear when they shall enter upon the Stage, whereon these old Tragedians, under new habits, as no longer now the same persons, begin to play their parts, with bigger looks, and more boistrous actions, not with greater grace and judgement, than in the Scenes already past.

CHAP.



## CHAP. VI.

## Of the Wars between the Kings of Egypt, Asia, Macedon, Thrace, and others: untill all Alexanders Princes were consumed.

### §. I.

*The Expedition of* Antigonus *against* Egypt, *with ill success.*

ALl the rest of these Kings had taken that name upon them, in imitation of *Antigonus* himself, as beseeming his greatness: which was such as gave him hope to swallow them up, together with their new titles. Being not ignorant of his own strength, he resolved to single out *Ptolomy*, and make him an example to others: who should hardly be able to stand, when the greatest of them was fallen. To this purpose he prepared an army of eighteen thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, with fourscore and three Elephants: as likewise a fleet of an hundred and fifty Gallies, and a hundred ships of burthen. The Land forces he commanded in person: of the Navy *Demetrius* was Admiral.

When all was ready for the journey, the Sea-men advised him to stay yet eight days longer, and expect the setting of the *Pleiades*. But his hasty desire to prevent all preparations for resistance that *Ptolomy* should make, rejected this counsel; imputing it rather to their fear than skill: wherefore he departed from *Antigonia* (a Town which he had built in *Syria*, and called after his own name, that was soon changed into *Seleucia*, by his mortal enemy) and came to *Gaza*, where he met with his Fleet. The neerer that he drew to *Egypt*, the more haste he made: thinking by celerity to prevail more than by his great power. He caused his Souldiers to carry ten dayes provision of Victuals; and had many Camels loaden with all necessaries for passing the Desarts, over which he marched with no small toil, though he met with no resistance. At Mount *Gassius*, which is near adjoyning to *Nilus*, he saw his Fleet riding at Anchor, not far from the shore, in ill case, and many Ships wanting. It had been sorely beaten with foul weather, wherein some were lost, others driven back to *Gaza*, or scattered elsewhere into such creeks as they could recover: *Demetrius* himself, with the best and strongest vessels, did so long bear it up against the wind, that all his fresh water was spent; in which extremity, he and all his must have perished, had not the tempest ceased when it did, and *Antigonus* appeared in sight, from whom these over-wearied, thirsty and Sea-beaten Souldiers received relief. After these painful travels, there followed a War no less painful than to little purpose; for *Ptolomy* had so fortified all the passages upon the River of *Nilus*, as he assured himself either to end the war there, or if his guards should happen to be forced, yet could it not be done but so much to the weakning of the Assailants, as he should afterward, with a second Army (which he held entire) entertain the Invader upon advantage enough. All that *Antigonus* sought, was to come to blows speedily: *Ptolomy* on the contrary, to beat *Antigonus* by the belly. It is true that *Nilus* gave him water enough, but wood he had none to warm it: and while *Antigonus* assaulted the Rampiers, raised upon the River, in vain, *Ptolomy* assayed the faith of his souldiers, with good success; for, with great gifts, and greater promises, he ferried them over so fast, as had not *Antigonus* thrust some assured Regiments upon the passages next the enemy, and in the mean while taken a resolution to return, *Ptolomy* had turned him out of *Egypt* ill attended.

Some of them indeed he laid hands on, in the way of their escape, and those he put to death with extreme torments; but in all likelihood with the same ill success that *Perdiccas* had formerly done, when he invaded *Egypt*, had he not readily removed his Army further off, from the noyse of their entertainment, that had already been won from him. To prevent therefore as well the present danger of his stay, as the shame following a forc'd retrait, he secretly practised the advice of his Councel, upon whom the burthen must be laid of his entrance, and leaving *Egypt*,

It is indeed leſs prejudicial in ſuch like caſes, that errors, diſhonours, and loſſes, be laid on Counſellors and Captains, than on Kings; on the Directed, than on the Director: for the honour and reputation of a Prince is far more precious than that of a Vaſſal. *Charls* the fifth, as many other Princes have done, laid the loſs and diſhonour he received in the invaſion of *France*, by the way of *Provence*, to *Antonie de Leva*, whether juſtly or no, I know not; but howſoever, all the Hiſtorians of that time agree, that the ſorrow thereof coſt that brave Captain his life. Certainly to give any violent advice in doubtful enterpriſes is rather a teſtimony of love, than of wiſdom, in the giver; for the ill ſucceſs is always caſt upon the Counſel, the good never wants a Father, though a falſe one, to acknowledge it. Yet I have ſometime known it, that great Commanders, who are for the preſent in place of Kings, have not only been diſſwaded, but held, in a kind, by ſtrong hand, from hazzarding their own perſons, and yet have thoſe kind of Mutiners never been called to a Marſhals Court.

## §. II.

### *How the City of* Rhodes *was beſieged by* Demetrius.

THis departure of *Antigonus*, left behind it many dead carcaſſes, and a great deal of joy in *Egypt*. *Ptolomy* held a ſolemn Feaſt, and ſent Meſſengers abroad, loaden with glad news, to *Seleucus*, *Lyſimachus*, and *Caſſander*, his Confederates: ſtrongly encouraging all that ſide, with the report of this his late felicity, though it appeared but in a defenſive War. *Antigonus* on the contrary, flattered himſelf with another interpretation, calling the joyes of his enemies for witneſſes of his own greatneſs, ſeeing they aroſe but from ſo little things: his enemies being but bare ſavers by the laſt bargain, and himſelf, as he ſuppoſed, having loſt but a little time, and no part of his honour in the late retrait. Howſoever it were, yet he meant to follow his affairs henceforth in another faſhion; for that which he could not cleave aſunder by great blows, he purpoſed by little and little to pare off, by cutting off the branches firſt, to fell the Tree it ſelf with the more facility. To effect which, he reſolved (leaving the great ones to grow awhile) to root up the Dependants of his Enemies: Dependants, whom the fore-named Confederates ſhould be forc't either to relieve, or to loſe; and hereby he doubted not to draw them into the field, where the advantage of power, and of all other warlike proviſion promiſed him victory.

At this time the City of *Rhodes* was very mighty, being well governed, and having long held it ſelf in good Neutrality; it drew the better part of all the trade of thoſe parts, and therein a great deal of riches to it ſelf; to maintain which, and to encreaſe it, it furniſhed and kept on the Seas a Fleet of well armed Ships, by which it not only beat off all Pyrates and petty Theeves, but the reputation of their ſtrength was thereby ſo much increaſed, as all the neighbour Princes ſought their alliance and confederacy.

In this ſo dangerous a time (in which they muſt either refuſe all that ſought them, and ſo ſtand friendleſs and apart; or joyn themſelves to ſome one, and thereby foregoe the peace, by which their greatneſs had grown) their affections carried them to the *Egyptian*: both becauſe the greateſt part of their trade lay that way, as alſo for that *Antigonus* his diſpoſition, greatneſs, and neighbourhood was fearful unto them. This affection of theirs, with ſome other paſſages more apparent, gave argument of quarrel to *Antigonus*, who began to declare himſelf againſt them by petty injuries, of taking ſome of their ſhips, with ſuch other grievances, while he made a more weighty preparation, to purſue the War againſt them openly and ſtrongly. All things ſoon after ordered according to the greatneſs of the enterpriſe, he employed his Son *Demetrius* againſt them in their own Iſland, who brought ſuch terror upon the Citizens, that laying aſide all reſpect of friendſhip and honour, they offered him their aſſiſtance and ſervice againſt whomſoever. *Demetrius*, who knew from whence this change came, and that the alteration was perſwaded by fear, and not by love; raiſed his demands to an intolerable height, requiring a hundred Hoſtages to be delivered him, and liberty to lodge in their Port as many ſhips of War as himſelf pleaſed. Theſe conditions, more properly to be impoſed upon a State already conquered, than on thoſe who as yet had heard of nothing but a conſtrained aſſiſtance, reſtored unto the *Rhodians* their loſt courage, and made them reſolve to defend their liberty to the laſt man: this taught them to infranchiſe all their able bond-men, and wiſely rather to make them their fellow-Citizens, than to make themſelves fellow-ſlaves with them.

*Demetrius* having refuſed the fair conditions offered (as the *Rhodians* the fearful ones propounded unto them) makes preparation for a long ſiege, and finding no appearance to carry the place in fury, he ſet in hand with his Engines of battery; in the invention and uſe of which, he did never ſhew himſelf a greater Artiſan, than in this War. But in concluſion, after the Citizens had ſuſtained all the aſſaults given them for a whole year, after many brave ſallies out of the Town, and the famine which they endured within the Town, which had proved far more extream, if *Ptolomy* had not with many hazzards relieved them, *Demetrius* by mediation of the *Grecian* Embaſſadors, gave over the ſiege; a hundred hoſtages they gave him for performance of the peace made, but with exception of all the Magiſtrates and Officers of the City.

Hereunto *Demetrius* was brought by the uſual policy of War, and State: for while with the flower of all his Fathers forces he lay before *Rhodes*, *Caſſander* recovered many of thoſe places in *Greece*, which *Demetrius* had formerly taken from him; neither did *Caſſander* make the War as in former times, by practice and ſurpriſe, but by a ſtrong and well compounded army, which he himſelf lead as far as into *Attica*, and therewith greatly diſtreſſed and endangered *Athens* it ſelf. On the other ſide (though with leſs ſucceſs) did *Polyſperchon* invade *Peloponneſus*. Theſe dangerous undertakings upon *Greece*, adviſed the *Athenians* and *Ætolians* to diſpatch their Embaſſadors towards *Demetrius*, and adviſed *Demetrius* rather to abandon the enterpriſe of *Rhodes*, than to abandon the great honour which he had formerly gotten by ſetting all *Greece* at liberty.

*Demetrius* was no ſooner out of the Iſland, than that the *Rhodians* erected Statues in honour of *Lyſimachus* and *Caſſander*; but for *Ptolomy*, whom they moſt affected, and from whom they received their moſt relief, they conſulted with the Oracle of *Jupiter*, whether it were not lawful to call him a *god*. The Prieſts which attended in the Temple of *Hammon*, gave the ſame fair anſwer for *Ptolomy*, which they had formerly done for *Alexander* his Maſter; for as *Alexander* conſulted the Oracle with an Army at his heels, ſo was *Ptolomy* at this time Lord of the ſoil: and yet was this a far more cleanly creation than that done by the *Athenians*, who deified *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* by decree of the people. A mad age it was, when ſo many of *Alexanders* Captains could not content themſelves with the ſtyle of Kings, but that they would needs be called gods.



## §. III.

### *How* Demetrius *prevailed in* Greece. *Caſſander deſires peace of* Antigonus, *and cannot obtain it. Great preparations of War againſt* Antigonus.

*Demetrius* coming with a ſtrong Fleet and Army into *Greece*, quickly drave *Caſſander* out of *Attica*; and purſuing his fortune, chaſed him beyond the ſtraits of *Thermopylæ*. Herein his reputation did much avail him; which was ſo great, that ſix thouſand of his enemies Souldiers revolted unto him. So, partly by the greatneſs of his name, partly by force, he recovered in ſhort ſpace all that *Caſſander* held in thoſe ſtraits, and giving liberty unto the people, he beſtowed upon the *Athenians* thoſe pieces, which had been fortified againſt them, to block them up. Then went he into *Peloponneſus*, where he found the like, or more eaſie ſucceſs: for he ſuddenly took *Argos*, *Corinth*, *Sicyon*, and the moſt of the Country, beſtowing liberty upon ſuch as needed it. The Town of *Sicyon* he tranſlated by conſent of the Citizens, from the old ſeat into another place, and called it after his own name, *Demetrius*. This done, he betook himſelf to his pleaſure. At the *Iſthman* games he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed Captain General of *Greece*, as *Philip* and *Alexander* had been in former times: whereupon (as if he were now become as great as *Alexander*) he deſpiſed all others, making it a matter of jeſt, that any, ſave himſelf or his father, ſhould uſurp the Name of King. But in his behaviour he was ſo farr unlike to a King, that in all the time of his leaſure, he deſerved none other name than of a drunken *Palliard*. Yet were the *Athenians* as ready as ever to deviſe new honours for him: among which they made one Decree, That whatſoever King *Demetrius* ſhould command, ought to be held ſacred with the gods, and juſt with men.

All *Greece* being now at the diſpoſition of *Antigonus*, *Caſſander* ſtood in great fear, leſt the war ſhould fall heavily upon him in *Macedon*: which to avoid, he knew no better way than to make peace with his enemies betimes. And to that purpoſe he ſent Embaſſadors; but had no better anſwer from *Antigonus*, than that he ſhould ſubmit his whole eſtate to his diſcretion. This proud demand made him look about him, and labour hard in ſolliciting his friends, both to aſſiſt him, and take heed to themſelves; neither found he them ſlow in apprehending the common danger: for *Lyſimachus* knew

that if once *Cassander* had lost *Macedon*, *Demetrius* would soon be Master of *Thrace*. Neither were *Ptolomy* and *Seleucus* ignorant of that which was like to befall them, if *Antigonus* were suffered to put himself in quiet possession of those Provinces in *Europe*. Wherefore it was agreed, that with joint-forces they should all together set upon the common enemy.

Hereof *Antigonus* had notice: but scorned all their preparations, saying, That he would as easily scatter them, as a flock of birds are driven away with a stone. With these conceits he pleased himself, and no way hindred the proceedings of his Enemy. He lay at that time in his Town of *Antigonia* (a name that it must shortly lose) where he was carefully providing to set out some stately game and Pageants, in ostentation of his glory. But thither was brought unto him the tumultuous news of *Lysimachus* his victories about *Hellespont*. For *Cassander* had committed unto *Lysimachus* part of his forces, wherewith to pass over into *Asia*, while he himself with the rest should oppose *Demetrius* on *Europe* side. So *Lysimachus* passing the *Hellespont*, began to make hot war upon the subjects of *Antigonus*; getting some of the Cities in those parts, to joyn with him by fair means: winning others by force, and wasting the Countrey round about.

To repress this unexpected boldness, *Antigonus* made hasty journeys, and came soon enough to recover his losses, but not strong enough to drive *Lysimachus* home, or compel him to come to battel. *Lysimachus* waited for the coming of *Seleucus*; keeping himself the whilest from necessity of fighting. But *Babylon* was far off; and *Seleucus* his preparations were too great to be soon in a readiness. The Winter also did hinder his journey: which inforced them on both sides to rest in some quiet, without performing any matter of importance. This delay of debating the quarrel in open field, held all those Nations in a great suspence, and bred much expectation. Yet might all have come to nothing, had not *Antigonus* been so forward, that he refused to yield upon any peaceable conditions. At length *Seleucus* drew neer with a mighty Army of his own (for he had gathered strength in that long time of leasure, which *Antigonus* had given him) and with great aid from *Ptolomy*, that was joyned with his forces.

To help in this needful case, *Demetrius* was called over into *Asia* by his Fathers letters: which he readily obeyed. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he made peace with *Cassander*, upon reasonable terms: to the end he might not be driven to leave any part of his Army for defence of the Countrey; and that his journey might be without any such blemish of reputation, as if he had abandoned his Dependants: for one Article of the Peace was, that all the Cities of *Greece* should be at liberty. *Cassander* was glad to be so rid of an Enemy that was too strong for him. Yet would this league have done him little good, if things had fallen out contrariwise than they did in *Asia*; seeing the ratification thereof was referred unto *Antigonus*. It sufficed, that for the present, every one found means to clear himself of all incumbrances else-where, to the end that each of them might freely apply himself to the tryal of the main controversie in *Asia*.

## §. IV.

*How* Antigonus *was slain in a great battel at* Ipsus, *neer unto* Ephesus; *wherein his whole estate was lost.*

*Seleucus*, with his Son *Antiochus*, joyning with *Lysimachus*, compounded a great Army, which was (all considered) not inferiour to that of the *Enemy*. In greatness of name (that helpeth much in all Wars, but especially in the Civil) they were rather unanswerable than unequal to their adversaries: for *Antigonus* had of long time kept them under with a mastering spirit, and had been reputed a King indeed, when the rest were held but Usurpers of the Title. Likewise *Demetrius* was generally acknowledged a brave Commander, having given proof of his worth in many great services of all kinds, and enriched the art of war with many inventions, which even his enemies, and particularly *Lysimachus*, did much admire. *Seleucus*, who had some times flattered *Antigonus*, and fearfully stoln away from him to save his live, with young *Antiochus*, a Prince not heard of before this journey; and *Lysimachus*, that had lived long in a corner, hardly keeping his own from the wilde *Thracians*; wanted much in reputation of that which was yielded to their opposites: yet so, that as ancient Captains under *Philip* and *Alexander*, two of them were held worthy enough to receive any benefit that fortune might give, and the third a Prince of great hope, whereof he now came to make experience.

The Souldiers, on both sides, were for the most part hardy and well exercised: many of them having served under *Alexander*; though of those old Companies, the long space of two & twenty years had consumed the greatest number. But concerning their affections, the followers of *Seleucus* were easily perswaded, that in this battel they must either get the upper hand, or put in extreme danger all that belonged unto the Confederate Princes; whereas *Antigonus* his men could discern no other necessity of fighting, than the obstinate quality of their Lord, that needs would be Master of all. *Antigonus* had about threescore and ten thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and threescore and fifteen Elephants. His enemies were six thousand short of him in number of their foot; in horse they had the odds of five hundred; of Elephants they had four hundred, and an hundred and twenty armed Chariots of War: which helps, though they little had availed the *Persians*, yet were they not to be despised, in the hands of a good Captain.

*Antigonus* himself, either troubled with the unexpected greatness of his enemies forces, or presaging little good like to ensue, grew very pensive, communing much in private with his son whom he commended to the Army as his Successor: whereas in former times he had never been so jocund, as towards the hour of battel, nor had been accustomed to make his son, or any other private to his counsel, before it required execution. Other tokens of bad luck, either foregoing the fight, or afterwards devised, I hold it needless to recount. *Diana* of *Ephesus* dwelt neer to the place of battel, a busie goddess in many great fights; and therefore likely to have been thrust into the fable, if any matter neerly resembling a miracle, had chanced.

It is easie to believe, that these two so gallant Armies, containing well neer all the strength of *Alexanders* whole Empire, performed a notable fight, being led by such worthy Commanders, and whom the issue thereof did highly concern. Yet are few of the particulars recorded: an easie loss in regard of the much variety, wherewith every story aboundeth in this kind. The most memorable things in the battel, were these: *Demetrius* with his best force of horse, charged valiantly upon young *Antiochus*; whom when he had broken, and put to flight, he was so transported with the heat of his good success, that he never gave over his pursuit, but left his Father naked, and lost thereby both him, and the victory. For when *Seleucus* perceived this advantage, he enterposed his Elephants, between *Demetrius* and the Phalanx of *Antigonus*; and with many troops of horse offering to break upon the enemies battel, whersoever it lay most open, he did so terrifie the *Antigonians*, that a great part of them rather chose to revolt from their Lord, whilest they were fairly invited, than to sustain the fury of so dangerous an impression. This cowardize, or rather treason of some, discouraged others; and finally, cast them all into flight; exposing their General to the last end of his destinies. *Antigonus* was then fourscore years old, very fat and unwildy, so that he was unapt for flight, if his high spirit could have entertained any thought thereof. He had about him some of his most trusty followers, and as many others as he could hold together. When one that perceived a great troop making towards his person, told him, *Sir King, yonder company means to charge you*; He answered, *Well may they; for who defends me? but anon* Demetrius *will relieve us*. Thus expecting to the very last, that his Son should come to the rescue, he received so many Darts into his body, as took away his lately ambitious, but then fearful hopes, together with his troublesome life.

His great ability in matter of Arms, together with his unsatiable desire of Empire, have sufficiently appeared in the whole Volume of his actions. He was more feared by his enemies, than loved by his friends; as one that could not moderate his fortune, but used insolence toward all alike, as if it had been some vertue neerest representing a Kingly Majesty. This was the cause that so many of his followers revolted to his enemies; and finally, that a great part of his Army forsook him in his last necessity. For those Kings and Princes that call all the carefull indeavours of their Vassals, only duty and debt; and are more apt to punish the least offences, than to reward the greatest services: shall find themselves upon the first change of fortune, (seeing it is love only that stayes by adversity) not only the most friendless, but even the most contemptible, and despised of all other. This *Antigonus* found true in part, while he lived; in part he left it to be verified upon his Son.



§. V.

## §. V.

*How* Demetrius, *forsaken by the Athenians after his overthrow, was reconciled to* Seleucus *and* Ptolomy, *beginning a new fortune, and shortly entring into quarrels.*

FOR *Demetrius*, at his return from the idle pursuit of young *Antiochus*, finding all quite lost, was glad to save himself, with four thousand horse, and five thousand foot, by a speedy retrait unto *Ephesus*, whence he made great haste unto *Athens*, as to the place, that for his sake would suffer any extremity. But whilest he was in the midst of his course thither, the *Athenian* Embassadours met him with a decree of the people, which was, that none of the Kings should be admitted into their City. These were Embassadours, not *Theori*, or Consulters with the Oracle. It was a shameless ingratitude in the *Athenians*, to reward their Benefactor, in his misery, with such a decree: neither did any part of his calamity more afflict the unfortunate Prince, than to see his adversity despised by those whom he had thought his surest friends. Yet was he fain to give good words. For he had left many of his ships in their Haven, of which he now stood in great need; and therefore was fain to speak them fair, that sometimes had grossly flattered him. But he shall live to teach them their old language, and speak unto them in another tune. When he had gotted his ships, he sailed to the *Isthmus*, where he found nothing but matter of discomfort. His Garrisons were every where broken up; the Souldiers having betaken themselves to his enemies pay. So that he was King only of a small Army and Fleet, without mony or means wherewith to sustain him and his followers any long time. All the rest, or the greatest part of his Fathers large Dominion, was now in dividing among the Conquerors, and those few places which as yet held for him (having not perchance heard the worst of what had happened) he no way knew how to relieve: for to put himself into the field on that side of the Sea, he had no power; and to inclose himself in any of them, how strong soever, were but to imprison his fortune, and his hopes, or therein indeed to bury himself and his estate: He therefore creeping thorow those bushes that had fewest bryers, fell upon a corner of *Lysimachus* his Kingdom, whereof he gave all the spoil that was gotten, to his Souldiers, his own losses having been too great to be repayed again by small prizes.

In the mean while the Confederate-Princes had wherewithall to busie themselves, in the partition of those Provinces, of which their late victory had made them Lords: wherein *Seleucus* had a notable advantage by being present, and Master of the field, for neither *Ptolomy* nor *Cassander* were at the overthrow given, having only sent certain troops to re-inforce the Army which *Seleucus* led, who took hold of a part of *Asia* the less, and all *Syria*, being no otherwise divided from his own Territory, than by the River of *Euphrates*. For there had not any order been taken by the Confederates, for the division of all those Lands: because they did not expect so prosperous an issue of that War, which they made only in their own common defence. It was therefore lawful for *Seleucus*, to make the best benefit that he could of the Victory, at which nevertheless others did repine; and though they neither could nor durst accuse him of ill dealing for the present, yet seeing the over-greatness of *Seleucus* brought no less danger to the rest of the new Kings, than that of *Antigonus* had done, they consulted upon the same reason of State as before, how to oppose it in time. Neither was *Seleucus* ignorant of what they had determined; for he read it in the Law universal of Kingdoms and States, needing no other intelligence. Hereupon they forget friendships on all sides, and cure themselves of all unprofitable passion: the hatred of each to other, and their loves being laid on the one side, against their profits on the other, were found so far too light, as *Seleucus*, who had to day slain *Antigonus* the Father, and driven *Demetrius* the Son out of *Asia*, sought to morrow how to match himself with *Stratonica*, *Demetrius* his Daughter; and so by *Demetrius* to serve his turn against *Lysimachus*.

The story of this *Stratonica*, with whom young *Antigonus*, the Son of *Seleucus* fell so passionately in love, and so distempered, as *Seleucus* his Father, to save his Sons life, gave her (though she were his Wife) unto him; and how his passion was discovered by his pulse, is generally noted by all Writers. But neither did this alliance between *Seleucus* and *Demetrius*; between *Ptolomy* and *Lysimachus*; between *Demetrius* and *Cassander*; between *Demetrius* and *Ptolomy*, though for the present it brought him again into the rank of Kings; otherwise tye any of them to each other, than the marriages between Christian Kings have done in latter times, namely between the *Austrians*, the *Aragonians*, the *French*, and other Princes; neither have the Leagues of those elder times been found more faithful, than those of



of the same latter times have been, as in the stories of *Charls* the Eighth of *France*, and of *Charls* the Emperour, of *Francis* the First, and of the Kings of *Naples*, Dukes of *Millan*, and others, the Reader may observe: between whom from the year of our Lord *One thousand four hundred ninety and five*, when *Charls* the Eighth undertook the Conquest of *Naples*, to the year *One thousand five hundred fifty and eight*, when *Henry* the Second died; the Histories of those times tell us, that all the bonds, either by the Bed or by the Book, either by Weddings or Sacramental Oaths, had neither faithful purpose nor performance. Yet did *Demetrius* reap this profit by giving his Daughter to his enemy *Seleucus*, that he recovered *Silicia* from *Pliftarchus*, the Brother of *Cassander*, who had gotten it as his share in the division of *Antigonus* his possessions: for the Intruder was not strong enough to hold it by his proper forces, from him that entred upon it as a lawful heir; neither would *Seleucus* lend him any help, as by the Rule of Confederacy he should have done against the common enemy. So *Pliftarchus* with very angry complaint, as well against *Seleucus* as *Demetrius*, went unto *Cassander*; whither *Phila*, their Sister, followed him shortly, to pacifie them both, and keep all quiet; being sent for that purpose by *Demetrius* her Husband, that was not strong enough to deal with *Cassander*; and therefore glad to make use of that bond of alliance betwixt them, whereof in his own prosperity, he never took notice to the others good. About the same time he took to Wife a Daughter of *Ptolomy* (plurality of Wives being familiar with these *Macedonians*, that had learned it in their Eastern Conquests) and so was he by two marriages rather freed from two enemies, than strengthened with two friends; for neither of them wished him any good, otherwise than might seem to advance their own ambitious desires.

*Seleucus* and *Ptolomy* could both of them have been contented better, that *Demetrius*, with help of their countenance, should seek his fortune somewhat farther off, than settle his estate under their noses. Particularly, *Seleucus* thought that *Cilicia* lay very fitly for himself: and *Ptolomy* had a great appetite (which yet he concealed a while) to the Isle of *Cyprus*. Now whether it were so, that *Seleucus* would fain have set his new Father-in-law upon the neck of *Lysimachus*; or whether he were indeed greedy of the bargain; he offered to buy of *Demetrius* for ready money, his late purchase of *Cilicia*. Hereunto *Demetrius* would not hearken, but meant to keep as much Land as he could, having already found in *Cilicia* twelve thousand talents of his Fathers Treasure, that would serve him to make sport a while. This refusal so displeased *Seleucus*, that in angry terms he demanded the Cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, to be surrendred unto him; which were the only places in *Syria*, that had not followed the fortune of the late great battel. Instead of giving them up, *Demetrius* took present order to have them better maned; and spake it stoutly, That were he overcome a thousand times, yet would he not hire *Seleucus* to become his Son-in-law. In this quarrel *Seleucus* was generally reprehended, as one of a malignant disposition, that would break friendship with his Father-in-law for two Towns, from whom he had already taken more than well he knew how to govern. But the fire consumed it self in words, which had it fastned upon arms, like it is that the weaker should have found friends out of envy to the stronger.

## §. VI.

*How* Demetrius *won the City of* Athens, *and prevailed in* Greece, *but lost in* Asia. *Of troubles in* Macedon *following the death of* Cassander.

IN the mean while, the *Athenians* not knowing how to use the liberty which *Demetrius* had bestowed on them, were fallen by sedition, under the Tyranny of *Lachares*. Through which alteration their distemperedCity was so weakned, that it seemed ill able to keep off the punishment due to their late ingratitude. This advantage hastened him, whom they had once called their *God and Saviour*, to present himself unto them, in the habit of a revenging fury. He brought against them all the force that he could well spare from other employments, which were at that time perhaps the more, because his doubtful Eastern friends, were unwilling to give impediment to any business, that might entangle him in *Greece*. His first enterprise in *Athens* had ill success; a great part of his Fleet perishing in a tempest. But he soon repaired the loss; and (after some Victories in *Peloponnesus*, where he wan divers Towns that had fallen from him) returning to the enterprise, wasted the Country of *Attica*, and cut off all relief from the City, both by Land and Sea.

*Athens* was not able to feed the great multitude within it, any long time: for it stood in a barren soil, and wanted now the command of those Islands, and places abroad, from

from whence it was wont to be ſtored with victuals; being alſo deſtitute of means to keep ſuch a Navy as might bring in ſupply, or dare to do any thing at Sea, againſt that of *Demetrius*. Yet was there ſome hope of ſuccour from *Ptolomy*, who (truſting thereby to win the love of *Greece*) had loaden an hundred and fifty ſhips with Corn, and ſent them to relieve the hungry City. But theſe hundred and fifty were unable to deal with three hundred good fighting-ſhips, which *Demetrius* had; rather they feared to become a prey to him, and therefore haſted them away betimes, as having done enough, in adventuring to come ſo near that they might be deſcryed. This brake the heart of the people, among whom the famine was ſo extreme, that a Father and his Son did fight for a dead Mouſe, which dropped down between them from the houſe top. Wherefore they ſent Embaſſadours to yield up the Town, and crave pardon, having ſo far offended, that out of deſperation, they made it a capital offence to propoſe any motion of peace. Yet were they fain to abolish this Decree, rather becauſe they knew not what elſe to do, than becauſe they hoped to be forgiven.

*Demetrius*, contented with the honour of the Victory, did not only forbear to take away the lives of theſe unthankful men, which they had ſubmitted unto his mercy; but out of his liberality gave them food, and placed in Office amongſt them ſuch as were moſt acceptable to the people. Nevertheleſs he was grown wiſer than to truſt them ſo far as he had done in times paſt. And therefore, when (among other flattering acclamations) they bade him take their Havens, and diſpoſe of them at his pleaſure; he was ready to lay hold upon the word, and leave a ſure Garriſon within their Walls, to keep them honeſt perforce. After this he went into *Peloponneſus*, vanquiſhed the *Lacedæmonians* in two Battels, and was in very fair poſſibility to take their City: when the dangerous news of *Lyſimachus* and *Ptolomy*, that prevailed faſter upon him elſewhere, than himſelf did upon his enemies in *Greece*, called him in all haſte. *Lyſimachus* had won many Towns in *Aſia*; *Ptolomy* had gotten all the Iſle of *Cyprus*, except the City of *Salamis*, wherein *Demetrius* had left his Children and Mother, that were ſtraitly beſieged. Whilſt he was bethinking himſelf which way to turn his face, a notable piece of buſineſs offered it ſelf, which thruſt all other cares out of his head.

*Caſſander* was lately dead in *Macedon*, and ſoon after him, *Philip* his eldeſt Son, whoſe two younger Brethren, *Antipater* and *Alexander*, ſought for the Kingdom. In this quarrel *Theſſalonica* the Daughter of King *Philip*, whom *Caſſander* had married, ſeemed better affected to *Alexander*, than to her elder Son: who thereupon grew ſo enraged, that moſt barbarouſly he ſlew his own Mother. The odiouſneſs of this fact gave a fair luſtre to *Alexanders* cauſe: drawing the generality of the *Macedons* to take his part, as in revenge of the Queens death, upon that wicked parricide *Antipater*. But *Antipater* was ſo ſtrongly backed by *Lyſimachus*, whoſe Daughter he had married; that *Alexander* could not hope to make his party good without ſome forein aid. For which cauſe he called in both *Pyrrhus* and *Demetrius*; who how they dealt with him, it will ſoon appear in the following Tragedy, of him and his Brother. Their Father *Caſſander* had been one that ſhifted well for himſelf, at ſuch time as every man ſought how to get ſomewhat, in the ill-ordered diviſion of the Empire. He was cunning in practice, and a good Souldier: one of more open dealing than were his Companions, but withall more impudent, rudely killing thoſe, whom others would more wiſely have made away. He deeply hated the memory of *Alexander*, that had knocked his head againſt a wall, upon ſome opinion of contempt. With *Olympias* he had an hereditary quarrel, derived from his Father, whom ſhe could not abide. Her feminine malice did ſo exaſperate him, by cruelty that ſhe uſed againſt his friends, both alive and dead; as it made him adventure upon ſhedding the Royal blood: wherewith, when once he had ſtained his hands, he did not care how far he proceeded in that courſe of murder. His carefulneſs to deſtroy thoſe women and children, whoſe lives hindred his purpoſe, argues him to have been rather ſkilful in matters of Arms, than a valiant man: ſuch cruelty being a true mark of cowardize, which fears a-far off the dangers, that may quietly paſs away: and ſeeks to avoid them by baſe and wicked means, as never thinking it ſelf ſafe enough, until there be nothing left, that carries likelihood of danger. Of *Olympias* and *Roxane* it may be ſaid, that they had well-deſerved the bloody end which over-took them; yet ill-beſeemed it *Caſſander* to do the Office of a Hang-man. But *Alexanders* children had by no Law of men, deſerved to dye for the tyranny of their Father. Wherefore, though *Caſſander* died in his bed, yet the divine Juſtice brought ſwords upon his wife and children, that well revenged the cruelty of this bloody man, by deſtroying his whole houſe as he had done his Maſters.

## §. VII.

*Of* Pyrrhus *and his doings in* Macedon. *The death of* Caſſanders *Children.* Demetrius *gets the Kingdom of* Macedon; *prevails in War againſt the Greeks; loſeth reputation in his War againſt* Pyrrhus, *and in his Civil Government, and prepares to win* Aſia. *How all conſpire againſt* Demetrius. Pyrrhus *and* Lyſimachus *invade him, his Army yields to* Pyrrhus, *who ſhares the Kingdom of* Macedon *with* Lyſimachus.

*Pyrrhus*, the Son of that unfortunate Prince *Æacides*, which periſhed in War againſt *Caſſander*, was hardly preſerved, being a ſuckling Infant, from the fury of his Fathers enemies. When his Foſterers had conveyed him to *Glaucias* King of *Illyria*; the deadly hatred of *Caſſander* would have bought his life with the price of two hundred Talents. But no man can kill him that ſhall be his heir. *Glaucias* was ſo far from betraying *Pyrrhus*, that he reſtored him by force to his Fathers Kingdom, when he was but twelve years of age. Within the compaſs of ſix years, either the indiſcretions of his youth, or the rebellious temper of his Subjects, drave him out of his Kingdom, and left him to try the world anew. Then went he to *Demetrius* (who married his Siſter) became his Page, followed him a while in his Wars, was with him in the great Battel of *Ipſus*, whence he fled with him to *Epheſus*; and was content to be hoſtage for him, in his reconciliation with *Ptolomy*. In *Egypt* he ſo behaved himſelf, that he got the favour of *Berenice*, *Ptolomies* principal Wife; ſo that he married her Daughter, and was thereupon ſome home, with mony and men, into *Epirus*; more beholding now to *Ptolomy*, than to *Demetrius*. When he had fully recovered the Kingdom of *Epirus*, and was ſettled in it, then fell out that buſineſs between the Children of *Caſſander*, which drew both him and *Demetrius* into *Macedon*.

*Antipater*, the elder of *Caſſanders* Sons, was ſo far too weak for *Pyrrhus*, that he had no deſire to attend the coming of *Demetrius*, but made an haſty agreement, and divided the Kingdom with his younger Brother *Alexander*; who likewiſe felt the aid of *Pyrrhus* ſo troubleſome, that he was more willing to ſend him away, than to call in ſuch another helper. For *Pyrrhus* had the audacity to requeſt, or take as granted, by ſtrong hand, *Ambracia*, *Acarnania*, and much more of the Country, as the reward of his pains: leaving the two Brethren to agree as well as they could about the reſt. Neceſſity enforced the Brethren to compoſition: but their compoſition would not ſatisfie *Demetrius*, who took the matter hainouſly, that he was ſent for, and made a fool, to come ſo far with an Army, and find no work for it. This was a frivolous complaint; whereby it appeared, that *Demetrius* had a purpoſe to do as *Pyrrhus* had done; and ſo much more, by how much he was ſtronger. Hereupon it ſeemed to *Alexander* a wiſe courſe, to remove this over-diligent friend, by murdering him upon ſome advantage. Thus *Demetrius* reported the ſtory, and it might be true; though the greateſt part, and perhaps the wiſeſt, believed it not. But the iſſue was, that *Alexander* himſelf was feaſted and ſlain by *Demetrius*; who took his part of the Kingdom, as a reward of the murder; excuſing the fact ſo well, by telling his own danger, and what a naughty man *Caſſander* had been, that all the *Macedonians* grew glad enough to acknowledge him their King. It fell out happily, that about the ſame time *Lyſimachus* was buſied in War with a King of the wild *Thracians*: for thereby he was compelled to ſeek peace of *Demetrius*, which to obtain, he cauſed the remainder of *Macedon* to be given up; that is, the part belonging to *Antipater*, his Son-in-law. At this ill bargain *Antipater* grievouſly ſtormed, though he knew not how to amend it: yet ſtill he ſtormed; until his Father-in-law, to ſave the labour of making many excuſes, took away his troubleſome life. Thus in haſte, with a kind of neglect, and as it were to avoid moleſtation, were ſlain the Children of *Caſſander*: of *Caſſander* that had ſlain his own Maſters Children, in a wiſe courſe of policy, with careful meditation (ſo much the more wicked as the more long) ſtudying how to erect his own houſe, that fell down upon his grave, ere the earth on it was throughly ſettled.

It might be thought, that ſuch an acceſs of Dominion, added much to the greatneſs of *Demetrius*. But indeed it ſhewed his infirmity; and thereby made him neglected by many, and at length hated by all. For he had no Art of Civil Government: but thought (or ſhewed by his actions that he thought) the uſe and fruit of a Kingdom, to be none other, than to do what a King liſted. He gave himſelf over to Women and Wine, laughing openly at thoſe which offered to trouble him with ſupplications, and the tedious diſcourſe of doing Juſtice. He had more ſkill in getting a Kingdom, than in ruling it: War being his recreation, and Luxury his nature. By long reſt (as ſix years reign is long to him, that knows not how to reign

reign one year) he discovered so much of his worst conditions, as made the people both weary of his idleness; and the Souldiers of his vanity. He was freed from care of matters in *Asia*, by hearing that all was lost: though more especially, by hearing that *Ptolomy* had with great honour, entertained and dismissed his Mother and Children. This afforded him the better leisure of making War in *Greece*: where he vanquished the *Thebans*, and won their City twice in short space, but used his Victory with mercy. Against *Lysimachus* he would fain have done somewhat (the peace between them notwithstanding) at such time as he was taken by the *Thracians*; but *Lysimachus* was freely dismissed, and in good case to make resistance ere *Demetrius* came; so as this Journey purchased nothing but enmity. Another expedition he took in hand against *Pyrrhus*, with no better, or rather with worse event. *Pyrrhus* held somewhat belonging to *Macedon*, which he had indeed as honestly gotten, as *Demetrius* the whole Kingdom; he had also made excursions into *Thessaly*. But there needed not any handsome pretence of quarrel, seeing *Demetrius* thought himself strong enough to over-run his enemies Country, with two great Armies. It is a common fault in men, to despise the vertue of those, whom they have known raw Novices in that faculty, wherein themselves are noted as extraordinary. *Pyrrhus* was a Captain, whom latter ages, and particularly the great *Hannibal*, placed higher in the rank of Generals, than either *Demetrius* or any of *Alexanders* followers. At this time, he misled that part of the Army, which *Demetrius* led, and fell upon the other half: which he overthrew, not with more commendations of his good conduct, than of his private valour, shewed in single combate against *Pantauchus*, *Demetrius* his Lieutenant; who being a strong man of body, challenged this young Prince to fight hand to hand, and was utterly beaten. The loss of this Battel did not so much offend the *Macedonians*, as the gallant behaviour of *Pyrrhus* delighted them. For in him they seemed to behold the lively figure of *Alexander* in his best quality. Other Kings did imitate, in a counterfeit manner, some of *Alexanders* graces, and had good skill in wearing Princely vestures: but (said they) none, save *Pyrrhus*, is like him in deed, in performing the office of a Captain.

These Rumours were not more nourished by the vertue of the *Epirot*, than by dislike of their own Kings, whom they began to disesteem, not so much in regard of his unprofitable Journey into *Epirus* (for he had wasted much of the Country, and brought home his Army in good case) as of his Insolence, that grew daily more and more intolerable. His apparel seemed, in the eyes of the *Macedons*, not only too sumptuous and new-fangled, but very unmanly; and serving chiefly to be a daily witness, how much he contemned them and their good opinions. Of his Souldiers lives he was retchless: and suffered unwisely this un-princely sentence to escape out of his mouth; That *the more of them died, the fewer he was to pay*. He made a mockery of Justice; and (as it were, to publish unto all his Subjects, how little he esteemed it or them) having by a shew of popularity invited Petitioners, and with a gracious countenance entertained their Supplications, he led the poor Suters after him in great hope, till coming to a Bridge, he threw all their Writings into a River; pleasing himself, in that he could so easily and so boldly delude the cares of other men. By these courses he grew so odious, that *Pyrrhus* gathered audacity, and invading *Macedon*, had almost won it all with little resistance. *Demetrius* lay then sick in his bed: who recovering health, and taking the field, had such great odds of strength, as made *Pyrrhus* glad to forsake his winnings and be gone.

At length he began to have some feeling of the general hate; which to redress, he did not (for he could not) alter his own conditions; but purposed to alter their idle discourses of him, by setting them on work in such an action, wherein his best qualities might appear; that is, in a great War. His intent was to invade *Asia* with a Royal Army: wherein the fortune of one Battel might give him as much, as the fortune of another had taken from him. To this end, he first made peace with *Pyrrhus*; that so he might leave all safe and quiet at home. Then did he compose a mighty Army, of almost a hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand horses with a Navy of five hundred sail, wherein were many ships, far exceeding the greatness of any that had been seen before; yet so swift and useful withall, that the greatness was least part of their commendation.

The terrible fame of these preparations, made *Seleucus* and *Ptolomy* suspect their own forces, and labour hard with *Lysimachus* and *Pyrrhus*, to joyn against this ambitious Son of *Antigonus*, that was like to prove more dangerous to them all, than ever was his Father. It was easily discerned, that if *Demetrius* once prevailed in *Asia*, there could be no



no security for his friends in *Europe*, what league soever were of old concluded. Therefore they resolved to begin with him betimes, and each to invade that quarter of *Macedon*, that lay next his own Kingdom. *Lysimachus* came first, and against him went *Demetrius* with a great part of his Army: but whilst he was yet on the way, news were brought into his Camp, that *Pyrrhus* had won *Berrhæa*. The matter was not over-great: were it not, that minds prepared with long discontent, are ready to lay hold upon small occasions of dislike. All the Camp was in uproar: some wept, others raged, few or none did forbear to utter seditious words, and many desired leave of *Demetrius*, to go to their own houses, meaning indeed to have gone to *Lysimachus*.

When *Demetrius* perceived the bad affection of his Army, he thought it the wisest way, to lead the *Macedonians* further off from *Lysimachus* their own Country-man, against *Pyrrhus* that was a stranger: hoping by victory against the *Epirot*, to recover the love of his followers, in such sort that he might afterwards at leisure deal with the other. But herein his wisdom beguiled him. For the souldiers were as hasty as he, to meet with *Pyrrhus*; not intending to hurt him, but longing to see that noble Prince, of whom they daily heard the honourable fame. Some spake of his valour; some enquired, others answered, of his person, his armour, and other tokens whereby he might be known; as particularly, by a pair of Goats-horns, that he wore on his crest. It was not likely, that these men should hurt him. Divers of them stole away, and ran over into *Pyrrhus* his Camp: where the news that they brought, were better welcome than their persons. For they said, and it was true, that if the *Macedonians* might once get sight of *Pyrrhus*, they would all salute him King. To try this, *Pyrrhus* rode forth, and presented himself bare-headed in view of the Camp, whither some were sent before to prepare his welcome. The news of his arrival found a general applause, and every one began to look out, with desire to set eye on him. His face was not so well known as his Helmet; therefore he was admonished to put it on: which done, all came about him, and proffered their service; neither were there any, that spake for *Demetrius*; only some (and they the most moderate of tongue) bade him be gone betimes, and shift for himself. So *Demetrius* threw aside his Maskers habit, and attyring himself poorly, did fearfully steal away out of his own Camp, deserving well this calamity: whether it were so, that he would not hearken to the good counsel of his friends; or whether his behaviour deprived him of such friends, as would dare to let him hear the unpleasant sound of necessary truth.

Whilst *Pyrrhus* was making this triumphant entry into the Kingdom of *Macedon*; *Lysimachus* came upon him very unseasonably, and would needs have half: saying, that he had done as much as *Pyrrhus* in the War; and therefore had reason to challenge his part of the gain. The bargain was quickly made, and the division agreed upon: each of them being rather desirous to take his part quietly, than to fight for the whole; as hoping each of them, to work his fellow quite out of all, upon better opportunity.

## §. VIII.

*How* Demetrius *gathering forces, enterprised many things with ill success, in* Greece *and* Asia. *How he was driven upon* Seleucus, *and compelled to yield himself. His imprisonment and death.*

THE *Athenians* were as unthankful to *Demetrius* in this his adversity, as they had been in former times. For they presently forsook his friendship, and called *Pyrrhus* out of *Macedon* to be their Patron. *Demetrius*, when he went against *Lysimachus*, had left a great part of his forces in *Greece*, under his Son *Antigonus*. Therefore it is like, that he had soon gotten an Army, though *Phila* his Wife (who is highly commended for a wise and vertuous Lady) did poison her self, upon desperate grief for his misfortune. The first, upon whom he attempted to shew his anger, were the *Athenians* that had well deserved it. He began to lay siege to their Town: but was pacified by *Crates* the Philosopher, whom they had made their spokes-man; and taking fair words instead of satisfaction, passed over into *Asia*, with eleven thousand Souldiers, meaning to try his fortune against *Lysimachus*, for the Provinces of *Lydia* and *Caria*.

At his first coming into those parts, fortune seemed to smile upon him. For many good Towns, willingly, or by compulsion, yielded to his obedience. There were also some Captains that fell from *Lysimachus* to him, with their companies and treasures. But it was not long ere *Agathocles* the Son of *Lysimachus*, came upon him with an Army so strong, that it was not for *Demetrius* his good, to hazard his last stock against it. Wherefore,

Wherefore he reſolved to paſs through *Phrygia* and *Armenia*, into *Media*, and the Provinces of the higher *Aſia*; truſting to find a Kingdom ſomewhere in thoſe remote quarters. The execution of this counſel was grievouſly impeached by *Agathocles*: who purſued him cloſe, and cut off all his proviſions, driving him to take which wayes he could, without following his intended courſe. In many ſkirmiſhes *Demetrius* vanquiſhed this troubleſome enemy: nevertheleſs, he could not be ſhaken off, but continued afflicting the poor titulary King, with extream famine. At length, in paſſing the river *Lycus*, ſo many of *Demetrius* his men were loſt, that the reſt could no longer make reſiſtance: but were driven to travel with ſuch ſpeed as might well be called a plain flight. So that with famine, peſtilent diſeaſes following famine, and other accidents of war, eight thouſand of them were conſumed: the reſt with their Captain, eſcaped into *Cilicia*. *Seleucus* had gotten poſſeſſion of *Cilicia*, whileſt *Demetrius* was occupied in *Greece*: yet was it no part of *Demetrius* his errand, to lay claim to the Country; but with vehement and humble letters he beſought his Son-in-law to call to mind their alliance, and to pitty him in his great miſery. Theſe letters, at the firſt wrought well with *Seleucus*, and he condeſcended to the requeſt: yet conſidering further how *Demetrius* had carried himſelf, when he recovered ſtrength after the battel at *Ipſus*, he changed his purpoſe, and went againſt him with an Army.

Many treaties were held between them; of which none took effect, through the jealouſie of *Seleucus*. Therefore meer deſperation enforced *Demetrius* to fight like a mad man, and his furies got him ſome victories, though of ſmall importance. At length ſickneſs took and held him forty days, in which time, a great number of his few men ran to the enemy. This notwithſtanding he ſtill held out, and once had like to have taken *Seleucus* in his bed, had not his coming been diſcovered by fugitives, that gave alarm. Finally, when all his Army had forſaken him, and left him with a few of his friends to ſhift for himſelf, he was compelled by the laſt of thoſe adherents (for even ſome of thoſe few forſook him) to yield unto *Seleucus*.

*Seleucus* hearing this, was exceeding glad, and ſent him very comfortable meſſages. But the approbation of his own humanity by his followers, was ſuch, as renewed his jealous thoughts; and hindred him from admitting *Demetrius* to his preſence, though otherwiſe he uſed him with as much favour, as any priſoner could wiſh. He was kept under ſure guard in a demy-Iſland, wherein were goodly Walks, Orchards, and Parks for hunting. He had all that he aſked royally, and friends allowed to viſit him, at his, and their pleaſure. Only his liberty was reſerved unto the coming of young *Antiochus* and *Stratonica*, out of the high countreys. In this ſort he ſpent three years, now merrily all the while (as one that livingenjoyed the happineſs, which with ſo much travel and blood-ſhed, he had fought in vain) and then dyed, leaving to his ſon *Antigonus*, the ſame which his father had left unto himſelf; that is, friends and hope. His aſhes were honourably buried in *Corinth*; his qualities have appeared in his actions, and the fortune of his Houſe will ſhew it ſelf hereafter, in times and places convenient.

## §. IX.

*The death of* Ptolomy, *of* Lyſimachus, *and of* Seleucus, *that was the laſt of* Alexanders *Captains: with other occurrences.*

ABout the ſame time that *Demetrius* died died alſo *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, a vertuous Prince, war-like, gentle, bountiful, and (which in thoſe times was a rare commendation) regardful of his word. He had, by many Wives and Concubines, many children, out of whom he ſelected *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and cauſed him to reign together with himſelf, two or three years before he died, that ſo he might confirm him in the inheritance of the Kingdom. At this, *Ptolomy Ceraunus* (for all of that houſe aſſumed the name of *Ptolomy*) was grievouſly incenſed. But no man cared for his anger. Therefore he went to *Seleucus*, who gave him loving entertainment. There were now only two of *Alexanders* Captains left, *Seleucus* and *Lyſimachus*. Theſe two needs would fight for it, who ſhould be the longeſt liver of that brave Company. The true ground of their quarrel, was their meer equality or ſtrength, and want of one to part them. The pretence was the murders which *Lyſimachus* had committed upon many of his Nobles, together with his poyſoning *Agathocles* his eldeſt ſon: whoſe wife and children fled unto *Seleucus* for aid.

The *Macedons*, after ſeven moneths pauſe, having ſpent their firſt heat of admiration, began to hearken ſo well to *Lyſimachus*, their natural Countrey-man, that they forſook *Pyrrhus*, upon none other ground than becauſe



becauſe he was an Alien. This they had known well enough before: but they did him no great wrong in taking lightly from him, that they lightly gave him. *Lyſimachus* had reigned about five years alone, when the City of *Lyſimachia* (built by him, and called after his name) falling by an earthquake, appeared by events, to have foreſhewed the fall of his houſe. His own jealouſie, and the inſtigation of a mother-in-law, cauſed him to poyſon his ſon *Agathocles*; which drew upon him that War, wherein (after the loſs of all his fifteen children that were taken away by divers accidents) he periſhed himſelf.

*Seleucus* was encountred by *Lyſimachus* on *Aſia* ſide, where one battel concluded the war, with *Lyſimachus* his death. It pleaſed *Seleucus* more than the victory, that he was the laſt of all the great Heroes that followed *Alexander*. For now he ſeemed to himſelf as Lord and Heir of all the conquered World. So he paſſed over into *Macedon*, to take poſſeſſion of *Europe*, where there was none to withſtand him. But there he ended his days, and within ſeven moneths followed *Lyſimachus*, and others of his fellows, by a bloody death, being treacherouſly ſlain by *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, whoſe friend and Patron he had been. Seventy and ſeven year old he was, when he fought with *Lyſimachus*, and *Lyſimachus* was ſeventy and four. With them ended the generation of old Captains, that had ſeen the dayes as it were of another World under the *Perſian*: yet was there left one equal to any of them in the Art of War: even *Pyrrhus* the Epirot, of whom we ſpake before; that is now ready to enter into war with the *Romans*, a more warlike people than *Alexander* himſelf did ever encounter. Of which war, and of which people, it is needful that we here make mention, as of a ſtory more important, than any likely to enſue in *Greece*, or in the great Kingdoms that were held by *Alexanders* Succeſſors, with leſs (and ſtill decreaſing) vertue, than was that, by which they were firſt purchaſed.

# CHAP. VII.

## *The growth of* Rome, *and ſettling of the Eaſtern Kingdoms.*

## §. I.

*How the* Romans *enlarged their Dominions in* Italy, *from the death of* Tullus Hoſtilius, *unto ſuch time as they were aſſailed by* Pyrrhus.

HOw *Rome* was founded by *Romulus*; ſettled in good order by *Numa Pompilius*; and by many (though ſmall) victories, gathered ſtrength, unto ſuch time as it became the head of *Latium*, by the conqueſt of *Alba*, in the reign of *Tullus Hoſtilius*: it hath been already noted, in due order of time. But whereas now the *Roman* greatneſs beginneth to encounter the power of *Greece*; and extending it ſelf out of *Italy*, to overwhelm the Dominions of other States and Princes: I hold it convenient (as in like caſes I have done) briefly to ſet down the growth of this mighty City, in a compendious relation of thoſe many actions, which could not have been delivered in the ages, wherein they were ſeverally performed, without much interruption of the Hiſtory, that was then occupied in matter more important.

After the death of *Tullus Hoſtilius* (who when he had reigned two and thirty years, was burnt together with his houſe by lightning) *Ancus Martius*, Grand-child to *Numa Pompilius* by his daughter, and not much unlike him in diſpoſition, ſucceeded in the Kingdom of *Rome*. He walled the City about; enlarged it with the Hill *Aventine*, which he encloſed; built a bridge over *Tybris*, and the City of *Oſtia* upon the Sea, ſixteen miles diſtant from *Rome*. Finally, having reigned 24. years, he died, and by his laſt Will he left his children in charge with one *Lucumon*, the ſon of *Damaratus*, a *Corinthian*, who avoiding *Cypſelus* King of *Corinth* his tyranny, had fled into *Hetruria*, & dwelt in *Tarquinii*, by the name of which Town he was afterward called *Tarquinius*. From that City in *Hetruria* coming to *Rome*, and encouraged by ſome ominous occurrents, together with his wife *Tanaquils* propheſie,

phesie, he grew a favorite of *Ancus Martius*; by his *Grecian* wit humouring the factions of the *Roman* Court, insomuch, that after his decease he became not only Protector to the children, but Governour to the City. He doubled the number of Senators, and enlarged the Centurions of Horsemen: neither was he less eminent in war, than in peace: for he prevailed often against the *Tuscans*, and from his victories, the chiefest ornaments of triumph took their original. When this *Lucius Tarquinius* had reigned 38. years, he was slain by the sons of *Ancus Martius*, to whom he had been left Guardian. But *Tanaquil* his wife, perceiving what was done, informed the people, from out of an high Turret, that her Husband was wounded, and sick, but not dangerously. And withal signified unto them, that in the *interim* of his sickness, one *Servius Tullius*, whom from his birth she always prophesied to be born to great hopes (the son of *P. Corniculanus*, and *Ocrisia* a well descended, but captive woman) brought up in her house, and husband unto her daughter, should supply her husbands place, in governing the State, until his recovery: which government, being thus at first obtained by cunning, he afterwards usurped as his right. He first ordained Ratements, Subsidies and Valuations of the peoples wealth; among whom, at that time, fourscore thousand were mustered, of which number consisted their whole corporation; & by distinction of Dignities, Ages, Trades, and Offices, he managed the Kingdom in as good sort, as if it had been a private household. At length, having two daughters of different natures, the one mild and gentle, the other fierce and outragious: and finding also that the two sons of *Tarquinius Priscus*, *Sextus* and *Aruns*, which had been committed unto his tuition, were of different dispositions, proportionably answering to his daughters; he (willing to add water, not oyl, to fire) gave the mild daughter to *Sextus* the hot-headed son, and the violent, to *Aruns* the gentle in marriage. But whether by intended courses, or by accident, it hapned; the two mild ones being made away, the furious natures were readily joyned in marriage: who soon concurring, and calling the Senate together, began to lay claim to the Kingdom. Upon this tumult, *Servius Tullius* hastening to the Senate, (where he thought by authority to have bridled insolency) was thrown down the stairs, and going home sore bruised, was slain by the way, when he had reigned 44. years. Then *Tullia* his daughter, first proclaiming her Husband *Tarquinius Superbus* King; returning home enforced her Coachman to drive his Chariot over her fathers corps: whereupon the street had the denomination of Wicked-street. This *Tarquine*, exercising cruelty without justice, and tyranny without mercy, upon the people and Senators; having tired himself and them at home, used the same rage of treachery upon his borders. He took *Oriculum*, *Suessa*, *Pometia*, and the *Gabii*. The issue of besieging *Ardea*, a town eighteen mile distant from *Rome*, was of bad success. In the heat of which war, his son *Sextus Tarquinius* violently ravished that chaste Lady *Lucretia*, his kinsman *Collatines* wife: who in way of expiation for so unchaste a deed, thought good to wash out those spots of infamy with her own blood; so (having first bequeathed the revenge unto her father *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, her husband *Collatine* and *Junius Brutus*) she kill'd her self: whereupon (chiefly by *Junius Brutus* his resolution) *Tarquinius Superbus*, with his wife and children, was deposed and banished; and fled to *Porsenna* King of *Hetruria* for succour, in the five and twentieth year of his reign, and the two hundred forty and fourth from the building of their City: in which space *Rome* had scarce gotten possession of fifteen miles round about her.

*Junius Brutus* by the help of *Collatine*, having expelled *Tarquine*, and freed his Country from that heavy yoke of bondage, inforced the people by solemn oath, never to admit any government by Kings amongst them: whereupon they ransacked their Kings goods, consecrated their fields to *Mars*, and conferred the government of the State upon *Brutus* and *Collatine*. But because the name of King was odious in their ears, they changed the manner of their government, from perpetual to annual, and from a single government to a double; lest perpetual or sole dominion might be some motive to usurpation; and instead of Kings they called them Consuls, signifying, as it may be interpreted, Providers: that their titles might remember them of their place, which was to be always mindful of their Citizens welfare. And yet was it so hard settling of troubled waters, that the people, after this innovation of State, scarce daring to assure themselves of their own security, enforced *Tarquinius Collatine* to resign up his authority, fearing that tyranny would be hereditary, and supposing that the very name and affinity with the house of *Tarquine*, favoured already of their condition. In his room was substitute *Valerius Publicola*, who that he might (as his name importeth) be gracious in



in the peoples eyes, gave liberty, in matters of controversie to appeal from the Consuls to the people, and that he might as well in goods as in person, avoid occasion of suspition, caused his own house to be pulled down, because it was built in a place defensible, as if it had been a Cittadel. Neither was *Brutus* any wayes deficient in matter of greater moment; which concerned as well the peoples safety, as their favour: for having got intelligence, that some greener wits, and in the first rank his own sons, were itching after innovations, hoping to restore the banished Kings; he caused them, publickly in the Market-place, to be whipt, and then to be brought all unpartially to the block.

Hitherto the *Romans*, having by the unblemished integrity of *Brutus*, well appeased all inbred quarrels at home, now hereafter imployed their military designments against Forrainers: first, for their liberty; secondly, for inlarging of their possessions; and lastly, for defending their confederate Provinces, and extending their Empire. For *Rome*, situated as it were in the mid-way between *Latium* and the *Tuscans*, having as yet but narrow bounds, being in her minority, could not but give occasion of offence to her neighbours; untill by main opposition, having prevailed against her borderers, she used them as instruments, whereby to obtain the rest.

Their first war, in the first year of Consuls, was against *Porsenna* King of *Hetruria*: who being over-perswaded by *Tarquins* lamentation, came to *Rome*, together with the banished King, and with great forces, to seat him again in his Kingdom.

In the first conflict, *Horatius Cocles*, having long time born the main brunt of his enemies on the bridge over *Tibris*, at length, feeling himself too faint to stand against so many, caused the bridge behind him to be broken down, and with his armour, leaping into the River, like a hunted Stagg, refreshed his hot spirits, and returned safe to his fellows, with the like resolution to sustain a new charge. *Porsenna*, although by this he had well-nigh won the hill *Janiculus*, which is the very entrance into the City, and found the Victory, in a manner, assuredly his own: yet admiring their valour, and terrified by the constant resolution of *Mutius Scævola* (who having by errour slain *Porsenna* his Secretary, in stead of the King himself, did in scorn of torments threatned, burn off his own hand) he thought it not any whit prejudicial either to his safety, or credit, to enter league with them at the worst hand. And yet the edge of *Tarquinius* his spleen was not quite abated, though *Aruns* his son, and *Brutus*, his enemy, in single combat, had slain each other. And here the *Romans*, although they lost *Brutus* got the field; and their Ladies, whose Champion he was, for their chastity, not for beauty, mourned the loss of him one whole year. Into this place, for the residue of his year, was subrogated *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, father to *Lucretia*: and in his room (deceasing naturally before the year expired) *Horatius Pulvillus*.

*Tarquin*, upon his overthrow, feeling the fates disastrous, thought it no boot to strive against the stream, but spent the residue of his time, which was about fourteen years, privately at *Tusculum*. Yet his Son-in-law *Mamilius Tusculanus*, stomaching a-fresh at those old repulses, because *Porsenna* had made peace with the *Romans*, and denied further succour unto the *Tarquines*, mustered up his *Latins*, and gave battel to the *Romans*, at the Lake *Regillum*; where the conflict was fierce, and the issue uncertain, untill *Aulus Posthumus*, the *Roman* Dictator, (for they had created this Magistracy greater than Consuls, purposely for this war, when first it was expected) to exasperate his Souldiers courage, threw their own Ensignes amidst the Enemies; and *Cossus*, or *Spurius Cassius*, (Master of the Horse-men, an assistant Officer to the Dictator) commanded to take off their bridles, that they might run with free violence, to recover again their Ensigns. This fight was so well performed, that a report went of *Castor* and *Pollux*, two gods, who came on milk-white Steeds, to be eye-witnesses of their valour, and fellow-helpers of their Victory; for the General consecrated a Temple to them, as a stipend for their pains. After this the *Romans* fierce spirits, having no object of valour abroad, reflected upon themselves at home; and the sixteenth year after the Kings expulsion, upon instigation of some desperate banckrouts, thinking themselves wrongfully oppressed by the Senate and Consuls, they made an uproar in the holy Mount; untill by *Menenius Agrippa*, his discreet allusion, of the inconvenience in the Head and Belly's discord, to that present occasion, they were reconciled to the Senate: with condition, that they might have some new Magistrates created, to whom they might appeal in cases of variance, and make them Solicitors in all their controversies, the Consuls authority notwithstanding. This was enacted, and they were called the Tribunes of the people. After this attonement among themselves

themselves, they had continual War with the *Latines*, concerning their bounds and limits, and with other neighbouring States. Among these, the *Volsci* and *Æqui* held them longest; who made War of themselves upon the *Romans*: whereby they lost the best City in their whole jurisdiction, *Corioli*.

In this conquest, *T. Martius* got the surname of *Coriolanus*: a name honourable then, as drawn from a great Victory; although, by reason of the poverty of the Town, a *Roman* General, in after times, would have been ashamed of that title. But yet these graces had been no occasion of disparagement, had he not afterwards in a great time of dearth, advised to sell corn, which they procured from *Sicil*, at too high a rate, to the people, whereupon *Decius Mus*, their Tribune, in their behalf, accused him, and after judgement banished him. *Coriolanus* flying to the *Volsci*, whom lately before he had vanquished, incensed them to renue their forces again; which being committed unto him, and to *Attius Tullus*, he prevailed in field, so far forth, that he was come within four or five miles of the City. Incamping there, he made so sharp war, and was at such defiance with his Country, that he would not relent by any supplication of Embassadours, untill his mother *Veturia*, and *Volumnia* his wife, with a pittiful tune of deprecation, shewing themselves better Subjects to their Country than friends to their Son and Husband, were more available to *Rome* than was any force of Arms. Hereupon *Coriolanus* dismissing his Army, was after put to death among the *Volsci*, as a Traitor, for neglecting such opportunity: or (as others surmise) living with them untill old age, he died naturally.

Not long after this the *Veii* in *Hetruria*, provoked the *Romans*; against whom the *Fabii*, three hundred and six in number, all of one Family, intreated and obtained, that they only might be employed, as it had been in a private quarrel. These *Fabii*, after some good services, lying incamped at *Cremera*, were circumvented, and all slain: one only of that whole house had been left, by reason of infancy, at home; from whom afterward sprang *Fabius Maximus*, who vanquished *Hannibal*.

In process of time, the *Romans* were also troubled with the *Volsci*, at the hill of *Algidum*, two miles from *Rome*; where *Lucius Minutius* their Consul, with his whole army, had been discomfited, had not *L. Quintius Cincinatus* chosen Dictator, and taken from the plough to the highest honour in *Rome*, with success answerable to his expedition, dispersed his enemies, and freed his Country in the space of sixteen dayes. In the continuance of this *Volscian* war, it was that *Appius Claudius*, one of the ten men, whom they had two years before chosen Governours of the State, and Inactors of *Solons* laws amongst them, procured from *Athens* (abrogating in the mean while the Consuls, and all other Magistrates) would have ravished *Virginia*, the daughter of *T. Virginius*, Captain of a company, and lying then in a camp at *Algidum*. Hereupon the people in an uproar took the Hill *Aventine*, and after much variance, enforced the ten men to resign up their authority again to new Consuls.

After this, either new quarrels, or desire to revenge old losses, drew the *Romans* into a new war against the *Veientes* and their adherents, upon whom, having tried their forces with diversity of Captains, and variety of event, they vanquished the *Falisci*, and the *Fidenates*, and utterly subdued the *Veientes*. In conquering the *Falisci*, *Furius Camillus* shewed no less integrity than fortitude. For when a Schoolmaster, by training forth into the *Roman* camp, many children of the principal Citizens, thought to betray the Town, yielding them all up as hostages: *Camillus* delivered this Traitor bound unto his Souldiers, willing them to whip him back into the City; which forthwith yielded unto him in reverence of his justice. The siege of *Veii* was ten years, and so troublesome, that the *Romans* were there first inforced to winter abroad under beasts skins (to which they were the more easily induced, because then first they received pay) and to make vows never to return without Victory.

At length winning the City by a Mine, they got so large spoils, that they consecrated their tenths to *Apollo Pythius*: and the whole people in general were called to the ransacking of the City. But yet they were no less unthankful to *Camillus* for his service, than before they had been to *Coriolanus*; for they banished him the City, upon some occasion of inequality in dividing the spoils: yet he requited their unkindness with a new piece of service against the fury of the *Gauls*; who being a populous Country, and very healthful, the fathers (as sometimes now) lived so long, that the sons, destitute of means, were enforced to roave abroad, seeking some place where to set up their rest: and withall being a Nation vaste in body, rude by nature, and barbarous in conditions, wandred as Rovers over many Countries. Some of them lighting on *Italy*, set



set upon *Clusium* a Town in *Hetruria*: whereof *Rome* having information (and being careful of her Confederate Towns) sent Embassadours, warning them to desist from such injurious enterprises. But the barbarous people, not regarding the message, upon some injury offered by the *Roman* Embassadours, converted their forces from *Clusium* towards *Rome*; and giving a great overthrow unto the *Romans*, by the River *Allia*, upon the fixteenth day before the Calends of *August* (which day was after branded for unlucky, and called *Allicnsis* in the *Roman* Kalendar) they hastned towards the City. Then was *Rome* the true map of misery and desolation. For some leaving the City; some creeping into holes; Priests hiding their reliques; and, every one shifting for himself ere the enemy came, *Rome* was abandoned as indefensible. The Vestal Virgins, in this tumult, were safely conveyed away; the Ancients of the City, gathering boldness out of desperate fear, did put on their Robes, and taking their leave of the world, did set themselves in Thrones, in their several houses, hourly expecting the messengers of death, and meaning to dye, as they had lived, in State. The younger sort, with *M. Manlius* their Captain, took upon them to make good the Capitol.

By this the *Gaules* were entred the City, who seeing all quiet, at first suspected some ambush; afterward finding all secure, they fell to the spoil, committing all to the fire and sword. As for the old Senatours, they sate in their Majesty with a grave resolution; having first reverenced them as gods, anon they tryed whether they would dye like men. When the City was throughly rifled, they attempted the Capitol: which held them work for the space of seven months. Once they were like to have surprised it by night, but being descried by the gagling of Geese, *M. Manlius* did awaken, and kept them from entrance. At length a composition was agreed upon: the *Gauls* being weary, and the *Romans* hungry. The bargain was, that the *Gaules* should take a thousand pound weight in gold, to desist from their siege. Whilst the gold was in weighing, the *Gaules*, with open insolency, made their weights too heavy: *Brennus* their Captain, casting his sword into the ballance, and with a proud exprobration, saying, that the vanquished must be patient perforce. But in the midst of this cavilling came *Furius Camillus* with an Army from *Ardea*, (where he had lived in his banishment) and fell upon the *Gaules* with such violence, that he dispersed their troups, quenched the fire of the City with their blood, forcing them to restore the spoils with advantage, and forbear the gold, in accepting which they had lately been so nice. Further, having rid the City of them, he so hotly pursued them thorow a great part of *Italy*, that the remainder of their Army which escaped from him, was very small. Other Armies of the *Gaules*, which followed this first, had the like ill success. They were often beaten by the *Romans*; especialy the victories of *M. Torquatus*, and of *M. Valerius Corvinus* (each of which in single fight slew a several Champion of the *Gaules*) abated their presumption, and restored courage to the *Romans*. *Camillus*, for his notable service, was afterwards accounted a second *Romulus*.

The people, after this destruction of their City, were earnestly bent to go to the *Veii* to inhabit; but *Camillus* disswaded them.

About the same time, somewhat before the siege of *Veii* they changed their government from Consuls to military Tribunes. The government of these also, after some years, was by civil dissention interrupted: so that one while Consuls ruled, another while there was an Anarchy. Then the Tribunes were restored and ruled again, till, after many years expired, the Consular authority was established, it being enacted, that one of the Consuls should alwayes be a Plebeian. This was after the building of the City 365 years. And now *Rome*, by suppression of her neighbour Countries, creeping well forward out of her Minority, dares set forth against the warlike *Samnites*, who dwelt almost one hundred and thirty miles off: situated between *Campania* and *Apulia*. These did so strongly invade the *Campanians* their neighbours, that they forced them to yield themselves subjects to *Rome*, and undergo any conditions of Tribute, or whatsoever else to obtain protection: which the *Romans*, although both Countries had been their confederates, yet not willing that the greater, like fish, should devour the less, easily allowed of; aiming themselves at the good situation of *Campania*, the abundance of Corn and Wine, pleasant Cities and Towns, but especially *Capua* it self, the fairest City then in all *Italy*.

The families of the *Papyrii* and *Fabii* were most imployed in the managing of this War, which endured the space of fifty years. And in this season were the *Romans* often times dangerously encountred by the *Samnites*, as when *T. Veturius* and *Sp. Posthumius* were Consuls, and discomfited by *Pontius* at *Caudium*, with no small ignominy: and when *Q. Fabius Gurges* lost the field with

three thousand men. But for those losses, many great Victories made large amends: The greatest whereof were gotten by *L. Papyrius*, and by *Quintus Fabius Maximus*.

The *Samnites* drew the *Hetrurians* into their quarrel. But the force of the *Samnites* was well broken, ere the *Hetrurians* (the greater and richer, but less warlike Nation) began to stir. So the one and the other of these two Countries, became at length, tributary to *Rome*. In the continuance of this long war it was, (though in time of truce between the *Romans* and *Samnites*) that the *Latins* began to challenge equal freedom in the Corporation of *Rome*, and right in bearing office, so that they required to have one of the Consuls yearly chosen out of them.

This demand of the *Latins* was not unreasonable. For the *Romans* themselves were a Latin Colony; besides all which, they made offer to change their name, and to be all called *Romans*. But the *Romans* were too proud to admit any such capitulation. So a great battel was fought between them: wherein the fortune of *Rome* prevailed, by the vertue of the Consuls.

*Manlius Torquatus* and the elder *Decius* were then Consuls, whom the Soothsayers advertised, that the side should be victorious which lost the General in fight. Hereupon *Decius* the Consul exposed his life to the enemy, and purchased victory (as was believed) by his death. In which kind of devoting himself for his Army, the son of this *Decius* being after Consul, did imitate his father in the *Hetrurian* war. But (as *Tully* well notes) it was rather the desperate resolution of these *Decii*, that purchased victory, by rushing into the midst of the enemies, wherein their Souldiers followed them, than any great commendation of such a religion, as required the lives of so worthy Citizens, to be sacrificed for their Country. The discipline of *Manlius* was no less resolute, than the valour of *Decius*. He forbade any one to forsake his place, and fight single with an enemy. For breach of which order he caused his own son to be put to death, who had slain a Captain of the *Latins*, being challenged in single fight.

When the *Latins*, the *Æqui*, *Volsci*, *Hernici*, *Campani*, *Samnites*, and *Hetrurians*, with some other people, were brought under obedience; it was a vain labour for any people of *Italy* to contend against the *Romans*.

Yet the *Sabines* adventured to try their fortune, and found it bad. For *Curius Dentatus*, the *Roman* Consul, wasting all their Country with fire and sword, from the River *Nar* and *Velia*, to the *Adriatique* Sea, brought them into quiet subjection.

The last of the *Italians* that made trial of the *Roman* arms, were the *Tarentines* and their adherents. These had interposed themselves as mediatours between the *Romans* and *Samnites*; with a peremptory denunciation of War, unto that party which should dare to refuse peace by them tendred. These threats which discovered their bad affection unto *Rome*, ended in words; but when the *Samnites* were utterly subdued, matter enough of quarrel was found to examine their ability of performance.

The *Romans* complained that certain ships of theirs were robbed, and sent Embassadours unto *Tarentum*, to require amends. Upon some wrong done to these Embassadours, was laid the foundation of that War, wherein the *Lucans*, *Messapians*, *Brutians*, and *Apulians*, joyning with the *Tarentines*, procured the *Samnites*, and other Subjects of *Rome* to rebell and take their part. But some experience of the *Roman* strength, taught all these people to know their own weakness. Wherefore they agreed to send for *Pyrrhus*, by whose aid (being a *Grecian*, as the *Tarentines* also were) great hope was conceived, that the Dominion of *Rome* should be confined unto more narrow bounds than all *Italy*, which already in a manner it did over-spread.

## §. II.

*How* Pyrrhus *warred upon the* Romans, *and vanquished them in two battels.*

PYrrhus, forsaken by the *Macedonians*, and unable to deal with *Lysimachus*, was compelled a while to live in rest: which he abhorred no less then a wiser Prince would have desired. He had a strong Army, and a good Fleet, which in that unsettled estate of things, was enough to purchase a Kingdom: but the fall of *Demetrius* had so increased the power of *Lysimachus*, that it was no point of wisdom to make an offensive war upon him, without far greater forces: *Antigonus*, the son of *Demetrius*, held *Corinth* at the same time, and some other Towns, with the remainder of his Fathers Army and treasures, left in his hand. Upon him it is like that *Pyrrhus* might have won; but it was better to let him alone, that he might serve to give some hindrance to *Lysimachus*.

In this want of imployment, and covetous desire of finding it, the *Tarentine* Embassadours came very fitly to *Pyrrhus*: and they came with brave offers, as needing no other aid than his good conduct, which to obtain, they would cast themselves under his protection. They had in their company some of the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, *Messapians*, and others; which promised, in behalf of their several Nations, as much as could be desired. This encouraged *Pyrrhus*, and filled him with hopes of goodly conquests; that he might enlarge his Empire to the West, as far as *Alexander* had gotten Eastward; and still by one victory open the gate unto another. To which effect it is said, that once he answered *Cyneas* his chief Counsellour, asking what he meant to do after every of the victories which he hoped to get: that having won *Rome*, he would soon be Master of all *Italy*; that, after *Italy* he would quickly get the Isle of *Sicil*; that, out of *Sicill*, he would pass over into *Affrick*, and win *Carthage*, with all the rest of the Countrey; and being strengthened with the force of all these Provinces, he would be too hard for any of those that were now so proud and troublesome. But *Cyneas* enquired yet further, what they should do, when they were Lords of all. Whereunto *Pyrrhus* (finding his drift) answered pleasantly, that they would live merrily; a thing (as *Cyneas* then told him) that they presently might do, without any trouble, if he could be contented with his own.

Nevertheless, this *Italian* expedition seemed unto *Pyrrhus* a matter of such consequence, as was not to be omitted, in regard of any scholastical disputation. Wherefore he prepared his Army, of almost thirty thousand men, well sorted, and well trained souldiers: part of which he sent over before him under *Cyneas*, with the rest he followed in person. At his coming, he found the *Tarentines*, very prompt of tongue, but in matter of execution, utterly careless to provide for the war. Wherefore he was fain to shut up their Theater, and other places of pleasure and resort, enforcing them to take arms, and making such a strict muster, as was to them very unpleasing, though greatly behooving to their estate.

Whilst he was occupied with these cares, *Lævinus* the *Roman* Consul drew neer, and began to waste *Lucania*, a Province confederate with the *Tarentines* in this War.

The *Lucanians* were not ready to defend their own Countrey; the *Samnites* were careless of the harm, that fell not (as yet) upon themselves; the *Tarentines* were better prepared than they would have been, but their valour was little: all of these had been accustomed to shrink for fear of the *Roman* fortitude; and therefore it fell out happily, that *Pyrrhus* relied more upon his own forces: than the issue of their vaunting promises. He was now driven either to set forward with those that himself had brought into *Italy*, and the assistance of the *Tarentines*, wherein little was to be reposed; or else to weaken the reputation of his own sufficiency, which by all means he was careful to uphold. In good time a great part of his forces, that had been scattered by foul weather at Sea, were safely come to him: with which he resolved to assay the valour of *Romans*, against whom he proudly marched.

*Lævinus* the Consul was not affrighted with the terrible name of a great King; but came on confidently to meet him, and give him battel ere all his adherents should be ready to joyn with him. This boldness of the *Roman*, and the slackness of the *Messapians*, *Lucanians*, *Samnites*, and others, whom the danger most concerned, caused *Pyrrhus*, to offer a treaty of peace: requiring to have the quarrel between the *Romans* and his *Italian* friends, referred to his arbitrement. Whether he did this to win time, that the *Samnites* and their fellows might arrive at his Camp; or whether, considering better at neer distance, the weight of the business which he had taken in hand, he were desirous to quit it with his honour; the short answer that was returned to his proposition, gave him no means of either the one or the other: for the *Romans* sent him this word, that *they had neither chosen him their Judge, nor feared him their enemy.*



Hereupon both Armies hastned their march unto the River of *Siris*: *Lævinus* intending to fight before the arrival of the *Samnites*; *Pyrrhus*, to hinder him from passing that River, until his own Army were full. Upon the first view of the *Roman* Camp, it was readily conceived by *Pyrrhus*, that he had not now to do with barbarous people, but with men well trained in a brave discipline of War: which caused him to set a strong *Corps de garde* upon the passage of the river, that he might not be compelled to fight, until he saw his best advantage. But he quickly found, that this new enemy was not only skilful in the Art of War, but couragious in execution. For the *Roman* Army entred the Foord, in face of his *Corps de garde*; and their horse, at the same time began to pass the River in sundry places: which caused the *Greeks* to forsake the defence of their bank, and speedily retire unto their Camp.

This audacity forced *Pyrrhus* to battel; wherewith he thought it best to present them,

them, ere the whole Army had recovered firm footing, and were in order. So directing his Captains how to marshal his battels; himself with the horse, charged upon the *Romans*: who stoutly received him as men well exercised in sustaining furious impressions. In this fight, neither did his courage transport him beyond the duty of a careful General; nor his providence in directing others, hinder the manifestation of his personal valour. It behooved him indeed to do his best; for he never met with better oppesers. Once, and shortly after the fight began, his horse was slain under him: afterwards, he changed armour with a friend; but that friend paid his life for the use of his Kings armour, which was torn from his back. This accident had almost lost him the battel; but he perceiving it, discovered his face, and thereby restored courage to his men, and took from the *Romans* their vain joy. The fight was obstinate, and with the greater loss (at least of more eminent men) on *Pyrrhus* his side, as long as only spear and sword were used. But when the Elephants were brought into the wings, whose unusual form and terrible aspect, the horses of the *Romans* (unaccustomed to the like) were not able to sustain; then was the victory quickly gotten. For the *Roman* battels, perceiving their horse put to the rout, and driven out of the field; finding also themselves both charged in flank, and over-born, by the force and and huge bulk of those strange beasts; gave way to necessity, and saved themselves, as well as they could, by hasty flight: in which consternation, they were so forgetful of their discipline, that they tarried not to defend their Camp, but ran quite beyond it, leaving both it, and the honour of the day, entirely to *Pyrrhus*.

The fame of this victory was soon spread over *Italy*; and the reputation was no less than the fame. For it was a matter very rare to be heard, that a *Roman* Consul, with a select Army, should lose in plain battel, not only the Field, but the Camp it self, being so notably fortified as they alwayes were. And this honour was the more bravely won by *Pyrrhus*, for that he had with him none of his *Italian* friends, save the unwarlike *Tarentines*. Neither could he well dissemble his content that he took, in having the glory of this action peculiarly his own, at such time as he blamed the *Lucans* and *Sammites*, for coming (as we say) a day after the Fair. Nevertheless he wisely considered the strength of the *Romans*, which was such, as would better endure many such losses, than he could many such victories. Therefore he thought it good to compound with them whilest with his honour he might; and to that purpose he sent unto them *Cyneas* his Embassadour, demanding only to have the *Tarentines* permitted to live at rest, and himself accepted as their especial friend. This did *Cyneas*, with all his cunning, and with liberal gifts labour to effect: but neither man nor woman could be found in *Rome*, that would take any bribe of him; neither did their desire of recovering their captives, or their danger, by the rising of many States in *Italy* against them, so incline them to peace, as the vehement exhortation of *Appius Claudius*, an old and blind Senator, did stir them up to make good their honour by war. So they returned answer, that whilest *Pyrrhus* abode in *Italy*, they would come to no agreement with him.

Such was the report that *Cyneas* made at his return, of the *Roman* puissance and vertue, as kindled in *Pyrrhus* a great desire of confederacy with that gallant City. Hereupon many kind Offices passed between them: but still when he urged his motion of peace, the answer was; *He must first depart out of* Italy, *and then treat of peace.*

In the mean season, each part made provision for war; the *Romans* levying a more mighty army than the former; and *Pyrrhus* being strengthened with access unto his forces of all the East parts of *Italy*. So they came to the trial of a second battel, wherein (though after long and cruel fight) the boisterous violence of the Elephants gave to *Pyrrhus* a second victory. But this was not altogether so joyful as the former had been: rather it gave him cause to say, that such another victory would be his utter undoing. For he had lost the flower of his Army in this battel: and though he drave the *Romans* into their Camp, yet he could not force them out of it, nor saw any likelihood of prevailing against them, that were like to be relieved with daily supplies, whilest he should be driven to spend upon his old stock. Neither could he expect that his Elephants should alwayes stand him in stead. A little knowledge of their manner in fight would soon teach the *Romans*, that were apt Schollers in such learning, how to make them unserviceable. Wherefore he desired nothing more, than how to carry his honour safe out of *Italy*: which to do (seeing the *Romans* would not help him, by offering or accepting any fair conditions of peace, or of truce) he took a sleight occasion, presented by fortune, that followeth to be related.



## §. III.

*The great troubles in* Macedon *and* Sicil. *How* Pyrrhus, *being invited into* Sicil, *forsook* Italy; *won the most of the Isle; and lost it in short space.* Pyrrhus *returns into* Italy, *where he is beaten by the* Romans, *and so goes back to his own Kingdom.*

WHen *Ptolomy Ceraunus* had traiterously murdered his Benefactor and Patron *Seleucus*, he presently seized upon all the Dominions of *Lysimachus* in *Europe*, as if they had been the due reward unto him, that had slain the Conqueror. The houses of *Cassander* and *Lysimachus* were then fallen to the ground: neither was there in *Macedon* any man of strength and reputation enough to advance himself against *Ceraunus*. The friends of *Lysimachus* were rather pleased to have him their King, that had (as he professed) revenged their Lords death; than any way offended with the odiousness of his fact, by which they were freed from subjection, to one, against whom they had stood in opposition. Many there were, that upon remembrance of his fathers great vertue, gathered hope of finding the like in *Ceraunus*: perswading themselves that his reign might prove good, though his entrance had been wicked. These affections of the *Macedonians* did serve to defeat *Antigonus* the son of *Demetrius*, that made an attempt upon the Kingdom. As for *Antigonus* the son of *Seleucus*, he was far off, and might be questioned about some part of *Asia*, ere he should be able to bring an Army neer unto *Europe*. Yet he made great shew of meaning to revenge his Fathers death: but being stronger in money than in arms, he was content, after a while, to take fair words, and make peace with the murtherer. While these three strove about the Kingdom, *Pyrrhus*, who thought his claim as good as any of theirs, made use of their dissention: threatning war, or promising his assistance to every one of them. By these means he strengthened himself, and greatly advantaged his *Italian* voyage, which he had then in hand: requesting money of *Antiochus*, ships of *Antigonus*, and souldiers of *Ptolomy*, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and lent him a strong power of *Macedonian* Souldiers, and of Elephants (covenanting to have them restored at two years end) more for fear than for love: that so he might free himself from trouble, and quietly enjoy his Kingdom.

Thus *Ptolomy* grew mighty on the sudden; and the power that by wicked means he had gotten, by means as wicked he encreased.

All *Macedon* and *Thrace* being his, the strong City of *Cassandria* was held by *Arsinoe* his sister, the widow of *Lysimachus*, who lay therein with her young children. Her he circumvented by making love to her; and (according to the fashion of those times, wherein Princes regarded no degree of consanguinity) taking her to wife, with promise to adopt her children: a promise that he meant not to perform; for it was not long, ere he slew them, and drave her into exile.

In the pride of this good success, which his villany found, vengeance came upon him from a far, by the fury of a Nation that he never heard of. *Belgius* a Captain of the *Gaules*, having forced his passage through many Countreys, unto the confines of *Macedon*, sent a proud message to *Ceraunus*, commanding him to buy peace with money, or otherwise, to look for all the miseries of war. These *Gaules* were the race of those, that issued out of their Countrey, to seek new seats in that great expedition, wherein *Brennus* took and burnt the City of *Rome*. They had divided themselves, at their setting forth, into two companies; of which the one fell upon *Italy*; the other, passing through the Countreys that lye on the Northern side of the *Adriatick* Sea, made long abode in *Pannonia*, & the Regions adjoyning, where they forced all the neighbour Princes to redeem peace with tribute, as now they would have compelled *Ceraunus* to do: unto whose borders they came about an hundred and eight years after such time as their fellows had taken *Rome*.

When their Embassadors came to *Ptolomy*, asking what he would give: his answer was, that he would be contented to give them peace, but it must be with condition, that they should put into his hands their Princes as hostages, and yield up their arms; otherwise he would neither pardon their boldness, nor give any credit to their words. At this answer, when it was returned, the *Gaules* did laugh; saying, That they would soon confute with deeds, the vanity of such proud words. It may seem strange, that he, who had given away part of his Army unto *Pyrrhus*, for very fear; should be so confident in undertaking more mighty enemies. The King of the *Dardanians* offered to lend him twenty thousand men against the *Gaules*: but he scorned the offer; saying, That he had the children of those, which under

der the conduct of *Alexander* had ſubdued all the Eaſt. Thus he iſſued forth againſt all the barbarous people with his famous *Macedonians*, as if the Victory muſt needs have followed the reputation of a great Name. But he ſoon found his great errour when it was too late. For the Enemies were not only equal in ſtrength of body, and fierceneſs of courage, but ſo far ſuperiour to the *Macedonians* in number, that few or none eſcaped their fury. *Ptolomy* himſelf grievouſly wounded, fell into their hands, whilſt the battel continued; and they preſently ſtrook off his head, which they ſhewed to his men on the top of a Lance, to their utter aſtoniſhment.

The report of this great overthrow filled all *Macedon* with ſuch deſperation, that the people fled into walled Towns, and abandoned the whole Country as loſt. Only *Softhenes*, a valiant Captain, animating as many as he could, gathered a ſmall Army, with which he many times got the upper-hand, and hindred *Belgius* from uſing the Victory at his whole pleaſure. In regard of this his vertue, the Souldiers would have made him King; which title he refuſed, and was contented with the name of a General. But (as miſchiefs do ſeldom come alone) the good ſucceſs of *Belgius* drew into *Macedon*, *Brennus*, another Captain of the *Gaules*, with an hundred and fifty thouſand foot, and fifteen thouſand horſe; againſt which mighty Army, when *Softhenes* with his weak troops made oppoſition, he was eaſily beaten, and the *Macedonians* again compelled to hide themſelves within their walls, leaving all their Country to the ſpoil of the *Barbarians*.

Thus were the *Macedonians* deſtitute of a King, and trodden down by a Nation that they had not heard of, in leſs than fifty years after the death of *Alexander*, who ſought to diſcover and ſubdue unknown Countries, as if all *Greece*, and the Empire of *Perſia* had been too little for a King of *Macedon*.

Very ſeaſonably had theſe news been carried to *Pyrrhus* in *Italy*, who ſought a fair pretext of relinquiſhing his War with the *Romans*; had not other tydings out of *Sicil* diſtracted him, and carried him away in purſuit of nearer hopes. For after the death of *Agathocles*, who reigned over the whole Iſland, the *Carthaginians* ſent an Army to conquer *Sicil*, out of which, by him, they had been expelled. This Army did ſo faſt prevail, that the *Silicians* had no other hope to avoid ſlavery, than in ſubmitting themſelves to the rule of *Pyrrhus*; whom, being a *Grecian*, and a noble Prince, they thought it more for their good to obey, than to live under the well-known heavy yoak of *Carthage*. To him therefore the *Syracuſans*, *Leontines*, and *Agragentines*, principal Eſtates of the Iſle, ſent Embaſſadours, earneſtly deſiring him to take them into his protection.

It grieved *Pyrrhus* exceedingly, that two ſuch notable occaſions of enlarging his Dominions, ſhould fall out ſo unluckily, both at one time. Yet whether he thought the buſineſs of *Sicil* more important, or more full of likelihood; or whether perhaps he believed (as came after to paſs) that his advantage upon *Macedon* would not ſo haſtily paſs away, but that he might find ſome occaſion to lay hold on it at better leiſure; over into *Sicil* he tranſported his Army, leaving the *Tarentines* to ſhift for themſelves; yet not leaving them free as he found them, but with a Garriſon in their Town to hold them in ſubjection.

As his departure out of *Italy* was rather grounded on head-long paſſion, than mature advice; ſo were his actions following, until his return into *Epirus*, rather many and tumultuous, than well-ordered, or noteworthy. The Army which he carried into that Iſle, conſiſted of thirty thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe: with which, ſoon after his deſcent into *Sicil*, he forc't the *Carthaginians* out of all, in effect, that they had therein. He alſo won the ſtrong City of *Eryx*; and having beaten the *Mamertines* in battel, he began to change condition, and turn Tyrant. For he drave *Soſtratus* (to whom his cruelty was ſuſpected) out of the Iſland, and put *Thenon* of *Siracuſe* to death, being jealous of his greatneſs; which two perſons had faithfully ſerved him, and delivered the great and rich City of *Syracuſe* into his hands. After this, his fortunes declined ſo faſt, as he ſerved himſelf, and ſalved the diſ-reputation of his leaving *Sicil*, by an Embaſſage ſent him from the *Tarentines*, and *Samnites*, imploring his preſent help againſt the *Romans*, who ſince his leaving *Italy*, had well-neer diſpoſſeſt them of all that they had.

Taking this fair occaſion, he imbarked for *Italy*; but was firſt beaten by the *Carthaginian* Gallies in his paſſage, and ſecondly aſſailed in *Italy* it ſelf, by eighteen hundred *Mamertines*, that attended him in the ſtraits of the Country. Laſtly, after he had recovered *Tarentum*, he fought a third battel with the *Romans*, led by *M. Curius*, who was victorious over him, and forc't him out of *Italy* into his own *Epirus*.

A Prince he was far more valiant than conſtant; and had he been but a General of an Army for ſome other great King or State, and had had been directed to have conquered any one Country or Kingdom, it is to be thought, that he would have purchaſed no leſs honour than any man of War, either preceding or ſucceeding him; for a greater Captain, or a valianter man, hath been no where found. But he never ſtayed upon any enterpriſe; which was, indeed, the diſeaſe he had, whereof not long after he died in *Argos*.



## §. IV.

*How* Antigonus, *the Son of* Demetrius, *delivered* Macedon *from the* Gaules. *How* Pyrrhus *won the Kingdom of* Macedon *from* Antigonus.

THE vertue of *Softhenes* being too weak to defend the Kingdom of *Macedon*; and the fortune which had accompanied him againſt *Belgius*, failing him in his attempts againſt *Brennus*: the *Macedonians* were no leſs glad to ſubmit themſelves unto the government of *Antigonus*, than they had been formerly deſirous to free themſelves from the impotent rule of his Father *Demetrius*. His coming into the Country with an Army, Navy, and Treaſure beſeeming a King, did rather breed good hope in the people, than fill them with much confidence: for he was driven to uſe againſt the *Barbarians*, only thoſe forces which he brought with him, having none other than good wiſhes of the *Macedons* to take his part. *Brennus* with the main ſtrength of his Army, was gone to ſpoil the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, having left no more behind him, than he thought neceſſary to guard the borders of *Macedon* and *Pannonia*; which were about fifteen thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe. Theſe could not be idle, but thought to get ſomewhat for themſelves, in the abſence of their fellows: and therefore ſent unto *Antigonus*, offering to ſell him peace, if he would pay well for it; which by the example of *Ceraunus*, he had learnt (as they thought) not to refuſe. *Antigonus* was unwilling to weaken his reputation by condeſcending to their proud demands: yet he judged it unfit to exaſperate their furious choler, by uncourteous words or uſage, as *Ceraunus* had over-fondly done. Wherefore he entertained their Embaſſadours in very loving and ſumptuous manner, with a royal feaſt: wherein he expoſed to their view ſuch abundance of maſſie gold & ſilver, that they were not ſo much delighted with the meat, as with ſight of the veſſels, wherein it was ſerved. He thought hereby to make them underſtand how great a Prince he was, and how able if need required, to wage a mighty Army.

To which end, he likewiſe did ſhew unto them his Camp and Navy, but eſpecially his Elephants. But all this bravery ſerved only to kindle their greedy appetites; who ſeeing his ſhips heavy loaden, his Camp full of wealth, and ill fortified, himſelf (as it ſeemed) ſecure, and his men, both in ſtrength and courage, inferiour unto the *Gaules*, thought all time loſt wherein they ſuffered the preſent poſſeſſors to ſpend the riches which they accounted aſſuredly their own. They returned therefore to their companions with none other news in their mouths, than of ſpoil and purchaſe: which tale carried the *Gaules* head-long to *Antigonus* his Camp, where they expected a greater booty, than the victory over *Ceraunus* had given to *Belgius*. Their coming was terrible and ſudden; yet not ſo ſudden, but that *Antigonus* had notice of it, who diſtruſting the courage of his own men, diſlodged ſomewhat before their arrival, and conveyed himſelf, with his whole Army and carriage, into certain woods adjoyning, where he lay cloſe.

The *Gaules*, finding his Camp forſaken, were not haſty to purſue him, but fell to ranſacking the empty Cabbins of the Souldiers; in hope of finding all that was either loſt or hidden. At length, when they had ſearched every place in vain, angry at their loſt labour, they marched with all ſpeed towards the Sea-ſide; that they might fall upon him, whilſt he was buſie in getting his men and carriages a ſhip-board. But the ſucceſs was no way anſwerable to their expectation. For being proud of the terrour which they had brought upon *Antigonus*, they were ſo careleſs of the Sea-men, that without all order, they fell to the ſpoil of what they found on the ſhore, and in ſuch ſhips as lay on ground.

Part of the Army had left *Antigonus*, where he lay in covert; and had ſaved it ſelf by getting aboard the Fleet: in which number were ſome well-experienced men of War: who diſcovering the much advantage offered unto them, by the deſperate preſumption of their enemies, took courage, and encouraged others to lay manly hold upon the opportunity. So the whole number, both of Souldiers and Mariners, landing together, with great reſolution, gave ſo brave a charge upon the diſordered *Gaules*, that their contemptuous boldneſs was thereby changed into ſudden fear, and they, after a great ſlaughter, driven to caſt themſelves into the ſervice of *Antigonus*.

The fame of this Victory cauſed all the barbarous

barbarous Nations in thoſe quarters to re-entertain their ancient belief of the *Macedonian* valour: by which the terrible and reſiſtleſs oppreſſors of ſo many Countries were overthrown.

To ſpeak more of the *Gaules* in this place, and to ſhew how, about theſe times, three Tribes of them paſſed over into *Aſia* the leſs, with their wars and conqueſts there; I hold it needleſs: the victorious Armies of the *Romans* taming them hereafter in the Countries which now they wan, ſhall give better occaſion to rehearſe theſe matters briefly.

Howſoever the good ſucceſs of *Antigonus* got him reputation among the barbarous people; yet his own Souldiers, that without his leading had won this Victory, could not thereupon be perſwaded to think him a good man of war: knowing that he had no intereſt in the honour of the ſervice, wherein his conduct was no better than creeping into a wood.

This (as preſently will appear) was greatly helpful unto *Pyrrhus*: though as yet he knew not ſo much. For *Pyrrhus*, when his affairs in *Italy* ſtood upon hard terms, had ſent unto *Antigonus* for help: not without threats, in caſe it were denied. So was he ſure to get either a ſupply, wherewith to continue his War againſt the *Romans*; or ſome ſeeming honourable pretence, to forſake *Italy*, under colour of making his word good, in ſeeking revenge. The threats which he had uſed in bravery, meer neceſſity forced him at his return into *Epirus*, to put in practice.

He brought home with him eight thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe: an Army too little to be employed, by his reſtleſs nature, in any action of importance; yet greater than he had means to keep in pay. Therefore he fell upon *Macedon*; intending to take what ſpoil he could get, and make *Antigonus* compound with him, to be freed from trouble. At his firſt entrance into this buſineſs, two thouſand of *Antigonus* his ſouldiers revolted unto *Pyrrhus*; and many Cities, either willingly or perforce, received him. Such fair beginnings eaſily perſwaded the courage of this daring Prince to ſet upon *Antigonus* himſelf, and to hazard his fortune, in trial of a Battel, for the whole Kingdom of *Macedon*.

It appears, that *Antigonus* had no deſire to fight with this hot warriour; but thought it the wiſeſt way, by protracting of time, to weary him out of the Country. For *Pyrrhus* overtook him in a ſtreight paſſage, and charged him in the rear; wherein were the *Gaules* and the Elephants, which were thought the beſt of his ſtrength; a manifeſt proof that he was in retrait. The *Gaules* very bravely ſuſtained *Pyrrhus* his impreſſion; yet were broken at length (when moſt of them were ſlain) after a ſharp fight: wherein it ſeems that *Antigonus* keeping his *Macedonian Phalanx* within the ſtreight, and not advancing to their ſuccour, took away their courage, by deceiving their expectation. The Captains of the Elephants were taken ſoon after; who finding themſelves expoſed to the ſame violence that had conſumed ſo many of the *Gaules*, yielded themſelves and the beaſts. All this was done in full view of *Antigonus* and his *Macedonians*, to their great diſcomfort; which emboldened *Pyrrhus* to charge them where they lay in their ſtrength. Where the *Phalanx* could be charged only in a front, it was matter of extreme difficulty (if not impoſſible) to force it. But the *Macedonians* had ſeen ſo much, that they had no deſire to fight againſt *Pyrrhus*; who diſcovered ſo well their affections, that he adventured to draw near in perſon, and exhort them to yield. Neither the common Souldier, nor any Leader refuſed to become his follower. All forſook *Antigonus*, a few horſe-men excepted, that fled along with him to *Theſſalonica*; where he had ſome ſmall forces left, and mony enough to entertain a greater power, had he known where to levy it. But whilſt he was thinking how to allure a ſufficient number of the *Gaules* into his ſervice; whereby he might repair his loſs: *Ptolomy*, the Son of *Pyrrhus*, came upon him, and eaſily defeating his weak forces, drave him to flie from the parts about *Macedon*, to thoſe Towns afar off in *Peloponneſus*, in which he had formerly lurked, before ſuch time as he looked abroad into the world, and made himſelf a King.

This good ſucceſs revived the ſpirits of the *Epirot*, and cauſed him to forget all ſorrow of his late miſ-fortunes in the *Roman* War: ſo that he ſent for his Son *Helenus* (whom he had left with a Garriſon, in the Caſtle of *Tarentum*) willing him to come over into *Greece*, where was more matter of conqueſt, and let the *Italians* ſhift for themſelves.

## §. V.

*How* Pyrrhus *aſſailed* Sparta *without ſucceſs. His enterprize upon* Argos, *and his death.*

*Pyrrhus* had now conceived a great hope that nothing ſhould be able to withſtand him; ſeeing that in open fight he had vanquiſhed the *Gaules*, and beaten *Antigonus*, and won the Kingdom of *Macedon*. There was not in all *Greece*, nor, indeed, in all the Lands that *Alexander* had won, any Leader of ſuch name and worth, as deſerved to be ſet up againſt him: which filled him with the opinion that he might do what he pleaſed. He raiſed therefore an Army, conſiſting of five and twenty thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and four and twenty Elephants; pretending War againſt *Antigonus*, and the giving liberty to thoſe Towns in *Peloponneſus*, which the ſame *Antigonus* held in ſubjection; though it was eaſily diſcovered, that ſuch great preparations were made, for accompliſhment of ſome deſign more important than War againſt a Prince already vanquiſhed, and almoſt utterly dejected. Eſpecially the *Lacedæmonians* feared this expedition, as made againſt their State. For *Cleonymus*, one of their Kings, being expelled out of his Country, had betaken himſelf to *Pyrrhus*: who readily entertained him, and promiſed to reſtore him to his Kingdom. This promiſe was made in ſecret; neither would *Pyrrhus* make ſhew of any diſpleaſure that he bare unto *Sparta*; but contrariwiſe profeſſed, that it was his intent, to have two of his own younger Sons trained up in that City, as in a place of noble diſcipline. With ſuch colours he deluded men, even till he entred upon *Laconia*; where preſently he demeaned himſelf as an open enemy; excuſing himſelf and his former diſſembling words with a jeſt; *That he followed herein the Lacedæmonian cuſtome, of concealing what was truly purpoſed.* It had been, indeed, the manner of the *Lacedæmonians*, to deal in like ſort with others, whom, in the time of their greateſs, they ſought to oppreſs: but now they complained of that, as falſhood, in *Pyrrhus*, which they alwayes practiſed in wiſdom, till it made them diſtruſted, forſaken, and almoſt contemptible. Nevertheleſs, they were not wanting to themſelves in this dangerous extremity. For the old men and women laboured in fortifying the Town; cauſing ſuch as could bear arms to reſerve themſelves freſh againſt the aſſault: which *Pyrrhus* had unwiſely deferred, upon aſſurance of prevailing.

*Sparta* was never fortified, before this time, otherwiſe than with armed Citizens: ſoon after this (it being built upon uneven ground, and, for the moſt part, hard to approach) the lower and more acceſſible places, were fenced with walls, at the preſent only trenches were caſt, and barricadoes made with Carts, where the entrance ſeemed moſt eaſie. Three dayes together it was aſſailed by *Pyrrhus* exceeding fiercely; and no leſs ſtoutly defended. The deſperate courage of the Citizens preſerved the Town the firſt day; whereinto the violence of *Pyrrhus* had forced entrance the ſecond day, but that his wounded horſe threw him to the ground, which made his Souldiers more mindful of ſaving the perſon of their King, than of breaking into the City, though already they had torn in ſunder the Barricadoes. Preſently after this, one of *Antigonus* his Captains got into *Sparta*, with a good ſtrength of men; and *Areus* the King returned out out of *Crete* (where he had been helping his friends in War) with two thouſand men, little knowing the danger, in which his own Country ſtood, until he was almoſt at home. Theſe ſuccours did not more animate the *Spartans*, than kindle in *Pyrrhus* a deſire to prevail againſt all impediments. But the third dayes work ſhewed how great his error had been, in forbearing to aſſault the Town at his firſt coming. For he was ſo manfully repelled, that he ſaw no likelihood of getting the place, otherwiſe than by a long ſiege: in which tedious courſe he had no deſire to ſpend his time.

*Antigonus* had now raiſed an Army, though not ſtrong enough to meet the Enemy in plain field, yet able to hinder all his purpoſes. This made *Pyrrhus* doubtful what way to take; being diverſly affected, by the difficulty of his enterpriſe in hand, and the ſhame of taking a repulſe in his firſt attempt. Whilſt he was thus perplexed, letters came from *Argos*, inviting him thither; with promiſe to deliver that City into his hands.

Civil Diſſention raging then hotly in *Argos*, cauſed the heads of ſeveral factions to call in *Pyrrhus* and *Antigonus*; but the coming of theſe two Princes taught the Citizens wit, and made them deſirous to rid their hands of ſuch powerful aſſiſtants, as each of the two Kings pretended himſelf to be. *Antigonus* told the *Argives*, that he came to ſave them from the tyranny of *Pyrrhus*: and that he would be gone, if they needed not his help. On the other ſide, *Pyrrhus* would needs perſwade them, that he had none other errand, than to make them ſafe from *Antigonus*; offering in like manner, to depart, if they ſo deſired.

The *Argives* took ſmall pleaſure in hearing the Fox and Kite at ſtrife, which of them ſhould keep the Chickens from his enemy: and therefore prayed them both to divert their powers ſome other way. Hereunto *Antigonus* readily condeſcended, and gave hoſtages to aſſure his word: for he

he was the weaker, and ſtood in need of good will. But *Pyrrhus* thought it enough to promiſe: Hoſtages he would give none to his inferiours, eſpecially meaning deceit. This made them ſuſpect his purpoſe to be ſuch, as indeed it was. Yet he leſs regarded their opinions, than to hold them worthy of aſſurance, by giving ſuch a bond, as he intended to break ere the next morning.

It was concluded, that a Gate of the City ſhould be opened by night unto *Pyrrhus*, by his Complices within *Argos*: which was accordingly performed. So his Army without any tumult entred the City: till the Elephants, with Towers on their back, cloyed the way, being too high to paſs the Gate. The taking off, and ſetting on again of thoſe Towers, with the trouble thereto belonging, did both give alarm to the City, and ſome leiſure to take order for defence, before ſo many were entred, as could fully maſter it. *Argos* was full of ditches, which greatly hindred the *Gaules* (that had the Vantguard) being ignorant of the wayes in the dark night. The Citizens, on the other ſide, had much advantage, by their knowledge of every by-paſſage: and ſetting upon the enemies on all ſides, did put them to great loſs and more trouble.

*Pyrrhus* therefore underſtanding by the confuſed noiſe, and unequal ſhoutings of his own men, that they were in diſtreſs, entred the City in perſon, to take order for their relief, and aſſurance of the place. But the darkneſs, the throng, and many other impediments, kept him from doing any thing of moment, until break of day. Then began he to make his paſſage by force, and ſo far prevailed, that he got into the Market-place. It is ſaid, that ſeeing in that place the Image of a Wolf and a Bull, in ſuch poſture as if they had been combatant, he called to mind an Oracle, which threatned him with death, when he ſhould behold a Bull fighting with a Wolf: and that hereupon he made retrait.

Indeed, the coming of *Antigonus* to the reſcue, the diſorder and confuſion of his own men, with divers ill accidents, gave him reaſonable cauſe to have retired out of the City, though the Wolf and Bull had been away. The tumult was ſuch, that no directions could be heard; but as ſome gave back, ſo did others thruſt forward, and the *Argives* preſſing hard upon him, forced *Pyrrhus* to make good his retrait with his own ſword. The tops of the houſes were covered with Women, that ſtood looking on the fight. Among theſe was one, that ſaw her own Son in dangerous caſe, fighting with *Pyrrhus*. Wherefore ſhe took a tile-ſtone, or ſlate, and threw it ſo violently down on the head of *Pyrrhus*, that he fell to the ground aſtoniſhed with the blow; and lyingin that caſe, had his head cut off.

Thus ended the reſtleſs ambition of *Pyrrhus*, together with his life: and thus returned the Kingdom of *Macedon* to *Antigonus*; who forthwith poſſeſſed the Army, the body, and the children of his Enemy. The body of *Pyrrhus* had honourable burial, and was given by *Antigonus* unto *Helenus* his Son; which young Prince he graciouſly ſent home into his Fathers Kingdom of *Epirus*. From this time forwards, the race of *Antigonus* held the Kingdom of *Macedon*; the poſterity of *Seleucus* reigned over *Aſia* and *Syria*; and the houſe of *Ptolomy* had quiet poſſeſſion of *Egypt*: until ſuch time as the City of *Rome*, ſwallowing all up, digeſted theſe, among other Countries, into the body of her own Empire.

*Finis Libri quarti.*

THE



# THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

Intreating of the Times from the ſettled Rule of ALEXANDERS Succeſſors in the Eaſt, until the ROMANS, prevailing over all, made Conqueſt of ASIA and MACEDON.

## *THE FIFTH BOOK.*

### CHAP. I.

### *Of the Firſt Punick War.*

§. I.

*A Diſcuſſion of that Probleme of* Livie; Whether the Romans could have reſiſted the Great Alexander. *That neither the Macedonian nor the Roman Souldier, was of equal valour to the Engliſh.*

THAT Queſtion handled by *Livie*, *Whether the Great* Alexander *could have prevailed againſt the Romans, if after his Eaſtern Conqueſt, he had bent all his Forces againſt them*, hath been, and is the ſubject of much diſpute; which (as it ſeems to me) the arguments on both ſides do not ſo well explain, as doth the experience that *Pyrrhus* hath given of the *Roman* power in his dayes. For if he, a Commander (in *Hannibals* judgement) inferiour to *Alexander*, though to none elſe, could with a ſmal ſtrength of men, and little ſtore of mony, or of other needful helps in War, vanquiſh them in two Battels, and endanger their Eſtate, when it was well ſettled and held the beſt part of *Italy*, under a confirmed obedience: what would *Alexander* have done, that was abundantly provided of all which is needful to a Conquerour, wanting only matter of employment, coming upon them before their Dominion was half ſo well ſettled? It is eaſie to ſay, that *Alexander* had no more than thirty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe (as indeed, at his firſt paſſage into *Aſia*, he carried over not many more) & that the reſt of his followers were no better than baſe effeminate

nate *Asiatiques*. But he that considers the Armies of *Perdiccas*, *Antipater*, *Craterus*, *Eumenes*, *Ptolomy*, *Antigonus* and *Lysimachus*, with the actions by them performed, every one of which (to omit others) commanded only some fragment of this dead Empereurs power, shall easily find, that such a reckoning is far short of the truth.

It were needless to speak of Treasure, Horses, Elephants, Engines of Battery, and the like: of all which the *Macedonian* had abundance; the *Roman* having nought, same men and arms. As for Sea-forces; he that shall consider after what sort the *Romans*, in their first *Punick* War, were trained in, the rudiments of Navigation; sitting upon the shoar, and beating the sand with poles, to practise the stroke of the Oar, as not daring to lanch their ill-built vessels into the Sea; will easily conceive how far too weak they would have proved in such services.

Now for helpers in War; I do not see why all *Greece* and *Macedon*, being absolutely commanded by *Alexander*, might not well deserve to be laid in ballance against those parts of *Italy*, which the *Romans* held in ill-assured subjection. To omit therefore all benefit that the Eastern World, more wealthy, indeed, than valiant, could have afforded unto the *Macedonian*: let us only conjecture, how the States of *Sicil* and *Carthage*, neareſt neighbours to such a quarrel (had it happened) would have stood affected. The *Sicilians* were for the most part *Grecians*; neither is it to be doubted, that they would readily have submitted themselves unto him, that ruled all *Greece* besides them. In what terms they commonly stood, and how ill they were able to defend themselves, it shall appear anon. Sure it is, that *Alexanders* coming into those parts, would have brought excessive joy to them that were fain to get the help of *Pyrrhus*, by offering to become his subjects. As for the *Carthaginians*, if *Agathocles* the Tyrant of *Syracuse*, hated of his people, and ill able to defend his own besieged City, could by adventuring to sail into *Africk*, put their Dominion, yea, and *Carthage* it self, in extreme hazard; shall we think that they would have been able to withstand *Alexander*? But why do I question their ability, seeing that they sent Embassadours, with their submission, as far as *Babylon*, ere the War drew near them? Wherefore it is manifest, that the *Romans* must, without other succour, than perhaps of some other few *Italian* friends (of which yet there were none that forsook them not, at some time, both before and after this) have opposed their valour and good military discipline, against the power of all Countryes to them known, if they would have made resistance. How they could have sped well, in undertaking such a match; it is uneasie to find in discourse of humane reason. It is true, that vertue and fortune work wonders; but it is against cowardly fools, and the unfortunate: for whosoever contends with one too mighty for him, either must excel in these, as much as his enemy goes beyond him in power; or else must look both to be overcome, and to be cast down so much the lower, by how much the opinion of his fortune and vertue renders him suspected, as likely to make head another time against the vanquisher. Whether the *Roman* or the *Macedonian* were in those dayes the better Souldier, I will not take upon me to determine: though I might without partiality, deliver mine own opinion, and preferr that Army, which followed not only *Philip* and *Alexander*, but also *Alexanders* Princes after him, in the greatest dangers of all sorts of War, before any, that *Rome* either had, or in long time after did send forth. Concerning fortune, who can give a rule that shall alwayes hold? *Alexander* was victorious in every Battel that he fought: and the *Romans* in the issue of every War. But forasmuch as *Livie* hath judged this a matter worthy of consideration; I think it a great part of *Romes* good fortune, that *Alexander* came not into *Italy*: where in three years after his death, the two *Roman* Consuls, together with all the powers of that State, were suprized by the *Samnites*, and enforced to yield up their arms. We may therefore permit *Livie* to admire his own *Romans*, and to compare with *Alexander* those Captains of theirs, which were honoured sufficiently, in being thought equal to his followers: that the same conceit should blind our judgment, we cannot permit without much vanity.

Now in deciding such a Controversie, me-thinks it were not amiss, for an *Englishman*, to give such a sentence between the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, as the *Romans* once did (being chosen Arbitrators) between the *Ardeates* and *Aricini*, that strove about a piece of Land; saying, that it belonged unto neither of them, but unto the *Romans* themselves.

If therefore it be demanded, whether the *Macedonian*, or the *Roman* were the best Warriour? I will answer, The *Englishman*. For it will soon appear to any that shall examine the noble acts of our Nation in war, that they were performed by no advantage of weapon; against no savage or unmanly people; the enemy being far superiour unto us in number, and all needful provisions, yea as well trained as we, or commonly better, in the exercise of War.



In what sort *Philip* wan his Dominion in *Greece*; what manner of men the *Persians* and *Indians* were, whom *Alexander* vanquished; as likewise of what force the *Macedonian Phalanx* was, and how well appointed, against such arms as it commonly encountred: any man, that hath taken pains to read the foregoing story of them, doth sufficiently understand. Yet was this *Phalanx* never, or very seldom, able to stand against the *Roman* armies; which were embattelled in so excellent a form, as I know not whether any Nation besides them have used, either before or since. The *Roman* weapons likewise, both offensive and defensive, were of greater use than those with which any other Nation hath served, before the fiery instruments of Gun-powder were known. As for the enemies with which *Rome* had to do, we find, that they which did over-match her in numbers, were as far over-matched by her in weapons; and that they, of whom she had little advantage in arms, had as little advantage of her in multitude. This also (as *Plutarch* well observeth) was a part of her happiness; that she was never over-laid with two great Wars at once.

Hereby it came to pass, that having at first increased her strength by accession of the *Sabines*; having won the State of *Alba*, against which she adventured her own self, as it were in wager, upon the heads of three Champions: and having thereby made her self Princess of *Latium*, she did afterwards by long war, in many ages, extend her Dominion over all *Italy*. The *Carthaginians* had well-near oppressed her: but her Souldiers were Mercenary; so that for want of proper strength, they were easily beaten at their own doors. The *Ætolians*, and, with them, all, or the most of *Greece*, assisted her against *Philip* the *Macedonian*: he being beaten, did lend her his help to beat the same *Ætolians*. The wars against *Antiochus*, and other *Asiatiques*, were such as gave to *Rome* small cause of boast, though much of joy: for those opposites were as base of courage, as the lands which they held were abundant of riches. *Sicil*, *Spain*, and all *Greece*, fell into her hands, by using her aid to protect them against the *Carthaginians* and *Macedonians*.

I shall not need to speak of her other conquests: it was easie to get more when she had gotten all this. It is not my purpose to disgrace the *Roman* valour (which was very noble) or to blemish the reputation of so many famous victories: I am not so idle. This I say; That among all their wars, I find not any, wherein their valour hath appeared comparable to the *Englishs*. If my judgement seem over-partial, our wars in *France* may help to make it good.

First therefore it is well known, that *Rome* (or perhaps all the world besides) had never any so brave a Commander in war as *Julius Cæsar*: and that no *Roman* Army was comparable unto that which served under the same *Cæsar*. Likewise, it is apparent, that this gallant Army, which had given fair proof of the *Roman* courage, in good performance of the *Helvetian* war, when it first entred into *Gaule*; was nevertheless utterly disheartned, when *Cæsar* led it against the *Germans*. So that we may justly impute all that was extraordinary in the valour of *Cæsars* men, to their long exercise, under so good a Leader, in so great a War. Now let us in general compare with the deeds done by these best of *Roman* Souldiers, in their principal service; the things performed in the same Country, by our common *Englishs* Souldiers, levied in haste, from following the Cart, or fitting on the shop-stall: so shall we see the difference. Herein will we deal fairly, and believe *Cæsar* in relating the acts of the *Romans*: but will call the *French* Historians to witness, what actions were performed by the *Englishs*. In *Cæsars* time *France* was inhabited by the *Gaules*, a stout people, but inferiour to the *French*, by whom they were subdued; even when the *Romans* gave them assistance. The Country of *Gaule* was rent in sunder (as *Cæsar* witnesseth) into many Lordships: some of which were governed by petty Kings, others by the multitude, none ordered in such sort as might make it applicable to the neareſt Neighbour. The factions were many, and violent: not only in general through the whole Country, but between the petty States, yea in every City, and almost in every house. What greater advantage could a Conquerour desire? Yet there was a greater. *Ariovistus*, with his *Germans*, had over-run the Country, and held much part of it in subjection, little different from meer slavery: yea, so often had the *Germans* prevailed in war upon the *Gaules* that the *Gaules*, (who had sometimes been the better Souldiers) did hold themselves no way equal

equal to those daily Invaders. Had *France* been so prepared unto our *English* Kings, *Rome* it self by this time, and long ere this time, would have been ours. But when King *Edward* the third began his war upon *France*, he found the whole Country settled in obedience to one mighty King; a King whose reputation abroad, was no less than his puissance at home; under whose ensign, the King of *Bohemia* did serve in person; at whose call the *Genowayes*, and other Neighbour States, were ready to take arms; finally, a King unto whom one (*a*) Prince gave away his Dominion, for love; (*b*) another sold away a goodly City and Territory for mony. The Country lying so open to the *Romans* and being so well fenced against the *English*; it is note-worthy, not who prevailed most therein (for it were meer vanity to match the *English* purchases with the *Roman* conquest) but whether of the two gave the greater proof of military vertue. *Cæsar* himself doth witness, that the *Gaules* complained of their own ignorance in the Art of war, and that their own hardiness was overmastered by the skill of their enemies. Poor men, they admired the *Roman* Towers, and Engines of battery, raised and planted against their walls, as more then humane works. What greater wonder is it, that such a people was beaten by the *Romans*; than that the *Caribes*, a naked people, but valiant, as any under the sky, are commonly put to the worse by small numbers of *Spaniards*? Besides all this, we are to have regard of the great difficulty that was found, in drawing all the *Gaules*, or any great part of them, to one head, that with joynt forces they might oppose their assailants: as also the much more difficulty of holding them long together. For hereby it came to pass, that they were never able to make use of opportunity: but sometimes compelled to stay for their fellows; and sometimes driven to give or take battel upon extream disadvantages, for fear left their companies should fall asunder: as indeed, upon any little disaster, they were ready to break, and return every one to the defence of his own. All this, and (which was little less then all this) great odds in weapon gave to the *Romans* the honour of many gallant Victories. What such help? or what other worldly help, than the golden mettle of their Souldiers, had our *English* Kings against the *French*? Were not the *French* as well experienced in feats of War? Yea, did they not think themselves therein our superiours? Were they not in arms, in horse, and in all provisions, exceedingly beyond us?

(*a*) The Dolphin of Viennois (*b*) The King of Majorca.

Let us hear what a *French* writer saith of the inequality that was between the *French* and *English*, when their King *John* was ready to give the on-set upon the *Black Prince*, at the battel of *Poitiers*. John *had all advantages over* Edward, *both of number, force, shew, Country, and conceit (the which is commonly a consideration of no small importance in worldly affairs)*; *and withall, the choice of all his horsemen (esteemed then the best in Europe) with the greatest and wisest Captains of his whole Realm.* And what could he more?

John de Serres. JEAN avoit sur le champ de bataille contre EDOUARD, le nombre, la force, la veue, le pays, le progrez (qui est plus commun, mais moins conforme au texte) l'importance des affaires du monde, & outre ce l'élite de toute la Noblesse de France, bien armée, montée & conduite.

I think it would trouble a *Roman* Antiquary to find the like example in their Histories; the example I say, of a King, brought prisoner to *Rome*, by an army of eight thousand, which he had surrounded with forty seconds thousand, better appointed, and no less expert Warriours. This I am sure of, that neither *Syphax* the *Numidian*, followed by a rabble of half Scullions, as *Livie* rightly terms them, nor those cowardly Kings, *Perseus* and *Gentius*, are worthy patterns. All that have read of *Crecy* and *Agincourt*, will bear me witness, that I do not alledge the battel of *Poitiers*, for lack of other, as good examples of the *English* Virtue: the proof whereof hath left many a hundred better marks in all quarters of *France*, then ever did the valour of the *Romans*. If any man impute these Victories of ours to the long bow, as carrying farther, piercing more strongly, and quicker of discharge than the *French* Cross-bow: my answer is ready; That in all these respects, it is also (being drawn with a strong arm) superiour to the Musket; yet is the Musket a weapon of more use. The Gun and the Cross-bow are of like force, when discharged by a Boy or Woman, as when by a strong Man: weakness or sickness, or a sore finger makes the long Bow unserviceable. More particularly, I say, that it was the custom of our Ancestors, to shoot, for the most part, *point blank*; and so shall he perceive, that will note the circumstances of almost any one battel. This takes away all objection: for when two Armies are within the distance of a Butts length, one flight of arrows, or two at the most, can be delivered before they close. Neither is it in general true, that the long Bow reacheth farther, or that it pierceth more strongly than the Cross-bow: but this is the rare effect of an extraordinary arm; whereupon can be grounded no common rule. If any man shall ask, How then came it to pass, that the *English* wan so many great battels, having no advantage to help him? I may, with best commendation of modesty, refer



refer him to the *French* Historian: who relating the victory of our men at *Crevant*; where they passed a Bridge in face of the enemy, useth these words: *The English comes with a conquering bravery, as he that was accustomed to gain every-where, without any stay: he forceth our guard placed upon the Bridge to keep the passage.* Or I may cite another place of the same Author, where he tells, how the *Britons*, being invaded by *Charls* the eighth, King of *France*, thought it good policy to apparel a thousand and five hundred of their own men in *English* Cassocks; hoping that the very sight of the *English* Red Cross, would be enough to terrifie the *French*. But I will not stand to borrow of the *French* Historians (all which, excepting *De Serres*, and *Paulus Æmilius*, report wonders of our Nation:) the proposition which first I undertook to maintain; *That the military vertue of the English, prevailing against all manner of difficulties, ought to be preferred before that of the Romans, which was assisted with all advantages that could be desired.* If it be demanded, Why then did not our Kings finish the Conquest, as *Cæsar* had done? my answer may be (I hope without offence) that our Kings were like to the Race of *Æacidæ*, of whom the old Poet *Ennius* gave this note; *Bellipotentes sunt magis quàm sapientipotentes*, *They were more war-like than politick.* Who-so notes their proceedings, may find, that none of them went to work like a Conquerour, save only King *Henry* the fifth; the course of whose victories it pleased God to interrupt by his death. But this question is the more easily answered, if another be first made. Why did not the *Romans* attempt the Conquest of *Gaule* before the time of *Cæsar*? Why not after the *Macedonian* War? Why not after the third *Punick*, or after the *Numantian*? At all these times they had good leisure: and then especially had they both leisure and fit opportunity, when under the conduct of *Marius*, they had newly vanquished the *Cimbri*, and *Teutones*, by whom the Country of *Gaule* had been pitiously wasted. Surely the words of *Tully* were true; That with other Nations the *Romans* fought for Dominion, with the *Gaules* for preservation of their own safety.

Therefore they attempted not the Conquest of *Gaule*, until they were Lords of all other Countries, to them known. We on the other side, held only the one half of our own Island; the other half being inhabited by a Nation (unless perhaps in wealth and numbers of men somewhat inferiour) every way equal to our selves; a Nation anciently and strongly allied to our enemies the *French*, and in that regard enemy to us. So that our danger lay both before and behind us: and the greater danger at our backs; where commonly we felt, always we feared, a stronger Invasion by Land, than we could make upon *France*, transporting our Forces over Sea.

It is usual with men, that have pleased themselves in admiring the matters which they find in ancient Histories; to hold it a great injury done to their judgment, if any take upon him, by way of comparison, to extol the things of latter ages. But I am well perswaded, that as the divided vertue of this our Island, hath given more noble proof of it self, than under so worthy a Leader, that *Roman* Army could do, which afterwards could win *Rome*, and all her Empire, making *Cæsar* a *Monarch*; so hereafter, by Gods blessing, who hath converted our greatest hinderance, into our greatest help, the enemy that shall dare to try our forces, will find cause to wish, that avoiding us, he had rather encountred as great a puissance as was that of the *Roman* Empire. But it is now high time, that, laying aside comparisons, we return to the rehearsal of deeds done; wherein we shall find, how *Rome* began, after *Pyrrhus* had left *Italy*, to strive with *Carthage* for Dominion, in the first *Punick* War.

## §. II.

### *The estate of* Carthage *before it entred into War with* Rome.

THE City of *Carthage* had stood above six hundred years, when first it began to contend with *Rome* for the mastery of *Sicil*. It fore-went *Rome* one hundred, and fifty years in antiquity of foundation: but in the honour of great atchievements, it excelled far beyond this advantage of time. For *Carthage* had extended her Dominion in *Africa* it self, from the West of *Cyrene*, to the streights of *Hercules*, about one thousand and five hundred miles in length, wherein stood three hundred Cities. It had subjected all *Spain*, even to the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, together with all the Illands in the *Mediterranean* Sea, to the West of *Sicil*; and of *Sicil* the better part. It flourished about seven hundred and thirty years, before the destruction thereof by *Scipio*: who, besides other spoils, and all that the Souldiers reserved, carried thence four hundred and seventy thousand weight of silver, which make of our mony (if our pounds differ not) fourteen hundred and ten

ten thousand pound sterling. So as this glorious City ran the same fortune, which many other great ones have done, both before and since. The ruine of the goodliest pieces of the world fore-shews the dissolution of the whole.

About one hundred years after such time as it was cast down, the Senate of *Rome* caused it to be re-built: and by *Gracchus* it was called *Junonia:* it was again and again abandoned and re-peopled, taken and re-taken; by *Gensericus* the *Vandal*, by *Bellisarius* under *Justinian*, by the *Persians*, by the *Egyptians*, and by the *Mahometans*. It is now nothing. The seat thereof was exceeding strong: and while the *Carthaginians* commanded the Sea, invincible. For the Sea compassed it about, saving that it was tyed to the Main by a neck of Land; which passage had two miles and more of breadth (*Appian* saith, three miles and one furlong) by which we may be induced to believe the common report, that the City it self was above twenty miles in compass; if not that of *Strabo*, affirming the circuit to have been twice as great.

It had three Walls without the Wall of the City; and between each of those, three or four Streets, with Vaults under ground, of thirty foot deep, in which they had place for three hundred Elephants, and all their food: over these they had stables for four thousand horse, and Granaries for their provender. They had also lodgings in the Streets, between these out-walls, for four thousand horse-men, and twenty thousand foot-men, which (according to the discipline used now by those of *China*) never pestered the City. It had towards the South part, the Castle of *Byrsa*; to which *Servius* gives two and twenty furlongs in compass, that make two miles and a half. This was the same piece of ground which *Dido* obtained of the *Lybians*, when she got leave to buy only so much Land of them, as she could compass with an Oxe hide. On the West-side it had also the Salt-Sea, but in the nature of a standing pool; for a certain arm of Land, fastened to the ground, on which the City stood, stretched it self towards the West-continent, and left but seventy foot open for the Sea to enter. Over this standing-Sea was built a most sumptuous *Arsenall*, having their Ships and Gallies riding under it.

The form of their Common-weal resembled that of *Sparta*; for they had titulary Kings, and the *Aristocratical* Power of Senators. But (as *Regius* well observeth) the people in latter times usurped too great authority in their Councils. This confusion in Government, together with the trust that they reposed in hired Souldiers, were helping causes of their destruction in the end. Two other more forcible causes of their ruine, were their avarice and their cruelty. (a) Their avarice was shewed both in exacting from their Vassals (besides ordinary tributes) the one (b) half of the fruits of the earth; and in conferring of great offices, not upon gentle and merciful persons, but upon those who could best tyrannize over the people, to augment their treasures. Their cruelty appeared, in putting them to death without mercy, that had offended through ignorance: the one of these rendred them odious to their Vassals, whom it made ready upon all occasions, to revolt from them: the other did break the spirits of their Generals, by presenting in the heat of their actions abroad, the fear of a cruel death at home. Hereby it came to pass, that many good Commanders of the *Carthaginian* Forces, after some great loss received, have desperately cast themselves, with all that remained under their charge, into the throat of destruction; holding it necessary, either to repair their losses quickly, or to ruine all together: and few of them have dared to manage their own best projects, after that good form, wherein they first conceived them, for fear lest the manner of their proceeding should be mis-interpreted: It being the *Carthaginian* Rule, to crucifie, not only the unhappy Captain, but even him, whose bad counsel had prosperous event. The faults, wherewith, in general, they of *Carthage* are taxed, by *Roman* Historians, I find to be these; lust, cruelty, avarice, craft, unfaithfulness, and perjury. Whether the *Romans* themselves were free from the same crimes, let the tryal be referred unto their actions. The first league between *Carthage* and *Rome*, was very ancient: having been made the year following the expulsion of *Tarquine*. In that league the *Carthaginians* had the superiority, as imposing upon the *Romans* the more strict conditions. For it was agreed, that the *Romans* should not so much as have

(a) I: P... Mosq... 9

(b) The Turks at this day, do also take the one half the poor mans corn, that labours the earth; yea they take tribute both of the bodies, and of the souls of the Christians their Vassals; bereaving them of their children, and bringing them up in the Mahometan Religion. The Irish take the fourth sheaf; and were wont to eat up with their horse-men, foot-men, and dogs, what they pleased, the other three parts remaining. The Husbandman and the Yeoman of England are the freest of all the World: And reason good; for of them have the bodies of our victorious Armies been compounded. And it is the free-man, and not the slave, that hath courage and the sense of shame deserved by cowardise. How free the English Yeomen have been in times, not long since past, *Fortescue* hath shewed in his praise of our Countries laws. But I may say, that they are more free now than ever: and our Nobility and Gentry more servile. For since the excessive bravery and vain expence of our Grandees hath taught them to raise their Rents, since by Inclosures, and dismembring of Mannors, the Court Baron, and the Court Leet, the Principalities of the Gentry of *England*, have been dissolved, the Tenants having payed unto their Lords their rack Rent, owe them now no service at all, and (perchance) as little love.

trade



trade in some part of *Africk*, nor suffer any ship of theirs to pass beyond the headland, or cape, then called the *fair Promontory*, unless it were by force of tempest: whereas on the other side, no Haven in *Italy* was forbidden to the *Carthaginians*. A second league was made long after, which (howsoever it hath pleased *Livy* to say, that the *Romans* granted it, at the *Carthaginians* intreaty) was more strict than the former: prohibiting the *Romans* to have trade in any part of *Africa*, or in the Island of *Sardinia*.

*Liv. Dec. I. l. 7.*

By these two treaties it may appear, that the *Carthaginians* had an intent not only to keep the *Romans* (as perhaps they did other people) from getting any knowledge of the state of *Africk*; but to countenance and uphold them, in their troubling all *Italy*, whereby they themselves might have the better means to occupy all *Sicil*, whilest that Island should be destitute of *Italian* succours. Hereupon we find good cause of the joy that was in *Carthage*, and of the Crown of gold, weighing twenty and five pound, sent from thence to *Rome*, when the *Samnites* were overthrown. But the little state of *Rome* prevailed faster in *Italy*, than the great power of *Carthage* did in *Sicil*. For that mighty army of three hundred thousand men, which *Hannibal* conducted out of *Africk* into *Sicil*, wan only two Cities therein: many great fleets were devoured by tempests; and howsoever the *Carthaginians* prevailed at one time, the *Sicilians*, either by their own valour, or by the assistance of their good friends out of *Greece*, did at some other time repair their own losses, and take revenge upon those Invaders. But never were the people of *Carthage* in better hope of getting all *Sicil*, than when the death of *Agathocles* the Tyrant, had left the whole Island in combustion; the estate of *Greece* being such, at the same time, that it seemed impossible for any succour to be sent from thence. But whilest the *Carthaginians* were busie in making their advantage of this good opportunity; *Pyrrhus*, invited by the *Tarentines* and their fellows, came into *Italy*, where he made sharp war upon the *Romans*. These news were unpleasing to the *Carthaginians*, who, being a subtle Nation, easily fore-saw, that the same busie disposition which had brought this Prince out of *Greece* into *Italy*, would as easily transport him over into *Sicil*, as soon as he could finish his *Roman* war. To prevent this danger, they sent *Mago* Embassadour to *Rome*; who declared in their name, that they were sorry to hear what misadventure had befallen the *Romans* their good friends in this war with *Pyrrhus*; and that the people of *Carthage* were very willing to assist the state of *Rome*, by sending an Army into *Italy*; if their help were thought needful, against the *Epirots*.

*Xen. Græc. hist. l. 1.*

It was indeed the main desire of the *Carthaginians*, to hold *Pyrrhus* so hardly to his work in *Italy*, that they might, at good leisure, pursue their business in *Sicil*: which caused them to make such a goodly offer. But the *Romans* were too high-minded: and refused to accept any such aid of their friends, lest it should blemish their reputation, and make them seem unable to stand by their own strength. Yet the message was taken lovingly, as it ought; and the former league between *Rome* and *Carthage* renued; with covenants added, concerning the present business; That if either of the two Cities made peace with *Pyrrhus*, it should be with reservation of liberty, to assist the other, in case that *Pyrrhus* should invade either of their Dominions. All this notwithstanding, and notwithstanding that the same *Mago* went and treated with *Pyrrhus*, using all means to sound his intentions (a matter very difficult, where one upon every new occasion, changeth his own purposes) yet *Pyrrhus* found leisure to make a step into *Sicil*: where though in fine he was neither getter nor saver, yet he clean defeated the purposes of *Carthage*, leaving them, at his departure from thence, as far from any end, as when they first began.

So many disasters in an enterprise, that from the first undertaking had been so strongly pursued, through the length of many generations, might well have induced the *Carthaginians* to believe, that an higher providence resisted their intendment. But their desire of winning that fruitful Island, was so inveterate, that with unwearied patience, they still continued in hope of so much the greater an harvest, by how much their cost and pain therein buried had been the more. Wherefore they re-continued their former courses; and by force or practice, recovered in few years all their old possessions: making peace with *Syracuse*, the chief City of the Island, that so they might the better enable themselves to deal with the rest.

Somewhat before this time, a troop of *Campanian* Souldiers, that had served under *Agathocles*, being entertained within *Messana* as friends, and finding themselves too strong for the Citizens, took advantage of the power that they had to do wrong; and with perfidious cruelty, slue those that had trusted them; which done, they occupied



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the City, Lands, Goods, and Wives of thoſe whom they had murdered. Theſe Mercenaries called themſelves *Mamertines*. Good Souldiers they were: and like enough it is, that meer deſperation of finding any that would approve their barbarous treachery, added rage unto their ſtoutneſs. Having therefore not any other colour of their proceedings, than *the law of the ſtronger*, they over-ran all the Country round about them.

In this courſe, at firſt, they ſped ſo well, that they did not only defend *Meſſana* againſt the Cities of *Sicil* Confederate, to wit, againſt the *Syracuſians*, and others, but they rather wan upon them; yea, and upon the *Carthaginians*, exacting tribute from many Neighbour places. But it was not long, ere fortune turning her back to theſe *Mamertines*, the *Syracuſians* wan faſt upon them; and finally, confining them within the walls of *Meſſana*, they alſo with a powerful army beſieged the City. It hapned ill, that about the ſame time a contention began between the *Syracuſian* Souldiers, then lying at *Megara*, and the Citizens of *Syracuſe*, and Governours of the Commonwealth; which proceeded ſo far, that the Army elected two Governours among themſelves, to wit, *Artemidorus* and *Hieron*, that was afterward King. *Hieron*, being for his years excellently adorned with many vertues, although it was contrary to the policy of that State, to approve any election made by the Souldiers; yet for the great clemency uſed at his firſt entrance, he was by general conſent eſtabliſhed and make Governour. This office he rather uſed as a Scale, thereby to climb to ſome higher degree, than reſted content with his preſent preferment.

In brief, there was ſomewhat wanting, whereby to ſtrengthen himſelf within the City; and ſomewhat without it, that gave impediment to his obtaining, and ſafe keeping of the place he ſought, to wit, a powerful party within the Town, and certain mutinous troops of Soldiers without, often and eaſily moved to ſedition and tumult. For the firſt, whereby to ſtrengthen himſelf, he took to Wife the daughter of *Leptines*, a man of the greateſt eſtimation and authority among the *Syracuſians*. For the ſecond, leading out the Army to beſiege *Meſſana*, he quartered all thoſe companies, which he held ſuſpected, on the one ſide of the City, and leading the reſt of his Horſe and Foot unto the other ſide, as if he would have aſſaulted it in two ſeveral parts, he marched away under the covert of the Town walls, and left the Mutiners to be cut in pieces by the aſſieged: So returning home, and levying an Army of his own Citizens, well trained and obedient, he haſted again towards *Meſſana*, and was by the *Mamertines* (grown proud by their former victory over the Mutiners) incountred in the plains of *Mylæum*, where he obtained a moſt ſignal victory; and leading with him their Commander captive into *Syracuſe*, himſelf by common conſent was elected & ſaluted King. Hereupon the *Mamertines*, finding themſelves utterly enfeebled, ſome of them reſolved to give themſelves to the *Carthaginians*, others to crave aſſiſtance of the *Romans*: to each of whom the ſeveral faction diſpatched Embaſſadors for the very ſame purpoſe.

The *Carthaginians* were ſoon ready to lay hold upon the good offer: ſo that a Captain of theirs got into the Caſtle of *Meſſana*, whereof, they that had ſent for him gave him poſſeſſion. But within a little while, they that were more inclinable to the *Romans*, had brought their Companions to ſo good agreement, that this Captain, either by force, or by cunning, was turned out of doors, and the Town reſerved for other Maſters.

Theſe news did much offend the people of *Carthage*; who crucified their Captain, as both a Traitor and Coward; and ſent a Fleet and Army to beſiege *Meſſana*, as a Town that rebelled, having once been theirs. *Hieron* the new-made King of *Syracuſe* (to gratifie his people incenſed with the ſmart of injuries lately received) added his forces to the *Carthaginians*, with whom he entred into a league, for exterminating the *Mamertines* out of *Sicil*. So the *Mamertines* on all ſides were cloſed up within *Meſſana*: the *Carthaginians* lying with a Navy at Sea, and with an Army on the one ſide of the Town whileſt *Hieron* with his *Syracuſians*, lay before it on the other ſide.

In this their great danger came *Appius Claudius* the *Roman* Conſul, with an Army to the ſtreights of *Sicil*: which paſſing by night with notable audacity, he put himſelf into the Town, and ſending Meſſengers to the *Carthaginians*, and to *Hieron*, required them to depart; ſignifying unto them that the *Mamertines* were now become confederate with the people of *Rome*, and that therefore he was come to give them protection, even by force of War, if reaſon would not prevail.

This meſſage was utterly neglected; And ſo began the War between *Rome* and *Carthage*; wherein it will then be time to ſhew on which part was the juſtice of the quarrel, when ſome actions of the *Romans* lately foregoing this, have been firſt conſidered.



## §. III.

### *The beginning of the firſt Punick war. That it was unjuſtly undertaken by the* Romans.

WHen *Pyrrhus* began his wars in *Italy*, the City of *Rhegium*, being well affected to *Rome*, and not only fearing to be taken by the *Epirot*, but much more diſtruſting the *Carthaginians*, as likely to ſeize upon it in that buſie time, ſought aid from the *Romans*, and obtained from them a Legion, conſiſting of four thouſand ſouldiers, under the conduct of *Decius Campanus*, a *Roman* Prefect; by whom they were defended and aſſured for the preſent. But after a while, this *Roman* Garriſon, conſidering at good leiſure, the fact of the *Mamertines*, committed in *Meſſana* (a City in *Sicil*, ſituate almoſt oppoſite to *Rhegium*, and no otherwiſe divided than by a narrow Sea, which ſevereth it from *Italy*) and rather weighing the greatneſs of the booty, than the odiouſneſs of the villany, by which it was gotten; reſolved finally, to make the like purchaſe, by taking the like wicked courſe. Confederating therefore themſelves with the *Mamertines*, they entertained their Hoſts of *Rhegium*, after the ſame manner; dividing the ſpoil, and all which that State had, among themſelves.

When complaint was made to the Senate and people of *Rome*, of this outrage; they finding their honour thereby greatly ſtained) for no Nation in the world made a more ſevere profeſſion of juſtice, than they did during all the time of their growing greatneſs, reſolved, after a while, to take revenge upon the offenders. And this they performed ſhortly after, when they had quenched the fires, kindled in *Italy* by *Pyrrhus*. For, notwithſtanding that thoſe *Romans* in *Rhegium* (as men for the foulneſs of their fact, hopeleſs of pardon) defended themſelves with an obſtinate reſolution: yet in the end, the aſſailants forced them; and thoſe which eſcaped the preſent fury, were brought bound to *Rome*, where, after the uſual torments by whipping inflicted, according to the cuſtome of the country, they had their heads ſtricken from their ſhoulders, and the people of *Regium* were again reſtored to their former liberty and eſtates.

This execution of Juſtice being newly performed, and the fame thereof ſounding honourably through all quarters of *Italy*: meſſengers came to *Rome* from *Meſſana*, deſiring help againſt the *Carthaginians*, and *Syracuſians*, that were in a readineſs to inflict the like puniſhment upon the *Mamertines*, for the like offence. A very impudent requeſt it was, which they made: who having both given example of that villany to the *Roman* Souldiers, and holpen them with joynt forces to make it good, do intreat the Judges to give them that aſſiſtance, which they were wont to receive from their fellow-theeves.

The *Romans* could not ſuddenly reſolve, whether the way of honeſty or of profit were to be followed; they evermore pretended the one, but they many times walked in the other. They conſidered, how contrary the courſe of ſuccouring the *Mamertines* was to their former counſels and actions: ſeeing for the ſame offences they had lately put to torment, and to the ſword, their own Souldiers, and reſtored the oppreſſed to their liberty. Yet when they beheld the deſcription of the *Carthaginian* Dominion, and that they were already Lords of the beſt part of *Africa*, of the *Mediterran* Iſlands, of a great part of *Spain*, and ſome part of *Sicil* it ſelf; whileſt alſo they feared, that *Syracuſe* therein ſeated (a City in beauty and riches, little at that time inferiour to *Carthage*, and far ſuperiour to *Rome* it ſelf) might become theirs; the ſafety of their own eſtate ſpake for theſe *Mamertines*: who, if they (driven to deſpair by the *Romans*) ſhould deliver up *Meſſana*, with thoſe other holds that they had, into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, then would nothing ſtand between *Carthage*, and the Lordſhip of *Sicil*: for *Syracuſe* it ſelf could not, for want of ſuccor, any long time ſubſiſt, if once the *Carthaginians* that were Maſters of the Sea, did faſten upon that paſſage from the main Land. It was further conſidered; that the opportunity of *Meſſana* was ſuch, as would not only debarr all ſuccours out of the continent, from arrival in *Sicil*; but would ſerve as a bridge, whereby the *Carthaginians* might have entrance into *Italy*, at their own pleaſure.

Theſe conſiderations of profit at hand, and of preventing danger, that threatned from a-far, did ſo prevail above all regard of honeſty, that the *Mamertines* were admitted into Confederacy with the *Romans*, and *Ap. Claudius* the Conſul, preſently diſpatcht away for *Meſſana*: into which he entred, and undertook the protection of it, as is ſhewed before. The beſiegers were little troubled with his arrival; and leſs moved,

ved, with his requiring them to desist from their attempt. For they did far exceed him in number of men; the whole Island was ready to relieve them in their wants; and they were strong enough at Sea, to hinder any supply from getting into the Town. All this *Appius* himself well understood: and against all this he thought the stiff mettal of his *Roman* Souldiers a sufficient remedy. Therefore he resolved to issue out into the field, and to let the enemies know, that his coming was to send them away from the Town; not to be besieged by them within it.

In executing this determination, it was very beneficial to him, that the enemy lay encamped in such sort, as one quarter was not well able to relieve another in distress. *Hieron* was now exposed to the same danger, whereinto he had wilfully cast his own mutinous followers not long before: only he was strong enough (or thought so) to make good his own quarter, without help of others. Against him *Ap. Claudius* issued forth, and (not attempting, by unexpected sally, to surprise his trenches) arranged his men in order of battel, wherewith he presented him. The *Syracusian* wanted not courage to fight; but surely he wanted good advice: else would he not have hazzarded all his power against an enemy of whom he had made no trial; when it had been easie, and as much as was requisite, to defend his own Camp. It may be, that he thought to get honour, wherewith to adorn the beginning of his reign. But he was well beaten, and driven to save himself within his trenches: by which loss, he learned a point of wisdom, that stood him and his Kingdom in good stead all the dayes of his life. It was a foolish desire of revenge, that had made the *Syracusians* so busie, in helping those of *Carthage*, against the *Mamertines*.

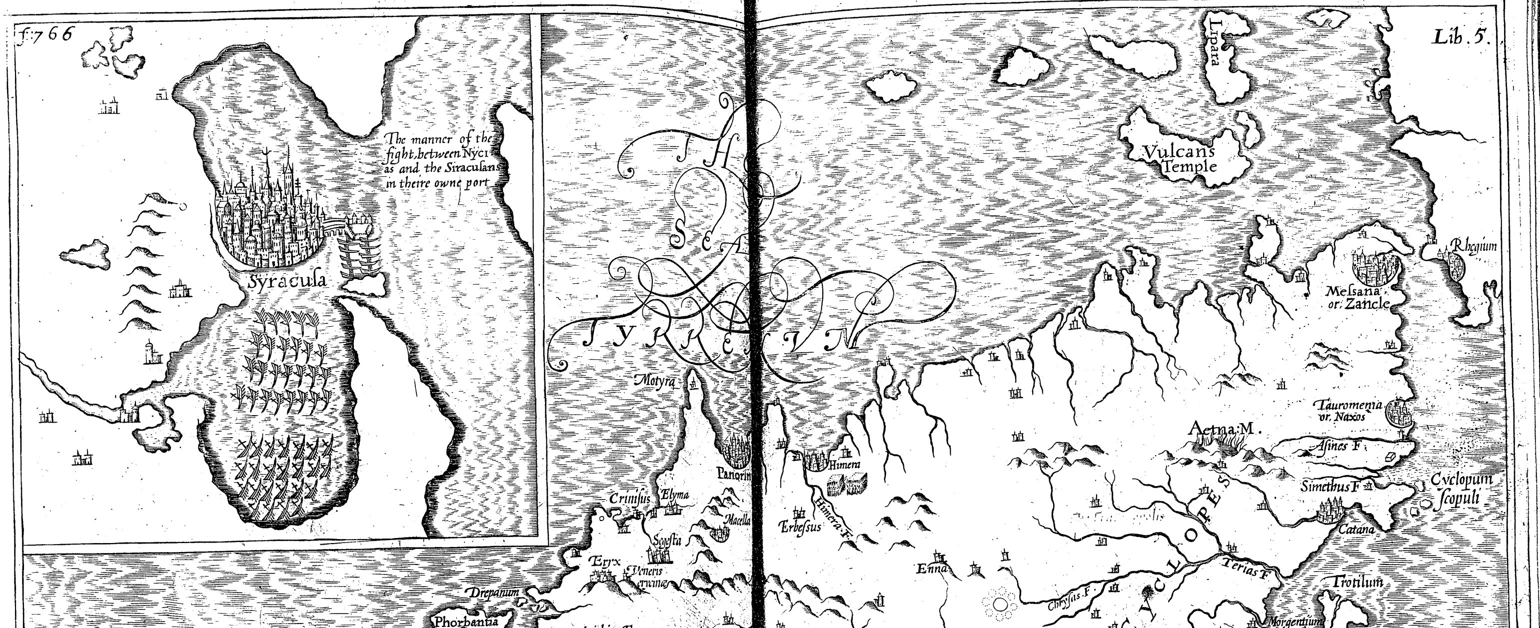
Had *Messana* been taken by the *Carthaginians*, *Syracuse* it self must have sought help from *Rome*, against those friends which it now so diligently assisted. *Hieron* had (in respect of those two mighty Cities) but a small stock, which it behooved him to govern well: such another loss would have made him almost bankrupt. Therefore he quietly brake up his Camp: and retired home: intending to let them stand to their adventures, that had hope to be gainers by the bargain. The next day, *Claudius* perceiving the *Sicilian* Army gone, did with great courage, and with much alacrity of his Souldiers, give charge upon the *Carthaginians*: wherein he sped so well, that the enemy forsook both field and camp, leaving all the Country open to the *Romans*; who having spoilled all round, without resistance, intended to lay siege unto the great City of *Syracuse*.

These prosperous beginnings, howsoever they animated the *Romans*, and filled them with hopes of attaining to greater matters, than at the first they had expected: Yet did they not imprint any form of terrour in the City of *Carthage*, that had well enough repaired greater losses than this; in which no more was lost than what had been prepared against the *Mamertines* alone, without any suspicion of War from *Rome*.

Now in this place I hold it seasonable, to consider of those grounds, whereupon the *Romans* entred into this war; not how profitable they were, nor how agreeable to rules of honesty (for questionless the enterprise was much to their benefit, though as much to their shame) but how allowable in strict terms of lawfulness; whereupon they built all their allegations in maintenance thereof. That the *Mamertines* did yield themselves, and all that they had, into the *Romans* hands (as the *Campanes*, distressed by the *Samnites*, had done) I cannot find: neither can I find how the messengers of those folk, whereof one part had already admitted the *Carthaginians*, could be enabled to make any such surrendry in the publick name of all.

If therefore the *Mamertines*, by no lawfull surrendry of themselves and their possessions, were become subject unto *Rome*, by what better title could the *Romans* assist the *Mamertines*, against their most ancient friends the *Carthaginians*, than they might have aided the *Campanes* against the *Samnites*, without the same condition? which was (as they themselves confessed) by none at all. But let it be supposed, that some point serving to clear this doubt, is lost in all Histories. Doubtless it is, that no company of Pyrates, Thieves, Out-laws, Murderers, or such other Malefactors, can by any good success of their villany, obtain the priviledge of civil societies, to make league or truce; yea, or to require fair war: but are by all means, as most pernicious vermine, to be rooted out of the world. I will not take upon me to maintain that opinion of some *Civilians*, that a Prince is not bound to hold his faith with one of these; it were a Position of ill consequence: This I hold; that no one Prince or State can give protection to such as these, as long as any other is using the sword of vengeance against them, without becoming accessary to their crimes. Wherefore we may esteem this action of the

*Romans*



The manner of the fight, between Nycias and the Siracusans in theire owne port
Syracula
THE SEA TYRRHENVM
Lipara
Vulcans Temple
Rhegium
Messana or: Zancle
Motyra
Panorm
Tauromenia or. Naxos
Aetna. M.
Asines F
Himera
Crinisus
Elyma
Segesta
Macella
Erbessus
Himera F.
Simethus F
Cyclopum Scopuli
Catana
Eryx
Veneris erycinae
Drepanum
Enna
Terias F
Trotilum
Chrysas F.
CYCLOPES
Morgentium
Phorbantia
Acithius F.
Lilybœum
Hiera
Aegula
Leontium
Herbessus
Mactorium
Megara or Hybla
Megaris Sinus
Thapsus
Selinus F.
Entella
Mazara
Selinus
Thermae
Lucus F.
SICANIA REGIO
Agragas F.
Himera or Gela F.
Sicanus F.
Hypsa F.
Trinacie
SYRACVSII
Anapus F.
Syraculæ
Heraclia or Minoa
Agrigentum
Gela
Lepas
Cyparis F
Erineus
Diana F.
The owerthrow of Nicias
Elorus
Camerina
Asinarus flu
Pachynus. P.
Callipolis
Motya
Mathem
Utica
Arsenal
Carthago
Castra Cornelya
Macra
Gerkyra
Aquæ ductus
Tunis
Hippo Diarrytos
Appollinis pmont
Carthage
Tunis
THE AFRICAN SEA

*Romans* so far from being justifiable, by any pretence of confederacy made with them; as that contrariwise, by admitting this nest of Murderers and Theeves into their protection, they justly deserved to be warred upon themselves, by the people of *Sicil*; yea, although *Messana* had been taken, and the *Mamertines* all slain, ere any news of the Confederacy had been brought unto the besiegers. The great *Alexander* was so far perswaded herein; that he did put to sword all the *Branchiadæ* (a people in *Sogdiana*) and razed their City, notwithstanding that they joyfully entertained him as their Lord and King; because they were descended from a company of *Milesians*, who to gratifie King *Xerxes*, had robbed a Temple, and were by him rewarded with the Town and Country, which these of their posterity enjoyed. Nevertheless, in course of humane justice, long and peaceable possession gives *jus acquisitum*, a kind of right by prescription unto that which was first obtained by wicked means: and doth free the descendants from the crime of their Ancestors, whose villanies they do not exercise. But that the same generation of Thieves, which by a detestable fact hath purchased a rich Town, should be acknowledged a lawful company of Citizens, there is no shew of right. For even the Conqueror that by open War obtaineth a Kingdom, doth not confirm his title, by those victories which gave him first possession: but length of time is requisite to establish him, unless by some alliance with the ancient inheritors, he can better the violence of his claim, as did our King *Henry* the first, by his marriage with *Maude*, that was daughter of *Malcolme*, King of the *Scots*, by *Margaret*, the Neece of *Edmund Ironside*. Wherefore I conclude, that the *Romans* had no better ground (if they had so good) of justice, in this quarrel, than had the *Gothes*, *Hunnes*, *Vandals*, and other Nations, of the Wars that they made upon the *Roman* Empire, wherein *Rome* her self, in the time of her visitation, was burnt to the ground.

## §. IV.

### *Of the Island of Sicil.*

### †. I.

### *The quality of the Island: and the first inhabitants thereof.*

THe defence of the *Mamertines*, or the possession of *Messana*, being now no longer since the first victories of *Appius Claudius*, the objects of the *Roman* hopes; but the Dominion of all *Sicil* being the prize, for which *Rome* and *Carthage* are about to contend: it will be agreeable unto the order, which in the like cases we have observed, to make a brief collection of things concerning that noble Island, which hath been the stage of many great acts, performed as well before and after, as in this present War.

That *Sicil* was sometimes a *Peninsula*, or *Demie-Isle*, adjoyning to *Italy*, as a part of *Brutium* in *Calabria*, near unto *Rhegium*, and afterward by violence of tempest severed from the same: it is a general opinion of all antiquity. But at what certain time this division happened, there is no memorial remaining in any ancient writer. *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Dionysius* affirm, that it was caused by an earth-quake; *Silius* and *Cassiodorus* do think it to have been done by the rage and violence of the tide, and surges of the Sea. Either of these opinions may be true; for so was *Eubœa* severed from *Bœotia*; *Atalante* and *Macris* from *Eubœa*; *Sillie* here in *England*, from the Cape of *Cornwall*; and *Brittain* it self (as may seem by *Verstigans* arguments) from the opposite continent of *Gaule*. But for *Sicil*, they which lend their ears to fables, do attribute the cause of it to *Neptune* (as *Eustathius* witnesseth) who with his three-forked Mace, in favour of *Jocastus*, the son of *Æolus*, divided it from the main land, and so made it an Island, which before was but a *Demie-Isle*; that by that means he might the more safely inhabit, and possess the same. *Diodorus Siculus*, moved by the authority of *Hesiodus*, ascribeth the labour of sundring it from *Italy*, to *Orion*: who that he might be compared to *Hercules* (cutting through the rocks and mountains) first opened the *Sicilian* streights, as *Hercules* did those of *Gibralter*. *Plin. l. 2. c. 91. Sil. l. 5.* *Orion. l. 4.* *Diod. l. 6. c. 14.* *Ovid. de Fast. 4.*

They which value the Islands of the midland Sea, according to their quantity and content, do make this the greatest, as *Eustathius* and *Strabo*, who affirm this, not only to excell the rest for bigness, but also for goodness of soil. As concerning the form of this Island, *Pomponius Mela* saith, it is like that Capital letter of the *Greek*, which they call *Delta*, namely, that it hath the figure of a triangle; which is generally known to be true. That the whole Island was consecrated to *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, all old writers with one consent affirm. To *Ceres* it was dedicated, because it first taught the rules of setting and sowing of Corn: to *Proserpina*, not so much for that she was from hence violently

violently taken by *Pluto*, as becauſe (which *Plutarch* and *Diodorus* do report for truth) that *Pluto*, as ſoon as ſhe uncovering her ſelf, firſt ſhewed her ſelf to be ſeen of him, gave her the Dominion thereof.

Of the fertility and riches of this Country, there is a famous teſtimony written by *Cicero*, in his ſecond Oration againſt *Verres*, where he ſaith, that *Marcus Cato* did call it the *Granary* and *Store-houſe of the Commonwealth*, and *the Nurſe of the vulgar ſort*. The ſame *Cicero* doth add in that place; that it was not only the Store-houſe of the people of *Rome*: but alſo that it was a well-furniſhed treaſure. For without any coſt or charge of ours (ſaith he) it hath uſually clothed, maintained, and furniſhed our greateſt Armies with leather, apparrel and corn. *Strabo* reporteth almoſt the ſame thing of it. Whatſoever *Sicilie* doth yield (ſaith *Solinus*) whether by the ſun, and temperature of the air, or by the induſtry and labour of man, it is accounted next unto thoſe things that are of beſt eſtimation: were it not that ſuch things as the earth firſt putteth forth, are extreamly over-grown with ſaffron. *Diodorus Siculus* ſaith, that in the fields near unto *Leontium*, and in divers other places of this Iſland, wheat doth grow of it ſelf without any labour or looking to of the husbandman. *Martianus* ſheweth, that there were in it ſix Colonies, and ſixty Cities: there are that reckon more, whereof the names are found ſcatteringly in many good Authors. *Strabo l. 6.*

Now beſides many famous acts, done by the people of this Iſland, as well in peace as War, there be many other things which have made it very renowned, as the birth of *Ceres*; the raviſhing of *Proſerpina*; the Giant *Enceladus*; the mount *Ætna*; *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, with other antiquities and rarities; beſides thoſe learned men, the noble *Mathematician*, *Archimedes*; the famous *Geometrician*, *Euclides*; the painful Hiſtorian *Diodorus*; and *Empedocles*, the deep Philoſopher.

That *Sicil* was at firſt poſſeſſed and inhabited by Giants, *Læſtrigones*, and *Cyclopes*, barbarous people, and uncivil; all hiſtories and fables do jointly with one conſent averr. Yet *Thucydides* ſaith, that theſe ſavage people dwelt only in one part of the Iſland. Afterward the *Sicani*, a people of *Spain*, poſſeſſed it. That theſe *Sicani* were not bred in the Iſle (although ſome ſo think) *Thucydides* and *Diodorus* do very conſtantly avouch.

Of theſe it was named *Sicania*. Theſe *Sicani* were invaded by the *Siculi*; who, inhabiting that part of *Latium*, whereon *Rome* was afterward built, were driven by the *Pelaſgi* from their own ſeats, and finding no place upon the Continent, which they were able to maſter and inhabit, paſſed over into this Iſland, three hundred years before the *Greeks* ſent any Colonies thither: and (ſaith *Philiſtus*) eighty years before the fall of *Troy*. Theſe *Siculi* gave the name of *Sicilia*, to the Iſland; and making war upon the *Sicani*, drave them from the Eaſt and Northern part thereof, into the Weſt and South. At their landing; they firſt built the City *Zancle*, afterward called *Meſſana*; and after that, *Catana*, *Leontine*, and *Syracuſe* it ſelf, beating from thence the *Ætolians*, who long before had ſet up a Town in that place. As for the name of *Syracuſe*, it was not known, till ſuch time as *Archias* of *Corinth* (long after) won that part of the Iſland from the *Siculi*; Neither did the *Siculi* at their firſt arrival diſpoſſeſs the *Ætolians* thereof, but ſome hundred years after their deſcent, and after ſuch time as they had founded the Cities before named with *Neæ*, *Hybla*, *Trinacria*, and divers others.

After theſe *Siculi* came another Nation out of *Italy*, called *Morgetes*; who were thence driven by the *Oenotrians*. Theſe ſat down in that part of *Sicil*, where they afterward raiſed the Cities of *Morgantum*, and *Leontium*. For at this time the *Siculi* were divided, and by a civil war greatly infeebled. Among theſe ancient ſtories, we find the laſt voyage, and the death of *Minos*, King of *Crete*. *Thucydides*, an Hiſtorian of unqueſtionable ſincerity, reports of *Minos*, that he made conqueſt of many Iſlands: and ſome ſuch buſineſs, perhaps, drew him into *Sicil*. But the common report is, that he came thither in purſuit of *Dædalus*. The tale goes thus: *Dædalus* fleeing the revenge of *Minos*, came into *Sicil*, to *Cocalus*, King of the *Sicani*, and, during his abode there, he built a place of great ſtrength, near unto *Megara*, for *Cocalus* to lay up his treaſure in; together with many notable works, for which he was greatly admired and honoured.

Among the reſt, he caſt a Ram in gold, that was ſet up in the Temple of *Venus Erycina*; which he did with ſo great Art, as thoſe that beheld it, thought it rather to be living, than counterfeit.

Now *Minos*, hearing that *Cocalus* had entertained *Dædalus*, prepares to invade the Territory of *Cocalus*; but when he was arrived, *Cocalus* doubting his own ſtrength, promiſeth to deliver *Dædalus*. This he performs not, but in the mean while, kills *Minos* by treaſon, and perſwades the *Cretans*, *Minos* his followers, to inhabit a part of *Sicil*; the better (as it ſeems) to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt the *Siculi*. Hereunto the *Cretans* (their King being dead) gave their conſent, and builded for themſelves the City of *Minoa* after the name of the King *Minos*. After, they likewiſe built the Town of *Engium*, now called *Gange*: and theſe were the firſt Cities, built by the *Greeks* in *Sicil*, about two ages before the war of *Troy*; for the grand-children of *Minos* ſerved with the *Greeks* at the ſiege thereof.

But after ſuch time as the *Cretans* underſtood, that their King had by treaſon been made away; they gathered together a great Army, to invade *Cocalus*: and landing near unto *Camicus*, they beſieged the ſame five years, but in vain. In the end (being forced to return, without any revenge taken) they were rackt on the coaſt of *Italy*, and having no means to repair their ſhips, nor the honour they had loſt, they made good the place whereon they fell, and built *Hyria*, or *Hyrium*, between the two famous Ports of *Brundiſium* and *Tarentum*. Of theſe *Cretans* came thoſe Nations, afterward called *Iapyges* and *Meſſapii*.

After the taking of *Troy*, *Egeſtus* and *Elymus*, brought with them certain troups into *Sicil*, and ſeated themſelves among the *Sicani*; where they built the Cities of *Egeſta* and *Elyma*.

It is ſaid, that *Æneas* viſited theſe places in his paſſage into *Italy*: and that ſome of the *Trojans*, his followers, were left behind him, in theſe Towns of *Sicil*: whereof there want not good Authors, that make *Æneas* himſelf the founder.

About the ſame time, the *Phœnicians* ſeized upon the Promontories of *Pachinus*, and *Lilybæum*, and upon certain ſmall Iſles adjoyning to the main Iſland: which they fortified, to ſecure the trades that they had with the *Sicilians*; like as the *Portugals* have done in the *Eaſt-India*, at *Goa*, *Ormus*, *Moſambique*, and other places. But the *Phœnicians* ſtayed not there; for after they had once aſſured their deſcents, they built the goodly City of *Panormus*, now called *Palerma*.

Theſe we find, were the Nations that inhabited the Iſle of *Sicil*, before the war of *Troy*, and ere the *Greeks* in any numbers began to ſtraggle in thoſe parts.

It may perchance ſeem ſtrange to the Reader, that in all ancient ſtories, he finds one and the ſame beginning of Nations, after the floud; and that the firſt planters of all parts of the World were ſaid to be mighty and Giant-like men; and that, as *Phœnicia*, *Ægypt*, *Lybia* and *Greece*, had *Hercules*, *Oreſtes*, *Antæus*, *Typhon*, and the like; as *Denmarke* had *Starchaterus*, remembred by *Saxo Grammaticus*; as *Scythia*, *Britanie*, and other Regions had Giants for their firſt inhabitants: ſo this Iſle of *Sicil* had her *Leſtrigones* and *Cyclopes*. This diſcourſe I could alſo reject for fained and fabulous, did not *Moſes* make us know, that the *Zamzummims*, *Emims*, *Anakims*, and *Og* of *Baſan*, with others, which ſometime inhabited the Mountains and Deſarts of *Moab*, *Ammon*, and Mount *Seir*, were men of exceeding ſtrength and ſtature, and of the races of Giants: and were it not, that *Tertullian*, St. *Auguſtine*, *Nicephorus*, *Procopius*, *Iſidore*, *Pliny*, *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Solinus*, *Plutarch*, and many other Authors, have confirmed the opinion: Yea, *Veſputius*, in his ſecond Navigation into *America*, hath reported that himſelf hath ſeen the like men in thoſe parts. Again, whereas the ſelf-ſame is written of all Nations, that is written of any one; as touching their ſimplicity of life, their mean fare, their feeding on Acorns and roots, their poor cottages, the covering of their bodies with the skins of beaſts, their hunting, their arms, and weapons, and their warfare, their firſt paſſages over great Rivers and Arms of the Sea, upon rafts of trees tied together; and afterwards their making boats firſt of twigs and leather, then of wood; firſt with Oars, and then with Sails; that they eſteemed as gods, the firſt finders out of Arts; as of Husbandry, of Laws, and of Policy: it is a matter, that makes me neither to wonder at, nor to doubt of it. For they all lived in the ſame newneſs of time, which we call *Old time*, and had all the ſame want of his inſtruction, which (after the Creator of all things) hath by degrees taught all Mankinde. For other teaching had they none, that were removed far off from the *Hebrews*, (who inherited the knowledge of the firſt Patriarchs) than that from variable effects they began, by time and degrees, to find out the cauſes: from whence came Philoſophy Natural; as the Moral did from diſorder and confuſion; and the Law from cruelty and oppreſſion.

*Saxo G. in præfat. hiſt.*

*Tertul. de Reſurr. Auguſt. de Civit. Dei Procop. l. 2. de Bello Goth. Plin. lib. 7. cap. 2.*

*lib. 15. Et queſt. in Gen. Nicep. lib. 2. c. 37.*

But it is certain, that the Age of *Time* hath brought forth ſtranger and more incredible things, than the Infancy. For we have now greater Giants for vice and injuſtice, than the World had in thoſe dayes, for bodily ſtrength; for cottages, and houſes of clay and timber, we have raiſed Palaces of ſtones; we carve them, we paint them, and adorn them with gold, inſomuch as men are rather known by their houſes, than their houſes by them; we are fallen from two diſhes, to two hundred; from water, to wine and drunkenneſs:

kenneſs from the covering of our bodies with the ſkins of beaſts, not only to ſilk and gold, but to the very ſkins of men. But to conclude this digreſſion, *Time* will alſo take revenge of the exceſs, which it hath brought forth; *Quam longa dies peperit, longiorque auxit, longiſſima ſubruet: Long time brought forth, longer time increaſed it, and a time, longer than the reſt, ſhall overthrow it.*

## †. II.

### *The Plantation of the* Greeks *in* Sicil.

When the firſt Inhabitants had contended long enough about the Dominion of all *Sicil:* it happened, that one *Theocles*, a *Greek*, being driven upon that Coaſt by an Eaſterly wind, and finding true the commendations thereof, which had been thought fabulous, being delivered only by Poets, gave information to the *Athenians* of this his diſcovery, and propoſed unto them the benefit of this eaſie Conqueſt offering to become their guide. But *Theocles* was as little regarded by the *Athenians*, as *Columbus*, in our Grand-fathers times, was by the *Engliſh*. Wherefore he took the ſame courſe that *Columbus* afterwards did. He over-laboured not himſelf in perſwading the Noble *Athenians* (who thought themſelves to be well enough already) to their own profit; but went to the *Chalcidians*, that were needy and induſtrious, by whom his project was gladly entertained. By theſe was built the City of *Naxus*, and a Colony planted of *Enbœans*.

But the reſt of the *Greeks* were wiſer than our Weſtern Princes of *Europe:* for they had no Pope, that ſhould forbid them to occupy the void places of the World. *Archias* of *Corinth* followed the *Enbœans*, and landed in *Sicil*, near unto that City, called afterward * *Syracuſe:* of which, that part only was then compaſſed with a wall, which the *Æolians* called *Homothermon*; the *Greeks*, *Naſos*; the *Latines*, *Inſula*. He with his *Corinthians* having overcome the *Siculi*, drave them up into the Country; and after a few years, their multitude increaſing, they added unto the City of the Iſland, that of *Acradina*, *Tyca*, and *Neapolis*. So as well by the commodity of the double Port, capable of as many ſhips, as any Haven of that part of *Europe*, as by the fertility of the ſoil, *Syracuſe* grew up in great haſte, to be one of the goodlieſt Towns of the world. In ſhort time the *Greeks* did poſſeſs the better part of all the Sea-coaſt; forcing the *Sicilians* to withdraw themſelves into the faſts and mountainous parts of the Iſland, making their Royal reſidence in *Trinacria*.

Some ſeven years after the arrival of *Archias*, the *Chalcidians*, encouraged by the ſucceſs of the *Corinthians*, did aſſail, and obtain the City of *Leontium*, built and poſſeſt by the *Siculi*. In brief, the *Greeks* win from the *Siculi*, and their Aſſociates, the Cities of *Catana* and *Hybla*, which in honour of the *Megarians* that forc't it, they called *Megara*.

About five and forty years after *Archias* had taken *Syracuſe*; *Antiphemus*, and *Entimus*, the one from *Rhodes*, the other from *Crete*, brought an Army into *Sicil*, and built *Gela*, whoſe Citizens, one hundred and eight years after, did erect that magnificent and renowned City of *Agrigentum*, governed according to the Laws of the *Dorians*.

The *Syracuſians* alſo, in the ſeventieth year after their Plantation, did ſet up the City of *Acra*, in the Mountains; and in the ninetieth year *Caſmena*, in the Plains adjoyning; and again in the hundred and thirtieth year of their dwelling in *Syracuſe*, they built *Camerina:* and ſoon after that, *Enna*, in the very Center of the Iſland. So did the *Cumani* about the ſame time, recover from the *Siculi* the City of *Zancle*, which they had founded in the ſtraight between *Sicil* and *Italy*. They of *Zancle* had been the founders of *Himera*.

Not long after this, *Dorieus* the *Lacedæmonian* built *Heraclia*; which the *Phœnicians*, and *Carthaginians*, fearing the neighbourhood of the *Spartans*, ſoon after invaded and ruined, though the ſame were again ere long re-edified.

*Selinus* alſo was built by a Colony of *Megara:* and *Zancle* was taken by the *Meſſenians*; who having loſt their own Country, gave the name thereof unto this their new purchaſe. Such were the beginnings of the greateſt Cities in this Iſland.

†. III.

* *Syracuſe*, as *Cicero* relates, was the greateſt, and moſt goodly City of all that the *Greeks* poſſeſt. For the ſituation is both ſtrong, and of an excellent proſpect from every entrance, by Land, or Sea. The Port was (for the moſt part) environed with beautiful buildings: and that part which was without the City, was on both ſides banked up, and ſuſtained with beautiful walls of Marble. The City it ſelf was one of the greateſt of the World: for it had in compaſs (as *Strabo* reporteth) without the treble wall thereof, a hundred and eighty furlongs, which make of our miles about eighteen. It was compounded of four Cities (*Strabo* ſaith, of five) to wit, *Inſula*, *Acradina*, *Tycha*, and *Neapolis*: of which greatneſs the ruines and foundations of the walls do yet witneſs. After ſuch time as the *Doves* of *Peloponneſus* had driven out the *Sicilians*, this goodly City for a long time became the ſeat of Tyrants. The firſt whereof was *Gelo*: The ſecond, *Hiero* the elder: The third, *Thraſybulus*: The fourth and fifth, *Dyonſius* the elder, and younger: The ſixth, *Dion*: The ſeventh, *Agathocles*: The eighth, *Pyrrhus*: The ninth, *Hiero* the younger: The tenth and laſt, *Hieronymus*; who being ſlain at *Leontium*, at length the *Romans* conquered it under the conduct of *Marcellus*.



## †. III.

### *of the Government and Affairs of* Sicil *before* Dionyſius *his Tyranny.*

THE moſt part of the Cities in *Sicil*, were governed by the rule of the people, till ſuch time as *Phalaris* began to uſurp the ſtate of *Agrigentum*, and to exerciſe all manner of Tyranny therein.

This was that *Phalaris*, to whom *Perillus*, the cunning Artificer of a deteſtable Engine, gave an hollow Bull of Braſs, wherein to incloſe men, and ſcorch them to death: praiſing the device with this commendation; That the noiſe of one tormented therein, ſhould be like unto the bellowing of a Bull. The Tyrant gave a due reward to the Inventer; by cauſing the firſt tryal to be made upon himſelf. He reigned one and thirty years, ſaith *Euſebius*; others give him but ſixteen: Howſoever it were, one *Telemachus* in the end, fell upon him with the whole multitude of *Agrigentum*, and ſtoned him to death; being thereto animated by *Zeno*, even whilſt the Tyrant was tormenting the ſame *Zeno*, to make him confeſs ſome matter of conſpiracy.

After the death of *Phalaris*, the Citizens recovered their liberty, and enjoyed it long, till *Thero* uſurped the Government of the Common-weal: at which time alſo *Panætius* made himſelf Lord of *Leontium*; and *Cleander* of *Gela:* but *Cleander* having ruled ſeven years, was ſlain by one of the Citizens. *Cleander* being dead, his Brother *Hippocrates* ſucceeded in his room, and greatly afflicted the people of *Naxos*, of *Zancle*, of *Meſſena*, and of *Leontium*; whom with divers others of the ancient Inhabitants, he forced to acknowledge him their Lord. He alſo made war with the *Syracuſians*, and, in the end, got from them by compoſition, the City of *Camerina*. But when he had reigned ſeven years, he was ſlain in a Battel againſt the *Siculi*, before *Hybla*.

At this time did the *Syracuſians* change their form of Government, from Popular to *Ariſtocratical*; a preparation towards a Principality, whereinto it was ſoon after changed. After the death of *Hippocrates*, *Gelon* (deſcended from the *Rhodians*, which together with the *Cretans*, had long before, among other of the *Greeks*, ſeated themſelves in *Sicil*) that had commanded the forces of *Hippocrates*, in the former War, with notable ſucceſs, became Lord of *Gela*. He, after his Maſters death, breaking the truſt committed unto him by *Hippocrates* over his children, and being in poſſeſſion of *Gela*, took the occaſion and advantage of a contention in *Syracuſe*, between the Magiſtrates and the People. For coming with a ſtrong Army to the ſuccour of the Governours, driven out by the multitude, they elected him their Prince, being the firſt, and (indeed) the moſt famous, that ever governed the *Syracuſians*. This change happened in the ſecond year of the threeſcore and twelfth Olympiad; wherein the better to eſtabliſh himſelf, he took to wife the Daughter of *Thero*, who had alſo uſurped the ſtate of *Agrigentum*. *Pauſ. l. 6.*

Now this *Gelon*, the Son of *Dinomenes*, had three Brethren; *Hiero*, *Polyzelus*, and *Thraſybulus:* to the firſt of which he gave up the City of *Gela*, when he had obtained the Principality of *Syracuſe*. For, after that time, all his thoughts travelled in the ſtrengthening, beautifying, and amplifying of *Syracuſe*. He defaced *Camerina*, that a little before was fallen from the obedience of the *Syracuſians* who built it, and brought the Citizens to *Syracuſe*. The *Megarians* that had moved a War againſt him, he overcame; the richer ſort he brought unto *Syracuſe*; and the people he ſold for ſlaves. In like manner dealt he with other places upon the like occaſion. Not long after this, *Thero*, a Prince of the *Agrigentines*, having diſpoſſeſt *Terillus* of his City *Himera*; the *Carthaginians* were drawn into the quarrel by *Anaxilus*, Lord of *Meſſena*, Father-in-law to *Terillus:* and *Gelon* was alſo ſolicited by his Father-in-law, *Thero*. *Gelon* was content, and in fine, after divers conflicts, the *Carthaginians*, and other *Africans*, led by *Amilcar*, were overthrown by *Gelon:* and an hundred and fifty thouſand of them left their bodies in *Sicil*. *Herod. & Dio.*

This *Gelon* it was, to whom the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* ſent for ſuccour, when *Xerxes* with his huge Army paſt the *Helleſpont*. He, for their relief having armed thirty thouſand Souldiers, and two hundred ſhips, refuſed nevertheleſs to ſend them into *Greece*, becauſe they refuſed him the command of one of their Armies, either by Sea, or Land. So he uſed to their Embaſſadours only this Saying, *That their Spring was withered*; accounting the Army, by him prepared, to be the very flower of the *Greek* Nation.

The *Carthaginians*, after this great loſs received, fearing the invaſion of their own Country, ſent to *Gelon* by their Embaſſadours, to deſire peace, who grants it them on theſe conditions: That from thenceforth they ſhould not ſacrifiſe their children to *Saturn*; That they ſhould pay him two thouſand

thousand talents of silver, and present him with two armed ships, in sign of amity. These conditions the *Carthaginians*, not only willingly accepted, but with the two thousand talents, and the ships for war, they sent unto *Demarata*, *Gelons* wife, a Crown, valued at a hundred talents of gold, with other presents. Whereby we see, that some Nations, and some Natures, are much the better for being well beaten. The wars ended, and *Sicil* in peace, *Gelon* beautified the Temples of the gods, and erected others in honour of them. So being exceedingly beloved and honoured of his Subjects, he left the world, and left for his successor his Brother *Hiero*. *Philistus* and *Pliny* report, That when his body was burnt, according to the custom of that Age, a Dog of his, which always waited on him, ran into the fire, and suffered himself to be burnt with him.

To *Gelon*, *Hiero* his Brother succeeded; a man rude, cruel, covetous, and so suspicious of his Brethren *Polyzelus*, and *Thrasybulus*, as he sought by all means to destroy them. Notwithstanding all this, by the conversation which he had with *Simonides*, he became of better condition, and greatly delighted with the study of good Arts. Divers quarrels he had, as well with *Theron* of *Agrigentum*, as with other Cities: all which he shortly after compounded, and gave a notable overthrow to the *Carthaginians*, whom *Xerxes* had incited to invade *Sicil*, fearing the succours which *Gelon* had prepared, to aid the *Grecians* against him. He also overthrew in battel *Thrasydæus*, the Son of *Theron*, and thereby restored the *Agrigentines* to their former liberty. But in the end, he lost the love of the *Syracusians*; and after he had reigned eleven years, he left the Kingdom to his Brother *Thrasybulus*, who became a most unjust and bloody Tyrant. *Thrasybulus* injoyed his Principality no longer than ten months. For, notwithstanding the force of mercenary Souldiers; which he entertained for his guards, he was beaten out of *Syracuse* by the Citizens; to whom, being besieged in *Acradina*, he restored the Government; and was banished the Island. From whence he sailed into *Greece*, where he died a private man, among the *Locrians*.

And now had the *Syracusians* recovered again their former liberty, as all the rest of the Cities did; after which they had never sought, had the Successors of *Gelon* inherited his vertue, as they did the Principality of *Syracuse*. For in all changes of Estates, the preservation ought to answer the acquisition. When a liberal, valiant, and advised Prince, hath obtained any new Signiory, and added it to that of his own, or exalted himself from being a private man to the dignity of a Prince, it behoveth the Successour to maintain it by the same way and art, by which it was gotten.

To conclude, *Syracuse* (though not without blows, ere that she could cleanse her self of the creatures and lovers of *Gelon*) was now again become Mistress of her self, and held her self free, well-near threescore years, to the time of *Dionysius*, though she were in the mean while greatly endangered by a Citizen of her own, called *Tindario*.

Now, to prevent the greatness of any one among them, for the future, they devised a kind of banishment of such among them, as were suspected; taking pattern from the *Athenian Ostracisme*. They called this their new devised judgment of exile, *Petalismus*, wherein every one wrote upon an Olive-leaf (as at *Athens* they wrote upon shells) the name of him, whom he would have expelled the City. He that had most suffrages against him, was banished for five years. Hereby in a short time, it came to pass that those of judgment, and best able to govern the Common-weal, were, by the worst able, either suppresst, or thrust out of the City. Yea, such as feared this Law, though they had not yet felt it, withdrew themselves as secretly as they could, seeking some place of more security, wherein to maintain themselves. And good reason they had so to do; seeing that there is nothing so terrible in any State, as a powerful and authorized ignorance. But this Law lasted not very long. For their necessity taught them to abolish it, and restore again the wiser sort unto the Government; from which, the Nobility having practised to banish one another, the State became altogether Popular. But after a while, being invaded by *Ducetius*, King of the *Sicilians*, that inhabited the inner part of the Island (who had already taken *Enna*, and some other of the *Grecian* Cities, and overthrown the Army of the *Agragentines*) the *Syracusians* sent forces against him, commanded by an unworthy Citizen of theirs, called *Bolcon*. This their Captain made nothing so much haste to find out *Ducetius*, against whom he was imployed, as he did to flee from the Army he led, as soon as *Ducetius* presented him battel. So for want of conduct, the greatest number of the *Syracusians* perished.

But making better choice among those whom they had banished, they levy other troops: by whom, in conclusion, *Ducetius* being beaten, submitteth himself, and is constrained to leave the Island for a time. Yet it was not long ere he returned again, and built the City *Collatina* on the Sea-side.

*Ducetius* being dead; all the *Greek* Cities did in a sort acknowledge *Syracuse*, *Trinacria* excepted; which also by force of Arms, in the fourscore and fifth Olympiad, they brought to reason.

But they do not long enjoy this their Superintendency. For the Citizens of *Leontium*, being oppressed by them, seek aid from the *Athenians*, about the sixth year of the *Peloponnesian* War. In this suit they prevailed by the eloquence of *Gorgias* their Orator; and got an hundred *Athenian* Gallies to succour them, under the leading of *Laches*, and *Charœodes*. To this Fleet, the *Leontines*, and their Partners, added one hundred more; with which forces, and with some supplies brought by *Sophocles*, *Pythodorus*, *Eurymedon*, and other *Athenian* Captains, they invaded the Territories of the *Syracusians*, and their Partisans; wann and lost divers places; took *Messana*; and, in the seventh year of the *Peloponnesian* War, lost it again. They also at the same time attempted *Hymera*, but in vain. The fire of this quarrel took hold upon many Cities, which did invade each others Territory with great violence. But when they had wearied themselves on all hands, and yet could see none issue of the War, the *Leontines*, without the advice of the *Athenians*, came to an accord with the *Syracusians*, and were admitted into their society, with equal freedome. So the *Athenians*, who hoped to have greatned themselves in *Sicil*, by the division and civil War, were disappointed of their expectation, by the good agreement of the *Sicilians*, and fain to be gone with the broken remainder of their Fleet. This they knew not how to amend; but (according to the custom of popular Estates) by taking revenge upon their own Commanders. So they banished *Pythodorus*, and *Sophocles*, and laid an heavy fine upon *Eurymedon*. Shortly after this, followed the most memorable War, that ever was made by the *Greeks* in *Sicil*: which was that of the *Athenians*, against the *Selinuntines* and *Syracusians*, in favour of the Cities of *Egesta*, *Leontium*, and *Catana*. They of *Selinus* had oppressed the *Egestans*; and they of *Syracuse* the *Leontines*, and the *Catanians*: which was the ground of the War. For the *Athenians* undertook the protection of their old friends: and, in hatred of the *Athenians*, aid from *Lacedemon* was sent to the *Syracusians*. The *Lacedæmonians* dealt plainly, having none other end, than that which they pretended, namely, to help a people of their own Tribe, that craved their succour, being in distress. The *Athenians* scarce knew what to pretend: for their preparations were so great, as discovered their intent to be none other, than the Conquest of the whole Island. Yet they which had called them in, were so blinded with their own passions, that they would not believe their own eyes; which presented unto them a Fleet and Army, far greater, than the terrible report of fame had made it.



In this expedition, the City of *Athens* had engaged all her power; as regarding not only the greatness of the enterprise, but the necessity of finishing it in a short space of time. For the *Lacedæmonians* (as hath already been shewed in due place) stood at that time in such broken terms of peace with *Athens*, as differed not much from open War. Wherefore it was thought necessary, either to spare cost in this great Expedition, or altogether to forbear it: which was likely to be hindred by Wars at home, if their proceedings were slack abroad. And surely, had not the desire of the *Athenians* been over-passionate, the arguments of *Nicias* had caused them to abstain from so chargeable a business, and to reserve their forces for a more needful use. But young counsels prevailed against the authority of ancient men, that were more regardful of safety than of honour.

Of this business, mention hath been already made, in that which we have written of the *Peloponnesian* War. But what was there delivered in general terms, as not concerning the affairs of *Greece*, otherwise than by consequence, doth in this place require a more perfect relation, as a matter, wherein the whole State of *Sicil* was like to have felt a great conversion.

Though *Alcibiades* had prevailed against *Nicias*, in exhorting the people to this great voyage; yet *Nicias*, together with *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus*, was appointed to be one of the chief Commanders therein.

These had commission and direction, as well to succour the *Segestans*, and to re-establish the *Leontines*, cast out of their places by the *Syracusians*; as also by force of Arms, to subject the *Syracusians*, and all their adherents in *Sicil*, and compel them by tribute, to acknowledge the *Athenians* for their supreme Lords. To effect which, the forenamed Captains were sent off, with an hundred and thirty Gallies, and five thousand one hundred Souldiers, besides the thirty ships of burden, which transported their victuals,

victuals, engines, and other munitions for the War: and these were *Athenians*, *Mantinæans*, *Rhodians*, and *Candians*: there were, besides these, six thousand *Megarians* light-armed, with thirty horsemen.

With these troups and fleets they arrive at *Rhegium*, where the *Rhegians* refuse to give them entry; but sell them victuals for their money. From thence they sent to the *Egestans*, to know what treasure they would contribute towards the war, seeing for their sakes they had entred thereinto. But they found by their answers, that these *Egestans* were poor, and that they had abused the *Athenian* Embassadours with false shews of gold, having in all but 30 talents. The *Athenians* further were discouraged, when they found that the *Rhegians*, their ancient friends, and allied unto the *Leontines*, refused to trust them within their Walls. Hereupon *Nicias* adviseth to depart towards the *Selinuntines*, and to force them, or perswade them to an agreement with the *Egestans*; as likewise to see what disbursements the *Egestans* could make: and so return again into *Greece*, & not to waste *Athens* in a needless war. *Alcibiades*, on the other side, would solicite the Cities of *Sicil* to confederacy against the *Syracusians* and *Selinuntines*, whereby to force them unto restitution of all that they had taken from the *Leontines*. *Lamachus*, he perswades them to assail *Syracuse* it self, before it were prepared against them. But in the end (being excluded out of divers Cities) they surprise *Catana*: and there they take new counsel how to proceed. Thence they imployed *Nicias* to those of *Egesta*, who received from them thirty talents towards his charges; and one hundred and twenty talents more there were of the spoils they had gotten in the Island. Thus the Summer being spent in idle consultations, and vain attempts, the *Athenians* prepare to assail *Syracuse*. But *Alcibiades* having been accused at home, in his absence, was sent for back by the *Athenians* to make his answer: and the Army was left to the conduct of *Nicias* and *Lamachus*. These Commanders obtain a landing place very near unto *Syracuse*, by this device.

*Thucid. l. 6. c. 9.*

They imploy to *Syracuse* an inhabitant of *Catana*, whom they trust; and instruct him, to promise unto the *Syracusians*, that he would deliver into their hands all the *Athenians* within *Catana*. Hereupon the *Syracusians* draw thitherward with their best forces. But in the mean while, the *Athenians*, setting sail from *Catana*, arrive at *Syracuse*, where they land at fair ease, and fortifie themselves against the Town. Shortly after this, they fight, and the *Syracusians* had the loss: but the *Athenians*, wanting horse, could not pursue their victory to any great effect. They then retire themselves, with a resolution to refresh their Army at *Catana*, for the winter-season. From thence they made an attempt upon *Messana*, hoping to have taken it by an intelligence, but in vain. For *Alcibiades* had discovered such as were Traitors within the City to the *Messanians*. This he now did, in despight of his own Citizens, the *Athenians*; because they had recalled him from his command, with a purpose either to have put him to death, or to have banished him: whereof being assured by his friends, he took his way towards the *Lacedæmonians*, and to them he gave mischievous counsel against his Country. While this winter yet lasted, the *Syracusians* send Embassadors to *Lacedæmon*, and *Corinth*, for aid: as likewise the *Athenian* Captains in *Sicil*, send to *Athens* for supplies. Which both the one and the other obtained.

In the Spring following (which was the beginning of the eighteenth year of the *Peloponnesian* war) the *Athenians* in *Sicil* sail from the Port of *Catana* to *Megara*, forsaken of the Inhabitants; from whence, forraging the Country, they obtain some small victories over the straggling *Syracusians*: and at their return to *Catana*, they receive a supply of two hundred men at arms, but without horse, which they hoped to furnish in the Island from the *Segestans*, and other their adherents: they were also strengthned with a company of Archers, and with three hundred talents in mony.

Hereupon they take courage, and incamp near *Syracuse*, upon the banks of the great Port, repelling the *Syracusians*, that sallyed to impeach their intrenchments. They also received from their Confederates four hundred horse-men, with two hundred other horse, to mount their men at arms. *Syracuse* was now in effect blockt up, so as hardly any succours could enter, but such as were able to force their passage: yet the *Athenians* receive divers losses; among which it was not the least, that *Lamachus*, one of their best Commanders, was slain.

In the mean while, *Gylippus* and *Python*, with the *Lacedæmonian* & *Corinthian* forces, arrive, and take land at *Hymera*. The Citizens of *Hymera*, and of *Gela*, together with the *Selinuntines*, joyn with them; so that with these and his own troups, *Gylippus* adventured to march over-land toward *Syracuse*. The *Syracusians* send a part of their forces to meet him and conduct him. The *Athenians* prepare to encounter them, expecting his arrival



arrival near unto the City upon a place of advantage. At the first encounter they had the better of their enemies, by reason that the *Syracusian* horse-men could not come to fight in those straights: but soon after, *Gylippus* charging them again, brake them, and constrained *Nicias* to fortifie himself within his Camp. Whereupon *Nicias* made the state of his affairs known, by his letters to the *Athenians*; shewing, that without great supplies by Sea and Land, the enterprise would be lost, together with the small Army remaining. These letters received, the *Athenians* appoint two other Generals, *Eurymedon* and *Demosthenes*, to joyn with *Nicias*: the one they dispatch presently with some supplies; the other they send after him in the Spring following.

In the mean while, *Gylippus* at *Syracuse*, fights with the *Athenians* both by Sea and Land, sometimes with ill, and at other times with good success: but in conclusion, he took from their Fort, near unto *Syracuse*, the Promontory called *Plymmyrium*; wherein the *Athenians* lost their treasure, and a great part of all their provisions. Notwithstanding which loss, and that the *Athenians* themselves, in *Greece*, were (in effect) besieged within *Athens*, by the *Lacædemonians*; yet were they most obstinate in prosecuting the War in *Sicil*, and dispatched away *Demosthenes* with new succours. *Demosthenes*, in his way towards *Sicil*, encountred with *Polyanthes* the *Corinthian*, with his fleet: both the Captains being bound for *Sicil*, the one to succour *Nicias*, the other *Gylippus*. The loss between them was in effect equal; and neither so broken, but that each of them prosecuted the enterprise they had in hand. But before the succours arrived to either, *Gylippus* and *Ariston* had assailed the *Athenians* in the great Port of *Syracuse*, and in a Sea fight put them to the worst, to the great discouragement of the *Athenians*. On the neck of this, *Demosthenes* arrived with threescore and thirteen Gallies, charged with footmen; and (blaming the sloath of *Nicias*) he invaded the *Syracusians* the same day that he arrived. But he made more haste then he had good speed, being shamefully beaten, and repulsed with great loss. Hereupon *Demosthenes* and *Eurymedon* determine to rise up from before *Syracuse*, and return to the succour of *Athens*: but *Nicias* disputed to the contrary, pretending that he had good intelligence within *Syracuse*, whereby he learned, that the Town could not long hold out.

Whatsoever *Nicias* his intelligence was; upon the arrival of a new supply into the Town, the *Athenians* had all consented to depart, and to lodge at *Catana*: had not an Eclipse of the Moon, boding (as was thought) ill success caused them to deferr their departure. But this superstition cost them dear. For the *Syracusians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and *Corinthians*, with threescore and seventeen sail of Gallies, entred the great Port of *Syracuse*, wherein the *Athenians* kept their fleet, and whereon they had fortified themselves. The *Athenians* in the same Port encountred them with fourscore and six Gallies, commanded by *Eurymedon*: in which the *Athenian* fleet was beaten, by the lesser number, and *Eurymedon* slain. Now, though it were so, that the *Syracusians* received the more loss by land (for the fight was general) yet when the *Athenians* were beaten by sea, in which kind they thought themselves invincible, they were wonderfully cast down. For it was well said of *Gylippus*, to the *Syracusians*; *When any people do find themselves vanquished in that manner of fight, and with those weapons, in which they perswade themselves that they exceed all others, they not only lose their reputation, but their courage.* The *Athenians*, besides the Gallies sunk and wrackt, had seventeen taken, and possest by the enemy: and with great labour and loss they defended the rest from being fired, having drawn them within a *Palisado*, in one corner of the port, unadvisedly: for it is as contrary to a Sea-war, to thrust ships into a straight room and corner, as it is to scatter foot in a plain field against horse; the one subsisting by being at large, the other by close imbattailing.

The *Syracusians*, having now weakned the *Athenian* fleet, resolve to imprison them within the Port. And to that purpose they range all their Gallies in the mouth of the Haven, being about a mile over, and there they came to *Anchor*; filling the out-let with all manner of Vessels; which they man most strongly, because the *Athenians*, being now made desperate, should not with double ranks of Gallies break through the *Syracusian* fleet; which lay but single, because they were forc't to range themselves over all the Out-let of the Port. They therefore, not only mored themselves strongly by their *Anchors*, but chained the sides of their Gallies together, and laid behind them again certain ships, which served in the former war for victuallers: to the end, that if any of their Gallies were sunk; or the chain, which joyned them to their fellows, broken; the *Athenians* might yet find themselves a second time, intangled and arrested. To disorder also those *Athenian* Gallies, which came

on in form of a wedge, to break through, and force a paſſage, the *Syracuſians* had left within theſe Gallies and Ships, inchained together, a certain number of looſe ones, to ſtop their courſe and fury. For where the way of any veſſel, uſing oar or ſails, is broken, and their ſpeed foreſtowed, they cannot force with any weight and violence, the reſiſtance oppoſing.

On the other ſide, the *Athenians* knew that they were utterly loſt, except with an invincible reſolution they could make their way, and break down this great bridge of boats; or (at leaſt) force a paſſage through them in ſome part or other: which they reſolve to hazard, with all their ſhipping (to the number of one hundred and ten of all ſorts) and with all the ſtrength of their Land-army, in them imbarqued. But the Gallies, which were within the bridge of boats, did ſo diſorder the *Athenian* fleet, ere they came to force the bridge, as albeit ſome few of them had broken through the chains, yet being ſtopt with the ſhips without, and aſſailed by other looſe Gallies of the *Syracuſians*, which were purpoſely left at large in the ſea, they were either taken or ſunk. Three great diſadvantages the *Athenians* had: the firſt, that fighting within a Haven, and (as it were) in a ſtraight, they had no room to turn themſelves, nor to free themſelves one from another, being intangled; the ſecond, that having overpeſtered their Gallies with Souldiers, who uſed offenſive arms of darts and ſlings, they had not place upon the decks to ſtretch their arms; the third was, the diſcomfortable end for which they fought, namely, to force a paſſage, by which they might ſave themſelves by runing away. To be ſhort, the fight was no leſs terrible than the confuſion: the ſlaughter great on all ſides; and the noiſe, and the cryes, ſo lowd and lamentable, as that no direction could be heard. But in the end, the *Athenians*, as many as ſurvived, were beaten back to the Land, with loſs of three-ſcore of their Gallies, broken, ſunk, or abandoned. The *Syracuſians* did alſo loſe twenty of theirs, with *Python*, Commander of the *Corinthians*. The reſt of the *Athenian* Gallies, running themſelves into the bottom of the Port, ſaved themſelves by the help and countenance of the Land-army there fortified. In this deſperate eſtate, the *Athenian* Commanders go to counſel. *Demoſthenes* perſwades them to furniſh with freſh Souldiers thoſe few Gallies which remained; and while the *Syracuſians* were triumphing, and made ſecure by their preſent victory, to ſet upon them, and forcing their way out of the Port, to return to *Athens*. This was no ill counſel. For, as we have heard of many great Captains (yea, the greateſt number of all that have been victorious) that have neglected the ſpeedy proſecution of a beaten enemy; ſo might we produce many examples of thoſe, who, having ſlept ſecurely in the boſome of good ſucceſs, have been ſuddenly awaked, by the re-allied Companies of a broken Army, and have thereby loſt again all the honour and advantage formerly gotten. But *Nicias* oppoſeth the advice of *Demoſthenes*: Others ſay, that the Seamen were againſt it. Whereupon abandoning their Gallies, they all reſolve to march over land to the Cities of their Confederates, till ſome more favourable fortune ſhould call them thence. On the other ſide, *Gylippus*, and other the *Lacedæmonian* and *Corinthian* Captains, with *Hermocrates*, exhort the *Syracuſians* to put themſelves preſently into the field, and to ſtop all the paſſages, leading to thoſe Cities of their enemies, to which the *Athenians* might make retrait. But many were weary, and many were wounded, and many of them thought that they had done enough for the preſent. Which humour in ſome of our Commanders at *Cadez*, loſt us both the *Indian* fleet, and the ſpoils of many other neighbour places. *Hermocrates*, the *Syracuſian*, finding it a loſt labour, to perſwade his Countrimen to any haſty proſecution, deviſed this good ſtratagem, whereby to gain time; not doubting, but that after a day or two, he ſhould draw them willingly out. He ſent two or three horſe-men out of *Syracuſe* by night, willing them to find *Nicias*, and (after they had aſſured him, that they were of the *Athenians* faction) to give him advice not to march away over-haſtily from the place, wherein he was fortified; alledging that the *Syracuſians* had lodged their Army, which could not long ſtay there, upon the paſſages and places of advantage, leading towards the Cities of their Allies. Theſe tidings *Nicias* eaſily believed, and put off his journey to the third day. For men newly beaten, are (for the moſt part) more fearful than wiſe; and to them, every thiſtle in the field appears, by night, a man at arms.

The third day (leaving all their Gallies, and all their baggage) they remove; being pierced and purſued with the lamentable out-cries of thoſe that were ſick and hurt: whom they abandon to the cure of their enemies ſwords. The reſt march away, to the number of forty thouſand; and make their firſt paſſage by force, over the River of *Anapus*, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of their enemies.



mies. But being every day charged in their marches, and by the *Syracuſian* horſe-men, beaten in from forraging and proviſion of food, they grow weak and heartleſs. The *Syracuſians* alſo poſſeſs the Mountain *Lepas*, by which they were to paſs towards *Camerina*, and thereby force them to fall back again towards the Sea-coaſt, and to take what way they could: being unable to proceed in their journey intended. Many hard ſhifts they made, in difficult paſſages, and blind marches by night; which they were fain to endure, as having none other means to eſcape from the enemy that purſued them, and held them waking with continual skirmiſhing. To keep all in order, *Nicias* undertook the leading of the Vaunt-guard; and *Demoſthenes* conducted the Rear. At the River *Erineus*, *Nicias* takes the ſtart of a whole nights march; leaving *Demoſthenes* to make the retreat: who being incompaſſed, and overpreſt with numbers, in the end renders himſelf. The conditions he obtained, were farr better than he could have hoped for; and the faith of his enemies farr worſe than he ſuſpected. For he was afterward, with *Nicias* murdered in priſon. The Army of *Demoſthenes* being diſſolved, they purſued *Nicias* with the greater courage: who being utterly broken upon the paſſage of the River *Aſſinarus*, rendred himſelf to *Gylippus*, upon honeſt conditions. *Gylippus* ſought to preſerve him, and to have had the honour to have brought theſe two to *Sparta*; *Nicias*, as a noble Enemy to the *Lacedæmonians*, and who, at the overthrow which they received at *Pylus* by the *Athenians*, had ſaved the lives of the vanquiſhed; *Demoſthenes*, as one that had done to *Lacedæmon* the greateſt hurt. *Hermocrates* alſo, the Commander of the *Syracuſian* Army diſſwaded the reſt, by all the art he had, from uſing any barbarous violence, after ſo noble a victory. But the cruell and cowardly ſort, (cowardiſe and cruelty being inſeparable paſſions) prevailed, and cauſed theſe brave Captains to be miſerably murdered; one part of their Souldiers to be ſtarved in loathſome priſons; and the reſt, ſold for ſlaves. This was the ſucceſs of the *Sicilian* war: which took end at the River *Aſſinarus*, the four and twentieth day of *May*, in the fourſcore and eleventh Olympiad.

The *Athenians* being beaten out of *Sicil*; the *Egeſtans* (for whoſe defence againſt the *Selinuntines*, this late war had been taken in hand) fearing the victorious *Syracuſians*, ſought help from the *Carthaginians*; to whom they offered themſelves, and their City, as their vaſſals. The *Carthaginians*, though ambitious enough of enlarging their Dominion in *Sicil*, yet conſidering the proſperity of the *Syracuſians*, and their late victories over the *Athenians*, they ſtayed a while to diſpute of the matter, whether they ſhould refuſe or accept the offer made unto them: for the *Selinuntines* were ſtraightly allied to the *Syracuſians*, as may appear by what is paſt. In the end the *Senators* of *Carthage* reſolve upon the enterpriſe; and (by a trick of their *Punick* wit) to ſeparate the *Syracuſians* from the *Selinuntines*, they ſend Embaſſadors to *Syracuſe*: praying that City, as in the behalf of the *Egeſtans*, to compell the *Selinuntines* to take reaſon, and to reſt content with ſo much of the lands in queſtion, as they of *Syracuſe* ſhould think meet to allow them. The *Syracuſians* approved the motion; for it tended to their own honour. But the *Selinuntines* would make no ſuch appointment: rather they took it ill, that the *Syracuſians*, with whom they had run one courſe of fortune, in the *Athenian* war, ſhould offer to trouble them, by interpoſing as Arbitrators, in a buſineſs that themſelves could end by force. This was right as the *Carthaginians* would have it. For now could they of *Selinus* with an ill grace crave aid of *Syracuſe*; and the *Syracuſians* as ill grant it unto thoſe, that had refuſed to ſtand to the Arbitrament, which the *Carthaginians* would have put into their hands. Hereupon, an Army of three hundred thouſand men is ſet out from *Carthage*, under the conduct of *Hannibal*, Nephew to that *Amilcar*, who (as you have heard before) was overthrown with the great *Carthaginian* Army at *Himera* by *Gelon*. *Hannibal* was exceeding greedy of this imployment, that he might take revenge as well of his Uncles, as of his Fathers death; the one of them having been ſlain by the *Himerans*, the other by thoſe of *Selinus*. Both the Cities, *Hannibal*, in this war, won by force of arms, ſackt them, and burnt them; and having taken three thouſand of the *Himerans* priſoners, he cauſed them to be led unto the place, where *Amilcar* was ſlain, and buried them there.

After this followed ſome trouble at *Syracuſe*, occaſioned by the baniſhment of *Hermocrates*, who had lately been General of the *Syracuſian* forces, againſt the *Athenians*. The malice of his enemies had ſo far prevailed with the ingrateful multitude, that he was condemned to exile for his meer vertue, at ſuch time as he was aiding the *Lacedæmonians*, in their war againſt *Athens*; wherein he did great ſervice. All the honeſter ſort within *Syracuſe* were ſorry for their injury

injury done unto him, and ſought to have him repealed. *Hermocrates* himſelf, returning into *Sicil*, gathered an Army of ſix thouſand; with which he began to repair *Selinus*; and by many noble actions laboured to win the love of his Citizens. But the faction that oppoſed him was the ſtronger. Wherefore he was adviſed to ſeize upon a Gate of *Syracuſe*, with ſome ſtrength of men; whereby his friends within the Town, might have the better means to riſe againſt the adverſe party. This he did: but preſently the multitude fell to arms, and ſet upon him; in which conflict he was ſlain. But his Son-in-law, *Dionyſius*, ſhall make them wiſh *Hermocrates* alive again.

## †. IV.

*Of* Dionyſius *the Tyrant: and others, following him, in* Syracuſe.

THe *Syracuſians* had enjoyed their liberty about threeſcore years, from the death of *Thraſybulus*, to the death of *Hermocrates*: at which time *Dionyſius* was raiſed up by God, to take revenge, as well of their cruelty toward ſtrangers, as of their ingratitude towards their own beſt Citizens. For before the time of *Dionyſius*, they had made it their paſtime, to reward the vertue of their worthieſt Commanders with death, or diſgrace: which cuſtome they muſt now be taught to amend.

*Dionyſius* obtained the principality of *Syracuſe*, by the ſame degrees, that many others, before him, had made themſelves maſters of other Cities, and of *Syracuſe* it ſelf. For, being made *Prætor*, and commanding their Armies againſt the *Carthaginians*, and other their enemies, he behaved himſelf ſo well, that he got a general love among the people, and men of war. Then began he to follow the example of *Piſiſtratus*, that made himſelf Lord of *Athens*; obtaining a band of ſix hundred men, to defend his perſon: under pretence, that his private enemies, being traiterouſly affected to the State of *Syracuſe*, had laid plots how to murder him, becauſe of his good ſervices. He doubled the pay of his Souldiers; alledging, that it would incourage them to fight manfully: but intending thereby to aſſure them to himſelf. He perſwaded the Citizens, to call home, out of exile, thoſe that had been baniſhed, which were the beſt men of *Syracuſe*; and theſe were afterwards at his devotion, as obliged unto him by ſo great a benefit. His firſt favour, among the *Syracuſians*, grew from his accuſation of the principal men. It is the delight of baſe people to reign over their betters: wherefore, gladly did he help them to break down, as letters impriſoning their liberty, the bars that held it under ſafe cuſtody. Long it was not, ere the chief Citizens had found whereat he aimed. But what they ſaw, the people would not ſee: and ſome that were needy, and knew not how to get Offices without his help, were willing to help him, though they knew his purpoſes to be ſuch, as would make all the City to ſmart. He began early to hunt after the tyranny; being but five and twenty years of age when he obtained it: belike it was his deſire to reign long. His firſt work, of making himſelf abſolute Lord in *Syracuſe*, was, the poſſeſſion of the Citadel, wherein was much good proviſion, and under it the Gallies were mored. This he obtained by allowance of the people, and having obtained this, he cared for no more, but declared himſelf without all ſhame or fear. The Army; the chief Citizens reſtored by him from baniſhment; all the needy ſort within *Syracuſe*, that could not thrive by honeſt courſes; and ſome neighbour-towns, bound unto him, either for his help in war, or for eſtabliſhing the faction, reigning at that preſent; were wholly affected to his aſſiſtance. Having therefore gotten the Cittadel into his hands, he needed no more, ſave to aſſure what he had already. He ſtrengthened himſelf by divers marriages; taking firſt to wife the daughter of *Hermocrates*; and after her, two at once; the one a *Locrian*, *Doris*, by whom he had *Dionyſius*, his Succeſſor; the other, *Ariſtomache*, the daughter of *Hipparinus*, and ſiſter to *Dion*, honourable men in *Syracuſe*; which bare unto him many children, that ſerved to fortifie him with new alliances.

Yet it was not long, ere ſome of the *Syracuſians* (envying his proſperity) incited the multitude, and took arms againſt him, even in the novelty of his Rule. But their enterpriſe was more paſſionately, than wiſely governed. He had ſhamefully been beaten by the *Carthaginians* at *Gela*: which, as it vexed the *Sicilian* men at arms, making them ſuſpect that it was his purpoſe to let the *Carthaginians* waſte all that he might afterwards take poſſeſſion of the deſolate places; ſo it inflamed them with a deſire to free themſelves from his tyranny. They departed therefore from him, and marched haſtily to *Syracuſe*, where they found friends to help them: there they forced his Palace, ranſacked his treaſures, and ſo ſhamefully abuſed his wife, that for the greif thereof ſhe poiſoned



poiſoned her ſelf. But he followed their heels apace; and firing a Gate of the City by night, entred ſoon enough to take revenge, by making a ſpeedy riddance of them. For he ſpared none of his known, no nor of his ſuſpected enemies. After that, he grew ſo doubtful of his life, as he never durſt truſt Barber to trim him, nor any perſon, no not ſo much as his brother, to enter into his chamber, unſtript and ſearched. He was the greateſt Robber of the people that ever reigned in any State, and withal the moſt unreſpectively cruell.

After this, he ſeparated with fortification that part of the City, called the Iſland, from the reſt; like as the Spaniard did the Citadel of *Antwerp*: therein he lodged his Treaſures, and his Guards.

He then began to make war upon the free Cities of *Sicil*: but while he lay before *Herbeſſe*, an in-land Town, the *Syracuſians* rebelled againſt him; ſo, as with great difficulty he recovered his Citadel: from whence, having allured the old Souldiers of the Campanians, who forced their paſſage through the City, with one thouſand and two hundred horſe, he again recovered the maſtery over the *Syracuſians*. And when a multitude of them were buſied in gathering in their harveſt, he diſarmed all the Townsmen remaining, and new ſtrengthened the Fort of the Iſland, with a double wall. He incloſed that part alſo, called *Epipoles*; which, with threeſcore thouſand labourers, he finiſhed within three weeks, being two leagues in compaſs. He then built two hundred new Gallies; and repaired one hundred and ten of the old; forged one hundred and forty thouſand Targets, with as many ſwords, and head-pieces, with fourteen thouſand corſlets, and all other ſutable arms. Which done, he ſent word to the *Carthaginians* (greatly infeebled by the plague) That except they would abandon the *Greek* Towns, which they held in *Sicil*, he would make war upon them: and, not ſtaying for anſwer, he took the ſpoil of all the *Phœnician* ſhips, and merchandize, within his Ports; as King *Philip* the ſecond did of our *Engliſh*, before the war in our late Queens time. He then goes to the field with fourſcore thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, and ſends his brother *Leptines* to ſea, with two hundred Gallies, and five hundred ſhips of burden. Moſt of the Towns which held for *Carthage* yielded unto him; ſaving *Panormus*, *Segeſta* or *Egeſta*, *Ancyræ*, *Motya*, and *Entella*. Of theſe, he firſt wan *Motya* by aſſault, and put all therein to the ſword; but before *Egeſta* he loſt a great part of his Army, by a ſally of the Citizens. In the mean while *Himilco* arrives; but, ere he took land, he loſt in a fight at Sea, with *Leptines*, fifty ſhips of war, and five thouſand Souldiers, beſides many ſhips of burden. This notwithſtanding, he recovered again *Motya* upon his firſt deſcent. From thence marching towards *Meſſana*, he took *Lypara*, and (ſoon after) *Meſſana*, and razed it to the ground. Now began *Dionyſius* greatly to doubt his eſtate. He therefore fortified all the places he could, in the Territory of the *Leontines*, by which he ſuppoſed that *Himilco* would paſs toward *Syracuſe*; and he himſelf took the field again, with four and thirty thouſand foot; and one thouſand horſe. Now, hearing that *Himilco* had divided his Army into two parts, marching with the one half over-land, and ſending *Mago* with the other by Sea: he ſent *Leptines*, his brother to encounter *Mago*. But *Leptines* was utterly beaten by the *Carthaginians*; twenty thouſand of his men were ſlain, and an hundred of his Gallies loſt. It is very ſtrange, and hardly credible, which yet good Authors tell us; That one City ſhould be able to furniſh five hundred ſail of ſhips, and two hundred Gallies: (for, ſo many did *Syracuſe* arm in this war) and more ſtrange it is, that in a battail at Sea, without any great Artillery, or Muſket-ſhot, twenty thouſand ſhould be ſlain in one fight. In all our fights againſt the *Turks*, of which that at *Lepanto* was the moſt notable, we hear of no ſuch number loſt; nor in any other fight by Sea, that ever happened in our age, nor before us. When *Charles* the fift went to beſiege *Algier*, he had in all his fleet, tranſporters and others, but two hundred and fifty ſail of ſhips, and threeſcore and five Gallies: for the furniſhing of which fleet, he ſought help from all the Cities and Ports of *Spain*, *Naples*, and the reſt of *Italy*. But in old times it was the manner to carry into the field, upon extremity, as many as were needfull, of all that could bear arms, giving them little wages, or other allowance: in our dayes it is not ſo; neither indeed, it is often requiſite. Upon this overthrow, *Dionyſius* poſts away to *Syracuſe*, to ſtrengthen it: *Himilco* follows him, and beſiegeth the Town by Land and Sea. But the Tyrant, having received aid from the *Lacedæmonians*, under the conduct of *Pharacidas*, puts himſelf to Sea, to make proviſion for his Citizens, who, in his abſence, take twenty of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, and ſink four. Hereupon, finding their own ſucceſs proſperous,

ſperous, and that of the Tyrant exceeding ill, having alſo at the preſent weapons in their hands, they conſult how to recover their liberty. And this they had done, had not *Pharicidas* the *Lacedæmonian* reſiſted them. It alſo fell out to his exceeding advantage, that the plague was ſo increaſed, and ſo violent among the *Carthaginians*, as it is ſaid, that above an hundred thouſand of them died thereof. He therefore, with the power that he could gather together, ſets upon them both by Sea and Land; and having ſlain great numbers of them, forceth *Himilco* to deſire peace. This peace *Dionyſius* ſold him for a great ſumm of money; on condition, that he ſhould ſteal away with his *Carthaginians* only: which he baſely accepted, betraying the reſt of the *Africans* and *Spaniards*. Yet no faith was kept with him: for he was purſued, and left many of his *Carthaginians* behind him. The reſt of the *Africans* fell under the ſwords of their enemies; only the *Spaniards*, after they had a while bravely defended themſelves, were (after their ſubmiſſion) entertained, and ſerved the Conquerour.

Many ſuch examples of perfidious dealing having I noted in other places, and can hardly forbear to deliver unto memory the like practices, when they meet with their matches: That which hapned unto *Monſieur de Piles*, was very ſutable to this treachery, wherewith *Dionyſius* purſued *Himilco*. I was preſent when *De Piles* related the injury done unto him. He had rendred S. *John d'Angelie* to the *French* King *Charles* IX. who beſieged him therein. He rendred it, upon promiſe made by the faith of a King, that he ſhould be ſuffered to depart in ſafety, with all his followers. Yet in preſence of the King himſelf, of the Duke of *Anjou* his Brother, General of his Army, of the Queen Mother, and of divers Dukes and Marſhals of *France*, he was ſet upon and broken in his March; ſpoiled of all that he had, and forced to ſave his life by flight; leaving the moſt of his Souldiers dead upon the place; the Kings hand and faith warranting him to march away with enſigns diſplaid and withall his goods and proviſions, no whit availing him. It needs not therefore ſeem ſtrange, that an Heathen Tyrant ſhould thus break his faith, ſince Kings, profeſſing Chriſtianity, are bold to do the like, or command their Captains to do it for them.

*Dionyſius* after this great victory, took care to re-edifie *Meſſena*. *Mago*, who ſtayed in *Sicil*, to hold up the *Carthaginians* therein, is again beaten by *Dionyſius*; who is alſo beaten by the *Tauromenians*. A new ſupply of fourſcore thouſand Souldiers is ſent from *Carthage* to *Mago*, but theſe take eggs for their money, and make peace with *Dionyſius*, leaving the *Sicilians* in *Tauromenium*, to ſhift for themſelves: whom *Dionyſius*, after a long ſiege, overcame, and gave their City to his mercenary Souldiers.

He then paſt into *Italy*, obtained divers victories there, brought the *Rhegians* on their knees, forced them to pay him one hundred and fourſcore thouſand crowns, to furniſh him with threeſcore Gallies, and put in an hundred pledges, for aſſurance of their future obſervance of covenants. This he did, not with any purpoſe to perform unto them the peace that they had ſo dearly bought; but that having taken from them their Galleys, he might beſiege them, and ruine them utterly, with the more eaſe. Now to the end he might not, without ſome colour, falſifie the faith that he had given to them; he pretended to want victual for his Army, at ſuch time as he ſeemed ready to depart out of *Italy*, and ſent to them to furniſh him therewith, promiſing to return them the like quantity at his coming home to *Syracuſe*.

His reſolution was, that if they refuſed to furniſh him, he would then make their refuſal the cauſe of his quarrel: if they yielded to aid him with the proportion which he deſired, that then they ſhould not be able, for want of food, to endure a ſiege any long time againſt him. For, to ruine them he had fully determined, at what price ſoever. And great reaſon he had to take revenge of them, if he had done it fairly, and without breach of faith. For when in the beginning of his reign, he deſired them to beſtow a daughter of ſome of their Nobility upon him for a wife; they anſwered, that they had not any one fit for him, ſave the Hangmans daughter. Princes do rather pardon ill deeds, than villanous words. *Alexander* the great forgave many ſharp ſwords, but never any ſharp tongues; no, though they told him but truly of his errors. And certainly, it belongs to thoſe that have warrant from God, to reprehend Princes; and to none elſe, eſpecially in publick.

It is ſaid, that *Henry* the fourth of *France*, had his heart more inflamed againſt the Duke of *Biron*, for his over-bold and biting taunts, that he uſed againſt him before *Amiens*, than for his conſpiracy with the *Spaniard* or *Savoyan*: for he had pardoned 10000. of ſuch as had gone farther, & drawn their ſwords againſt him. The contemptuous



tuous words that Sir *John Parret* uſed of our late Queen *Elizabeth*, were his ruine; and not the counterfeit letter of the *Romiſh* Prieſt produced againſt him. So fared it with ſome other, greater than he, that thereby ran the ſame, and a worſe fortune, ſoon after.

To be ſhort, he made them know new bread from old. He aſſaulted their Town on all ſides, which he continued to do eleven moneths, till he won it by force. He uſed his victory without mercy, ſpecially againſt *Phyton*, who had commanded within it.

Some other wars he made with the *Carthaginians*, after the taking and razing of this City; and thoſe with variable ſucceſs. For, as in one encounter he ſlue *Mago*, with ten thouſand *Africans*: ſo the ſon of *Mago* beat him, and ſlew his brother *Leptines*, with fourteen thouſand of his Souldiers. After which he bought his peace of the *Carthaginians*, as they had formerly done of him; following therein the advice of Proſperity and Adverſity, as all Kings and States do.

When he had reigned eight and thirty years, he died: ſome ſay in his bed, peaceably, which is the moſt likely, though others report it otherwiſe. A cruel man he was, and a faithleſs; a great Poet, but a fooliſh one. He entertained *Plato* a while, but afterward, for ſpeaking againſt his tyranny, he gave order to have him ſlain, or ſold for a ſlave. For he could endure no man that flattered him not beyond meaſure. His Paraſites therefore ſtiled his cruelty, *The hate of evil men*; and his lawleſs ſlaughters, *The ornaments and effects of his juſtice*. True it is, that flatterers are a kind of vermine, which poyſon all the Princes of the World; and yet they proſper better than the worthieſt and valianteſt men do: and I wonder not at it, for it is a world: and as our *Saviour Chriſt* hath told us, *The World will love her own*.

To this *Dionyſius* his ſon of the ſame name ſucceeded, and inherited both his Kingdom and his Vices. To win the love of the People, he pardoned, and releaſed out of priſon, a great number of perſons, by his Father lockt up and condemned. Withall, he remitted unto his Citizens divers payments, by his Father impoſed upon them. Which done, and thereby hoping that he had faſtned unto himſelf the peoples affections; he caſt off the ſheeps skin, and put on that of the wolf. For being jealous of his own Brethren, as men of more vertue than himſelf, he cauſed them all to be ſlain; and all the kindred that they had by their Mothers ſide. For *Dionyſius* his Father (as hath been ſaid) had two Wives; *Doris* of *Locris*, and *Ariſtomache* a *Syracuſian*, the ſiſter of *Dion*, which Brother-in-law of his he greatly enriched.

By *Doris* he had this *Dionyſius*, who ſucceeded unto him: and by *Ariſtomache* he had two Sons and two Daughters of which the elder, called *Sophroſyne*, he gave in marriage to his eldeſt ſon, and her half-brother *Dionyſius*; the younger, called *Areta*, he beſtowed on his Brother *Theorides*: after whoſe death *Dion* took her to wife, being his Neece.

This *Dion* a juſt and valiant man, finding that *Dionyſius* had abandoned all exerciſe of vertue, and that he was wholly given over to ſenſuality, prevailed ſo much with *Plato*, whoſe Diſciple he had been, as he drew him into *Sicil*, to inſtruct the young King. And having perſwaded the King to entertain him, he wrought ſo well with him, as *Dionyſius* began to change condition; to change Tyranny into Monarchy; and to hold the Principality that he had, rather by the love of his People, and his National Laws, than by the violence of his Guards and Garriſons. But this goodneſs of his laſted not long. For *Philiſtus* the Hiſtorian, and other his Paraſites, that hated *Dions* ſeverity, wrought him out of the Tyrants favour, and cauſed him ſoon after to be baniſhed out of *Sicil*, to the great grief of the whole Nation. For whereas *Dion* had made offer to the King, either to compound the quarrels between him and the *Carthaginians*, of whom *Dionyſius* ſtood in great fear; or (at leaſt) if they refuſed it, to furniſh him with fifty Gallies at his own charge, during the war againſt them: his enemies found means, by ſiniſter interpretation, to convert his good will into matter of Treaſon. They told *Dionyſius*, that all the great commendations, given of *Plato*, had tended to none other end, than to ſoften his mind, and to make him neglect his own affairs, by the ſtudy of Philoſophy; whileſt *Dion* in the mean time having furniſhed fifty Gallies under colour of the Kings ſervice, had it in his own power either to deliver to the *Syracuſians* their former liberty, or to make himſelf Lord and Soveraign of their State.

It is likely, that the honeſt and liberal offer which he made, to ſerve the King with ſo great a preparation, at his own charge, begot him many enemies. For they that had ſerved the King for none other end than to raiſe and enrich themſelves, and had already been raiſed & enriched, thought themſelves bound to make the ſame offer that *Dion* had made, if the King had had the grace

to conceive it aright. But the covetous and ignorant cowards, that had neither the knowledge, nor the daring that *Dion* had, were bold to ſtile his Love and Liberality, Pride and Preſumption; and heartned the young King in his oppreſſing, and eating up his own people, of whoſe ſpoils they themſelves ſhared no ſmall portion. I have heard it, That when *Charls* the fifth had the repulſe at *Algier*, in *Africa*, *Ferdinando Corteſe*, one of the braveſt men that ever *Spain* brought forth, offered unto the Emperour, to continue the ſiege at his own charge. But he had never good day after it. For they that envied his victories, and his conqueſt of *Mexico* in the *Weſt-Indies*, perſwaded the Emperour, that *Corteſe* ſought to value himſelf above him; and to have it ſaid, that what the Emperour could not, *Corteſe* had effected, and was therefore more worthy of the Empire, than he that had it.

When *Dion* was newly baniſhed, the Tyrant was contented at firſt to ſend him the revenues of his Lands, and permit him to diſpoſe of his moveables at his own pleaſure: not without giving hope to recall him in ſhort time. Had he continued in this good mood, like enough it is, that *Dion* would have been well pleaſed to live well, as he did, at *Athens*. But after ſome time, *Dionyſius* made Port-ſale of this Noble-mans goods, and thereby urged him to take another courſe, even to ſeek the reſtitution of his Country to liberty. The vertues of *Dion*, eſpecially his great Liberality, had purchaſed much Love in *Greece*. This Love made him ſuſpected and hated of the Tyrant: but it ſtood him in good ſtead, when he ſought to raiſe men, with whoſe help he might return into *Sicil*. Yet he got not above eight hundred (for he carried the matter cloſely) to follow him in his adventure. But many of them were men of quality, and fit to be Leaders. Neither did he doubt of finding in *Syracuſe*, as many as ſhould be needful, that would readily aſſiſt him. Therefore he landed boldly in *Sicil*, marched to *Syracuſe*, entred the City without reſiſtance, armed the multitude, and won all, ſave the Citadel.

*Dionyſius* was then abſent in *Italy*, but he quickly had advertiſement of this dangerous accident. Wherefore he returned haſtily to *Syracuſe*: whence, after many vain treaties of Peace, and ſome forcible attempts to recover the Town, he was fain to depart; leaving yet a Caſtle to the Cuſtody of *Apollocrates* his eldeſt Son. Yet ere he went, his Minion *Philiſtus*, coming with a ſtrength of men to aſſiſt him, was beaten, taken, and put to death by torment. But *Dion*, for the recovery of his Countries liberty, had the ſame reward that all worthy men have had from popular Eſtates. He was diſgraced, aſſaulted, and forced to abandon the City. He retired himſelf to the *Leontines*, who received him with great joy. Soon after his departure from *Syracuſe*, new troops enter the Caſtle: they ſally out, aſſail, ſpoil, and burn a great part of the City. *Dion* is ſent for, with humble requeſt: yet, ere he could arrive, *Dionyſius* his Souldiers were retired; and the Towns-men thinking themſelves ſecure, ſhut the gates againſt *Dion*. But the next night they of the Caſtle ſally out again, with greater fury than ever; they kill Man, Woman, and Child, and ſet fire in all parts of the Town. In this their extremity *Dion* comes the ſecond time to their ſuccour; the love of his Country ſurmounting all the injuries that he had received. He ſets upon the Garriſon of the Caſtle, with the one part of his Army; and quencheth the fire every where kindled, with the other part. In concluſion, after he had conquered both the fire and the ſword, that had well near burnt to aſhes, and depopulated *Syracuſe*, he recovered the Caſtle, with the munition and furniture thereof, and ſent *Apollocrates* after *Dionyſius* his Father into *Italy*. But their malice, of whom he had beſt deſerved, and whom he had loved moſt, gave an untimely end to his dayes. For he was ſoon after his victory, murdered by *Gylippus*; who after he had with ill ſucceſs, a while governed *Syracuſe*, was ſlain with the ſame Dagger, with which he had murdered *Dion*.

Ten years after the death of *Dion*, *Dionyſius*, with the aſſiſtance of his friends in *Italy*, recovers his eſtate; and returns to *Syracuſe*, driving *Nyſæus* thence, whom he found Governour therein. The better ſort of the Citizens, fearing more than ever, his cruelty, flee to *Icetes*, a *Syracuſian* born, and then ruling the *Leontines*. *Icetes* enters into confederacy with the *Carthaginians*, hoping by their aſſiſtance, not only to prevail againſt *Dionyſius*; but by the hatred of the *Syracuſians* towards *Dionyſius*, to make him alſo Lord of their City. The *Syracuſians*, being deſervedly afflicted on all ſides, ſend to the *Corinthians* for ſuccour. *Icetes* alſo ſends thither, and diſſwades the *Corinthians*, as well as he can, from intermedling in the buſineſs. He tells them, by his Meſſengers, That he had entred into league with the *Carthaginians*, who were ſo ſtrong by Sea, that it was not in the power of *Corinth*, to land an Army in *Sicil*. But the *Corinthians*, being by this treaſon of *Icetes*, more inraged than diſſwaded, ſent *Timoleon* with nineteen Gallies, to deliver *Syracuſe* from tyranny. In the mean while, *Icetes* had entred *Syracuſe*, and with the help of the *Carthaginians*, driven *Dionyſius* into the Caſtle, where he beſieged him.



*Icetes*, being himſelf a Tyrant in *Leontium*, rather ſought how to enlarge his power, than how to deliver his Country. Therefore, hearing that *Timoleon* was arrived at *Rhegium*, he ſent to perſwade him, to return his Fleet; for that all things were (in effect) eſtabliſhed in *Sicil*. The *Carthaginian* Gallies were alſo in the ſame Port of *Rhegium*, whoſe Captains adviſed *Timoleon* to get him gone in peace. They had far more Gallies there than he had, and were like to compel him, if he would not be perſwaded. *Timoleon*, finding himſelf over-maſtered, makes requeſt to the *Carthaginian* Captains, that they would be pleaſed to enter into *Rhegium*, and there, in an open aſſembly of the people, to deliver unto him thoſe arguments for his return, which they had uſed to him in private; that he might, by publick teſtimony, diſcharge himſelf to the Senate of *Corinth*.

The *Carthaginians*, perſwading themſelves, that a victory obtained by a few fair words, was without loſs, and far more eaſie, than that of many blows, and wounds, yielded to *Timoleons* deſire. But while the Orations were delivering, *Timoleon*, favoured by the *Rhegians*, ſtole out of the preaſe; and having ſet ſail, before the Gates were opened to the *Carthaginians*, he recovered the Port of *Tauromenium*, where he was joyfully received by *Andromachus* the Governour. From thence he marched toward *Adranum*, where ſurpriſing *Icetes* his Army, he ſlew a part thereof, and put the reſt to run. It is the nature of victory to beget friends. The *Adranitans* joyned with him, and ſo did *Mamercus*, the Tyrant of *Catana*. *Dionyſius* alſo ſent to *Timoleon*, offering to ſurrender the Caſtle of *Syracuſe* into his hands, as thinking it better to yield up himſelf, and the places which he could not defend, unto the *Corinthians*, than either to *Icetes*, whom he diſdained, or to the *Carthaginians*, whom he hated. Now *Timoleon*, who, within fifty dayes after his arrival, had recovered the Caſtle of *Syracuſe*, and ſent *Dionyſius* to *Corinth*, to live there a private man, was ſtill invaded by the Armies, and moleſted by the practices of *Icetes*. For he beſieged the *Corinthians* within the Caſtle of *Syracuſe*, and attempted (but in vain) the murder of *Timoleon*.

The *Corinthians* ſend unto *Timoleon* a ſupply of two thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe, which are ſtayed in *Italy* by foul weather. *Icetes* is ſtrengthened with threeſcore thouſand *Africans*, brought unto him by *Mago* (all which he lodgeth within *Syracuſe*) and with an hundred and fifty Gallies, to keep the Port. This was the firſt time that ever the *Carthaginians* had dominion within the walls of that City. With this great Army *Icetes* aſſaileth the Caſtle *Timoleon* ſends them victuals, and ſuccour, in ſmall boats, by night, from *Catana*. *Mago* and *Icetes* do therefore reſolve to beſiege *Catana*; but they were no ſooner on their way towards it, with part of their forces, than *Leon*, Captain of the *Corinthians*, ſallied out of the Caſtle, and took that part of *Syracuſe*, called *Acradina*, which he fortified.

In the mean while, the two thouſand *Corinthians* arrive: with whom, and two thouſand other Souldiers, *Timoleon* marched towarp *Syracuſe*. *Mago* abandoneth *Icetes* being frighted out of *Sicil* (which he might eaſily have conquered) with an idle rumour of treaſon. This made him return to *Carthage*; where the general exclamation againſt his cowardize, did ſo much affright him, that for fear of further puniſhment he hanged himſelf. *Timoleon* enters the City, and beats down the Caſtle (which he called *The Neſt of Tyrants*) to the ground. But he found the City, when the ſtrangers were fled, in effect deſolate; ſo as their horſes did feed on the graſs growing in the Market-place. Therefore he writes to *Corinth* for people to reinhabit it. Ten thouſand are ſent out of *Greece*, many come from *Italy*; others from other parts of the Iſland.

But a new ſtorm ariſeth. *Aſdrubal* and *Amilcar*, *Carthaginians*, arrive about *Lilybæum*, with threeſcore and ten thouſand Souldiers, tranſported (with all their proviſions) in a thouſand ſhips of burden, and two hundred Gallies. *Timoleon* marcheth thither, and chargeth this great Army upon the paſſage of a River.

A tempeſt of rain, hail, and lightning, with boyſterous winds, beating upon the faces of the *Carthaginians*, they are utterly broken, ten thouſand ſlain, five thouſand taken, with all their carriages and proviſions: among which there were found a thouſand Corſlets guilt and graven. After this, *Timoleon* gave an overthrow to *Icetes*, and following his victory, took him, with his Son *Eupolemus*, and the General of his horſe, priſoners; whom he cauſed all to be ſlain: and afterwards (which was imputed to him for great cruelty) he ſuffered *Icetes* his wives and daughters to be put to death. But this was

was the revenge of God upon *Icetes*, who (after the murder of *Dion*) had caused *Arete*, *Dions* wife, and a young child of his, with *Aristomache* his Sister, to be cast into the Sea.

He again prevailed against *Mamercus* Tyrant of *Catana*, and won *Catana* it self. *Mamercus* fled to *Hippon* Tyrant of *Messena*: but *Timoleon*, pursuing him, won the Town; delivering *Hippon* to his Citizens, who tormented him to death. The same end had *Mamercus*, and all other the Tyrants in *Sicil*.

Finally, he made peace with the *Carthaginians*, on condition that they should not pass the River of *Lycus*. After this, he lived in great honour among the *Syracusians*, till his death; and was solemnly buried by them in the Market-place of their City: the day of his Funerals being for ever ordained to be kept holy among them.

After such time as *Timoleon* had delivered *Syracuse* from the tyranny of *Dionysius*, and brought peace to the whole Island; the Inhabitants injoyed their liberty in peace, about twenty years. The Cities and Temples were repaired; the Trade renewed; the Merchant sailed in safety; and the Labouring man enjoyed the fruits of the earth in quiet. But it was impossible that a Nation which neither knew how to govern, nor how to obey; which could neither endure Kings, nor men worthy to be Kings, to govern them; should any long time subsist.

Twenty years after the death of *Timoleon*, there started up one *Agathocles* among them, a man of base birth, and of baser condition: who from a Beggar, to a common Souldier; from a Souldier to a Captain; and so from degree to degree, rising to be a Prætor: finally, became Lord and Soveraign of the *Syracusians*. Many fortunes he ran, and under-went as many dangers, ere he obtained the principality. For he had more than once attempted it, and was therein both beaten and banisht. A passing valiant man he was, and did notable service, as well for those by whom he was employed, as also for the *Syracusians*, and against them. For in their Wars against those of *Enna*, and the *Campanes*, he did them memorable service: and on the contrary, as memorable service for the *Murgantines* against the *Syracusians*. For being entertained by the people of *Murgantia*, and made General of their forces, he sackt *Leontium*; and besieged *Syracuse* so straightly, that the Citizens were driven to crave aid, even from their ancient and natural enemies, the *Carthaginians*. *Amilcar* was sent by the *Carthaginians* to relieve *Syracuse*. With him *Agathocles* wrought so well, that he got him to make peace between himself and the *Syracusians*; binding himself by promise and oath to remain a friend and servant to the State of *Carthage*, for ever after. *Amilcar* entertained the business, and compounded the quarrels between *Agathocles* and the *Syracusians*. *Agathocles* is chosen Prætor; he entertains five thousand *Africans*, and divers old Souldiers of the *Murgantines*, under colour of a purpose to besiege *Herbita*. With these, and with the assistance of the poor and discontented *Syracusians* (the City also being divided into many factions) he assails the Senators, kills all his enemies and opposites; divides the spoil of the rich among the poor; and gives liberty to his Souldiers, to rob, to ravish, and to murder, for two whole dayes and nights, without controlement: the third day, when they had blunted their barbarous appetites, and strewed the streets with ten thousand dead carkasses, besides those that had broken their necks over the walls; their fury had no further subject to work on.

*Agathocles*, in an assembly of the people (being an eloquent knave) perswaded them, that, for the violent sickness, by which the Common-wealth was utterly consumed, he found no better than the violent remedies which he had administred; and that he affected no other thing than the reducing of the state from an Oligarchy, or the rule of a few tyrannous Magistrates, to the ancient and indifferent Democraty, by which it had been governed, from the first institution, with so great glory and prosperity. This he did, to have the Crown clapt on his head (as it were) perforce. For, as he knew that he had left none living, within the City, fit or able to exercise the office of a Magistrate: so knew he right well, that all they which had assisted in the murder and spoil of their fellow-Citizens, had no other hope of defence, than the support of a lawless Lord, who had been partaker with them in their villanies and cruelties committed. So as this rable, his Oration ended, proclaimed him King: again and again saluting and adoring him, by that name, as if it had been given to him by some lawful election. Hence had our King *Richard* the third a piece of his pattern; but the one was of base, the other of Kingly Parents; the one took liberty from a Common-weal, the other sought only to succeed in a Monarchy; the one continued his cruelty to the end, the other, after he had obtained the Crown, sought, by making good Laws, to recover the love of his people.

The life of this Tyrant is briefly written by



by *Justine*; more largely and particularly by *Diodorus Siculus*: the summ whereof is this. The same *Amilcar* that had brought him into *Syracuse*, and that had lent him five thousand men to help in the Massacre of the Citizens, was also content to wink at many wrongs that he did unto the Confederates of the *Carthaginians*. It was the purpose of *Amilcar*, to settle *Agathocles* in his tyranny, and to let him vex and waste the whole Island; because it was thereby like to come to pass, that he should reduce all *Sicil* into such terms as would make it become an easie prey to *Carthage*. But when the Cities, confederate with the *Carthaginians*, sent their Embassiadours, with complaint of this ill dealing, to *Carthage*; the *Punick* faith (somuch taunted by the *Romans*, as no better than meer falshood) shewed it self very honourable in taking order for the redress. Embassiadours were sent to comfort the *Sicilians*, and to put *Agathocles* in mind of his Covenants; *Amilcar* was recalled home into *Africk*, and a new Captain appointed to succeed in his charge, with such forces, as might compel *Agathocles* to reason, if otherwise he would not hearken to it. All this tended to save their Confederates, from suffering such injuries in the future. For that which was past (since it could not be recalled) they took order to have it severely punished. *Amilcar* was accused secretly, and by way of scrutiny: the suffrages being given, but not calculated; and so reserved until he should return. This was not so closely handled, but that *Amilcar* had soon notice of it. In managing his business with *Agathocles*, it is likely that he had an eye to his own profit, as well as to the publick benefit of his Country. For he had made such a composition with the *Syracusian*, as gave him not only means to weaken others, but to strengthen himself, both in power and authority, even against the *Carthaginians*. Such is commonly the custom of those, that hope to work their own ends by cunning practices, thinking to deal subtlely and finely, they spin their threads so small, that they are broken with the very wind. *Amilcar* saw, that his *Carthaginians* had a purpose to deal substantially; and that therefore it would be hard for him, to make them follow his crooked devices: which if he could not do, it was to be expected, that their anger would break out into so much the greater extremity, by how much the more they had concealed it. Therefore he followed the example, which some of his fore-goers had taught him; and, for fear of such a death as the Judges might award him, he ended his own life in what sort he thought best. This desperation of *Amilcar* served to inform *Agathocles* of the *Carthaginians* intent. He saw they would not be deluded with words, and therefore resolved to get the start of them in action. He dissembled no longer; but, instead of spoil and robbery, made open War upon all their Adherents. He had made the better part of *Sicil* his own, ere the *Carthaginian* Forces arrived: which thinking to have incountred an ill-established Tyrant, found him ready, as a King, to defend his own, and give them sharp entertainment. They were beaten by him; and their Navy was so Tempest-beaten, that they could neither do good by Land, nor Sea, but were glad to leave their business undone, and return into *Africk*.

The *Carthaginians* prepare a new Fleet: which being very gallantly manned and furnished, was broken by foul weather, and the best part of it cast away, even whilst it was yet within kenning of their City. But *Amilcar*, the Son of *Gisco*, gathering together the remainders of his shipwrack, was bold to pass over into *Sicil*, and landed not far from *Gela*; where *Agathocles* was soon ready to examine the cause of their coming. Many skirmishes passed between them, in which (commonly) the *Syracusian* had the better. But his good success begat presumption; whereby he lost a battel more important than all the other fights. One adverse chance is enough to overthrow the state of a Tyrant, if it be not upheld by great circumspection. The War was soon transferred to the walls of *Syracuse*; within which *Agathocles* was closed up, and driven to make his last defence by their help, who may be judged to have loved him not very greatly. But the Inhabitants of *Syracuse*, after that great Massacre of the principal men, made in the beginning of this new Tyranny, were (for the most part) such, as had been either mercenary Souldiers, infranchised slaves, or base and needy people; helpers in establishing the present Government, and Executioners of the murders, and spoil committed in that change. If there were any other (as some there were) they were so well observed, and (withall) so fearful, that they durst not stir. But it was enough that they all agreed in the common defence of themselves and their City; Famine was likely to grow upon them, and inforce them to change their resolution. In this necessity *Agathocles* adventured upon a strange course, which the event commended as wise. He imbarqued as many as he thought meet, in those vessels that rode in the Haven; and committing the

the Government of the City to his Brother *Antander*, willed the people to be of good courage, for that (as he told them) he had bethought himself of a mean, both to raise the siege, and to repair all other losses. A *Carthaginian* Fleet lay in the mouth of the Haven, both to hinder the entrance of victuallers, and to keep the besieged from issuing forth.

Now, as such time as *Agathocles* was ready to depart, advertisement came, that many ships of burden, laden with Corn, and other provisions, were drawing near unto *Syracuse*. To intercept these the *Carthaginians* hoise sail, and lanch forth into the deep. They were not far gone, when they might behold *Agathocles* issuing forth of the Port, with purpose (as they thought) to give convoy unto his victuallers. Hereupon they wheel about, and make amain toward him, as thinking him the better booty. He neither abode their coming, nor fled back into the City, but made all speed towards *Africk*, and was pursued by the *Carthaginians*, as long as the day would give them light. In the mean season the victuallers were gotten to *Syracuse*; which was the more plentifully relieved by their coming, for that *Agathocles* had unburdened the place of no small number. When the *Carthaginian* Admiral perceived, first, that by pursuing two Fleets at once, he had missed of them both: and secondly, that *Agathocles* returned not again, but was gone to seek his fortune elsewhere, he thought it good to pursue those that were fled, and to attend so well upon them, that they should not have leisure to do mischief in some other part.

The *Carthaginian* Navy followed *Agathocles* (whether by chance, or by relation of such as had met with him at Sea) directly towards *Africk*, and overtook him after six dayes. He had (at the first) a great start of them; so that (belike) they rowed hard, and wearied themselves in seeking their own misfortune: for he fought with them, and beat them; and, having sunk or taken many, drave the rest to flye which way they could, laden with such strange tydings of his voyage.

When *Agathocles* had landed his men in *Africk*, then did he discover unto them his project, letting them understand, that there was no better way to divert the *Carthaginians*, not only from *Syracuse*, but from all the Isle of *Sicil*, than by bringing the war to their own doors. For here (said he) they have many that hate them, and that will readily take Arms against them, as soon as they perceive that there is an Army on foot, which dares to look upon their walls. Their Towns are ill fortified, their people untrained, and experienced in dangers; the mercenary forces that they levy in these parts, will rather follow us than them, if we offer greater wages than they can give: which we may better promise and make good, by letting them have some share with us in all the wealth of the *Carthaginians*, than our enemies can do, by making some addition to their stipends. Thus he talked, as one already Master of all the riches in *Africk*; and with many brave words encouraged his men so well, that they were contented to set fire on all their ships (reserving one or two to use as Messengers) to the end that no hope should remain, save only in victory. In this heat of resolution, they win by force two Cities; which after they had throughly sacked, they burnt to the ground: as a mark of terrour to all that should make resistance. The *Carthaginians* hearing this, are amazed; thinking that *Amilcar* is broken, and his whole Army destroyed in *Sicil*. This impression so dismayes them, that when they know the truth of all, by such as had scaped in the late Sea-fight, yet still they fear, and know not what. They suspect *Amilcars* faith, who had suffered *Agathocles* to land in *Africk*: they suspected their principal Citizens at home, of a meaning to betray *Carthage* unto the enemy; they raise a great Army, and know not to whose charge they may safely commit it.

There were at that time two famous Captains in the City, *Hanno* and *Bomilcar*, great enemies, and therefore the more unlikely to conspire against the Common-wealth. These are made Generals of the Army levied, which far exceeded the forces of *Agathocles*. But it seldom happens, that dissention between Commanders produceth any fortunate event. Necessity drave *Agathocles* to fight: and the courage of his men, resolved to deal with the whole multitude of the *Carthaginians*, made easie the victory against the one half of them. For *Bomilcar* would not stir, but suffered *Hanno* to be cut in pieces.

The reputation of this great Victory, brought over a King of the *Africans*, from the *Carthaginian* society, to take part with *Agathocles*: who pursuing his Victory, winneth many Towns, and sends word to *Syracuse* of his good success. The *Carthaginians* also send unto *Sicil*, willing *Amilcar*, their General, to succour the State of *Africk*, which was in danger to be lost, whilst he was travelling in the Conquest of *Sicil*. *Amilcar* sends them five thousand men: all



all his forces he thought it not needful to transport; as hoping rather to draw *Agathocles* back into *Sicil*, than to be drawn home by one, that could scarce retain his own Kingdom. But these good hopes had a bad issue: He spent some time in winning a few Towns that adhered unto the *Syracusians*: and having brought his matters to some good order, he conceived a sudden hope of taking *Syracuse* by surprise. It was a pretty (though tragical) Accident, if it were true, as *Tully* relates it. *Amilcar* had a dream which told him that he should sup the next day within *Syracuse*. His fancy begot this dream, and he verily believed it. He made more haste then good speed toward the City: and coming upon it on the sudden, had good hope to carry it. But his enemies were prepared for him, and had laid an ambush to intrap him, whereinto he fell. So he was carryed prisoner into the City; in which it was likely that he had no great cheer to his supper: for they struck off his head, and sent it into *Africk* (a welcome present) to *Agathocles*.

This good success of things at home, did put such courage into the *Sicilian* Army, that *Agathocles* was bold to wear a Crown, and stile himself *King of Africk*. He had allured *Ophellas*, King of the *Cyrenians*, to take his part, by promises to deliver the Country into his hands: for that (as he said) it was sufficient unto himself to have diverted the *Carthaginians* from *Sicil*, wherein (after this war ended) he might reign quietly. *Ophellas* came with a great Army, and was friendly entertained. But the traiterous *Sicilian*, taking an advantage, did murther this his assistant; and afterwards by good words, and great promises, drew all the *Cyrenian* Army to follow him in his Wars. Thus his villany found good success; and he so prevailed in *Africk*, that he got leasure to make a step into *Sicil*. Many Towns in *Sicil* had embraced a desire of recovering their liberty; thinking it high time to fight at length for their own freedom, after that they had so long been exposed, (as a reward of victory) either unto Aliens, or to Tyrants of their own Country. These had prevailed fair, and gotten many to take their parts, as in a common cause: when the coming of *Agathocles* abated their high spirits, and his good success in many fights, compelled them to Obedience. Out of *Sicil* he returned into *Africk*, where his affairs stood in very bad terms. *Archagathus*, his son had lost a battel; and (which was worse) had ill means to help himself: his Army being in mutiny for lack of pay. But *Agathocles* pacified the tumult, by the accustomed promises of great booty and spoil. It had now been time for him to offer peace to the *Carthaginians*: which to obtain, they would (questionless) have given to him both mony enough to pay his Army, and all that they then held in *Sicil*. For their City had been distressed, not only by this his war, but by the treason of *Bomilcar*, who failed not much of making himself Tyrant over them. But ambition is blind. *Agathocles* had all his thoughts fixed upon the conquest of *Carthage* it self: out of which dream he was awaked, by the loss of a battel, not so memorable in regard of any accident therein, as of the strange events following it. The *Carthaginians*, after their great misfortunes in this war, had renewed their old sacrifices of children to *Saturn*: from which they had abstained ever since they made peace with *Gelon*. And now they made choice of some, the goodliest of their prisoners, taken in the battel, to offer unto the said Idol, in way of thankfulness for their victory. The fire, with which these unhappy men were consumed, caught hold upon the lodgings neareſt unto the Altar, and spreading it self farther through the Camp, with the destruction of many men, caused such a tumult as is usual in the like cases. At the same time, the like accident of fire burnt up the Pavilion of *Agathocles*. Hereupon both the Armies fled away, each of them believing, that the noyse in the adverse Camp, was a sign of the enemies coming to invade it. But the *Carthaginians* had a safe retrait: *Agathocles*, by a second errour, fell into a new calamity. In the beginning of this his flight in the dark, he met with his own *African* Souldiers; and thinking them to be enemies, (as indeed the one half of them had revolted from him, to the *Carthaginians*, in the last battel) he began to assail them, and was so stoutly resisted, that he lost in this blind fight above four thousand of his men. This did so discourage his proud heart, that, being fallen from the near hope of taking the City of *Carthage*, unto some distrust of his own safety, he knew no more how to moderate his present weak fears, than lately he had known how to govern his ambition. Therefore he took the way that came next into his head; which was, to steal closely aboord his ships, with his younger son (the elder he suspected of Incest, and of Ambition) and so to flye into *Sicil*; thinking it the best course to shift for himself, as wanting vessels wherein to transport his Army. His elder son *Archagathus*, perceiving his drift, arrested him and put him under custody:

but by means of a ſudden tumult, he was let looſe, eſcaped, and fled alone, leaving both his ſons behind him. His flight being noyſed through the Army, all was in an uproar; and extremity of rage cauſed not only the common Souldier, but even ſuch as had been friends to the Tyrant, to lay hold upon his two ſons, and kill them. That this flight of *Agathocles* was extreamly baſe, I need not uſe words to prove: That his fear was truly, as all fear is ſaid to be, a paſſion, depriving him of the ſuccours which reaſon offered, the ſequel doth manifeſt. His forſaken Souldiers, being now a headleſs company, and no longer an Army to be feared, obtained nevertheleſs a reaſonable compoſition from the *Carthaginians*: to whom they ſold thoſe places, whereof they had poſſeſſion, for nineteen talents. Likewiſe, *Agathocles* himſelf, having loſt his Army, did nevertheleſs, by the reputation of this late war, make peace with *Carthage* upon equal terms.

After this, the Tyrant being delivered from forain enemies, diſcovered his bloody nature, in moſt abominable cruelties, among the *Sicilians*. His wants and his fears, urged him ſo violently, that he was not ſatisfied with the ſpoils of the rich, or the death of thoſe whom he held ſuſpected: but in a beaſtly rage depopulated whole Cities. He deviſed new engines of torment; wherein ſtriving to exceed the Bull of *Phalaris*, he made a frame of braſs, that ſhould ſerve to ſcorch mens bodies, and withall give him leave to behold them in their miſery. So deviliſh is the nature of man, when reaſon, that ſhould be his guide, is become a ſlave to his brutiſh affections. In theſe miſchiefs he was ſo outragious, that he neither ſpared Sex, nor Age; eſpecially, when he was informed of the ſlaughter of his children in *Africk*. But this was not the way to preſerve his eſtate: it threw him into new dangers. They whom he had chaſed out of their Country took arms againſt him, and drave him into ſuch fears, that he was fain to ſeek that love at *Carthage*, which by ruling well he might have had in *Sicil*. He freely delivered into the *Carthaginians* hands, all thoſe Towns of the *Phœnicians* in *Sicil*, belonging unto them, which were in his poſſeſſion. They requited him honourably, with great ſtore of corn, and with four hundred talents of gold and ſilver. So (though not without much trouble and hazard) he prevailed againſt the Rebels, and ſetled his eſtate. Having no further buſineſs left in *Sicil*, he made a voyage into *Italy*. There he ſubdued the *Brutians*, rather by terrour of his name than by any force, for they yielded at his firſt coming. This done, he went to the Iſle of *Lipara*, and made the Inhabitants buy peace with one hundred talents of gold. But when he had gotten this great ſum, he would needs exact a greater; and finding plainly that they had no more left, he was bold to ſpoil the Temples of their gods. Herein (me thinks) he did well enough. For how could he believe thoſe to be gods, that had continually given deaf ears to his horrible perjuries? Then he returned richly home, with eleven ſhips loaden with gold: all which, and all the reſt of his fleet, were caſt away by foul weather at Sea; one Gally excepted, in which he himſelf eſcaped, to ſuffer a more miſerable end. A grievous ſickneſs fell upon him, that rotted his whole body, ſpreading it ſelf through all his veins and ſinews. Whilſt he lay in this caſe, all deſiring his end, ſave only *Theogenia* (a wife that he had taken out of *Egypt*) and her ſmall children: his Nephew, the ſon of *Archagathus*, before mentioned, and a younger ſon of his own, began to contend about the Kingdom. Neither did they ſeek to end the controverſie by the old Tyrants deciſion; they regarded him not ſo much. But each of them laid wait for the others life: wherein the Nephew ſped ſo well, that he ſlew his Uncle, and got his Grandfathers Kingdom, without aſking any leave. Theſe tydings wounded the heart of *Agathocles* with fear and ſorrow. He ſaw himſelf without help, like to become a prey to his ungracious Nephew, from whom he knew that no favour was to be expected, either by himſelf, or by thoſe, whom only he now held dear, which were *Theogenia* and her children. Therefore he adviſed her and them to fly before they were ſurpriſed: for that otherwiſe they could by no means avoid, either death, or ſomewhat that would be worſe. He gave them all his treaſures and goods, wherewith he even compelled them (weeping to leave him deſolate in ſo wretched a caſe) to imbark themſelves haſtily, and make ſpeed into *Egypt*. After their departure, whether he threw himſelf into the fire, or whether his diſeaſe conſumed him, there was none left that cared to attend him but he ended his life as baſely, as obſcurely, and in as much want as he firſt began it.

After the death of *Agathocles* it was, that the *Mamertines*, his Souldiers, traiterouſly occupied *Meſſana*, and infeſted a great part of the Iſland. Then alſo did the *Carthaginians* begin to renew their attempts of conquering all *Sicil*. What the Nephew of *Agathocles* did, I cannot find. Likely it is that he quickly periſhed. For the *Sicilians* were driven to ſend for *Pyrrhus* to help them, who had marryed with a daughter of *Agathocles*. But *Pyrrhus* was ſoon weary of the Country (as hath been ſhewed before) and therefore left it; prophecying that it would become a goodly champion field, wherein *Rome* and *Carthage* ſhould fight for ſuperiority. In which buſineſs, how theſe two great Cities did ſpeed, the order of our ſtory will declare.



## §. V.

*A recommination of the Roman War in* Sicil. *How* Hieron, *King of* Syracuſe, *forſook the* Carthaginians, *and made his peace with* Rome.

WHen *Appius Claudius*, following the advantage of his victory gotten at *Meſſana*, brought the War unto the Gates of *Syracuſe*, and beſieged that great City; *Hieron* found it high time for him to ſeek peace: knowing that the *Carthaginians* had neither any reaſon to be offended with him, for helping himſelf by what means he could, when they were not in caſe to give him aſſiſtance; and foreſeeing withall, that when once he had purchaſed his quiet from the *Romans*, it would be free for him to ſit ſtill, without fear of moleſtation, whilſt *Rome* and *Carthage* were fighting for the maſtery. In this good mood the new *Roman* Conſuls, *M. Valerius*, and *C. Octacilius* found him, and readily embraced the offer of his friendſhip. Yet they made uſe of their preſent advantage, and ſold him peace for an hundred (ſome ſay two hundred) Talents.

Theſe Conſuls had brought a great Army into *Sicil*; yet did they nothing elſe in effect, than bring over *Hiero* to their ſide. If the *Syracuſian* held them buſied (which I find not, otherwiſe than by circumſtances, as, by the ſum of mony impoſed upon him, and by their performing none other piece of ſervice) all the whole time of their abode in the Iſland; than was his departure from the friendſhip of *Carthage*, no leſs to his honour than it was to his commodity. For by no reaſon could they require, that he ſhould ſuffer his own Kingdom to run into manifeſt peril of ſubverſion, for their ſakes that ſhould have received all the profit of the victory: ſeeing they did expoſe him to the whole danger, without ſtraining themſelves to give him relief. But the *Carthaginians* had lately made good proof of the ſtrength of *Syracuſe*, in the dayes of *Agathocles*: and therefore knew, that it was able to bear a very ſtrong ſiege. And hereupon it is like that they were the more ſlack, in ſending help: if (perhaps) it were not ſome part of their deſire, that both *Rome* and *Syracuſe* ſhould weaken one the other, whereby their own work might be the eaſier againſt them both. Yet indeed, the caſe of the beſieged City was not the ſame, when the *Romans* lay before it, as it had been when the *Carthaginians* attempted it. For there was great reaſon to try the uttermoſt hazard of war againſt the *Carthaginians*, who ſought no other thing than to bring it into ſlavery: not ſo againſt the *Romans*, who thought it ſufficient if they could withdraw it from the party of their enemies. Beſides, it was not all one to be governed by *Agathocles*, or by *Hiero*. The former of theſe cared not what the Citizens endured, ſo long as he might preſerve his own tyranny: the latter, as a juſt and good Prince, had no greater deſire than to win the love of his people by ſeeking their commodity; but including his own felicity within the publick, laboured to uphold both, by honeſt and faithful dealing. Hereby it came to paſs that he enjoyed a long and happy reign, living dear to his own Subjects, beloved of the *Romans*, and not greatly moleſted by the *Carthaginians*; whom, either the conſideration, *That they had left him to himſelf, ere he left their ſociety*, made unwilling to ſeek his ruine; or their more earneſt buſineſs with the *Romans*, made unable to compaſs it.

## §. VI.

*How the* Romans *beſiege and win* Agrigentum. *Their beginning to maintain a fleet. Their firſt loſs, and firſt victory by ſea. Of ſea-fight in general.*

HIeron, having ſided himſelf with the *Romans*, aideth them with victuals and other neceſſaries: ſo that they, preſuming upon his aſſiſtance, recall ſome part of their forces. The *Carthaginians* find it high time to beſtir them; they ſend to the *Ligurians*, and to the troups they had in *Spain*, to come to their aid; who being arrived, they made the City of *Agrigentum* the ſeat of the War, againſt the *Romans*, filling it with all manner of munition.

The *Roman* Conſuls, having made peace with *Hieron*, return into *Italy*; and, in their places, *Lucius Poſthumus* and *Quintus Mamilius* arrive. They go on towards

* *Agrigentum* was a goodly City, built by the *Gelois*, under the conduct of *Ariſton* and *Pyliſtus*. The compaſs was ten miles about the walls; and it had ſometimes in it eight hundred thouſand Inhabitants. This City, by reaſon of the fertility of the ſoil, and the neighbour-hood of *Carthage*, grew in a ſhort ſpace from ſmall beginnings, to great glory and riches. The plenty and luxury thereof was ſo great, as it cauſed *Empedocles* to ſay, that the *Agrigentines* built Palaces of ſuch ſumptuoſity, as if they meant to live for ever; and made ſuch feaſts, as if they meant to dye the next day. But their greateſt pomp and magnificence, was in their goodly Temples, and Theatres, Water-conduits, and Fiſh-ponds: the ruines whereof at this day are ſufficient arguments, that *Rome* it ſelf could never boaſt of the like. In the Porch of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, (by which we may judge of the Temple it ſelf) there was ſet out on one ſide the full proportion of the Giants, fighting with the gods, all cut out in polished marble of divers colours; a work the moſt magnificent and rare that ever hath been ſeen: on the other ſide, the war of *Troy*, and the encounters which hapned at that ſiege; with the perſonages of the Heroes that were doers in that war; all of the like beautiful ſtone, and of equal ſtature to the bodies of thoſe men in ancient times: In compariſon of which, the latter works of that kind, are but petty things, and meer trifles. It would require a volume to expreſs the magnificence of the Temples of *Hercules*, *Æſculapius*, *Concord*, *Juno Lucina*, *Chaſtitie*, *Proſerpina*, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, wherein the Maſter-pieces of thoſe exquiſite Painters and Carvers *Phidias*, *Zeuxis*, *Myron*, and *Polycletus*, were to be ſeen. But in proceſs of time it ran the ſame fortune that all other great Cities have done, and was ruined by divers calamities of war: whereof this war preſent brought unto it not the leaſt.

* *Agrigentum*: and finding no enemy in the field, they beſiege it, though it were ſtuffed with fifty thouſand Souldiers. After a while, the time of harveſt being come, a part of the *Roman* Army range the Country to gather corn, and thoſe at the ſiege grow negligent; the *Carthaginians* ſally furiouſly, and indanger the *Roman* Army, but are in the end repelled into the Town with great loſs; but by the ſmart felt on both ſides, the Aſſailants redoubled their guards, and the beſieged kept within their covert. Yet the *Romans*, the better to aſſure themſelves, cut a deep trench between the walls of the City and their Camp: and another on the out-ſide thereof; that neither the *Carthaginians* might force them ſuddenly, by a ſally; nor thoſe of the Country without, break upon them unawares: which double Defence kept the beſieged alſo from the receiving any relief of victuals, and munitions, whilſt the *Syracuſian* ſupplies the aſſailants with what they want. The beſieged ſend for ſuccour to *Carthage*, after they had been in this ſort pent up five months. The *Carthaginians* imbark an Army, with certain Elephants, under the command of *Hanno*; who arrives with it at *Heraclea*, to the Weſt of *Agrigentum*. *Hanno* put himſelf into the field, and ſurpriſeth *Erbeſus*, a City wherein the *Romans* had beſtowed all their proviſion. By means hereof, the famine without grew to be as great, as it was within *Agrigentum*; and the *Roman* Camp no leſs ſtraightly aſſieged by *Hanno*, than the City was by the *Romans*: inſomuch, as if *Hieron* had not ſupplyed them, they had been forced to abandon the ſiege. But ſeeing that this diſtreſs was not enough to make them riſe, *Hanno* determined to give them battel. To which end departing from *Heraclea*, he makes approach unto the *Roman* Camp. The *Romans* reſolve to ſuſtain him, and put themſelves in order. *Hanno* directs the *Numidian* horſemen to change the Vant-guard, to the end to draw them further on; which done, he commands them to return as broken, till they came to the body of the Army, that lay ſhadowed behind ſome riſing ground. The *Numidians* perform it accordingly; and while the *Romans* purſued the *Numidians*, *Hanno* gives upon them, and having ſlaughtered many, beats the reſt into their Trenches.

After this encounter, the *Carthaginians* made no other attempt for two months, but lay ſtrongly encamped, waiting untill ſome opportunity ſhould invite them. But *Annibal* that was beſieged in *Agrigentum*, as well by ſigns as meſſengers, made *Hanno* know how ill the extremity which he endured, was able to brook ſuch dilatory courſes. *Hanno* thereupon, a ſecond time, provoked the Conſuls to fight: But his Elephants being diſordered by his own Vant-guard, which was broken by the *Romans*, he loſt the day: and with ſuch as eſcaped, he recovered *Heraclea*. *Annibal* perceiving this, and remaining hopeleſs of ſuccour, reſolved to make his own way. Finding therefore that the *Romans*, after this dayes victory, wearied with labour, and ſecured by their good fortune, kept negligent watch in the night; he ruſht out of the Town, with all the remainder of his Army, and paſt by the *Roman* camp without reſiſtance. The Conſuls purſue him in the morning, but in vain: ſure they were, that he could not carry the City with him, which with little a-do the *Romans* entred, and pitifully ſpoiled. The *Romans*, proud of this victory, purſued rather to follow the direction of their preſent good fortunes, than their firſt determinations. They had reſolved in the beginning of this War, only to ſuccour the *Mamertines*, and to keep the *Carthaginians* from their own coaſts: but now they determine to make themſelves Lords of all *Sicil*; and from thence, being favoured with the wind of good ſucceſs, to ſail over into *Africk*. It is the diſeaſe of Kings, of States, and alſo of private men, to covet the greateſt things, but not to enjoy the leaſt; the deſire of that which we neither have nor need, taking from us the true uſe and fruition of what we have already. This curſe upon mortal men, was never taken from them ſince the beginning of the World unto this day.

To proſecute this War, *Lucius Valerius* and *Titus Otacilius*, two new Conſuls, are ſent into *Sicil*. Whereupon, the *Romans* being Maſters of the field, many in-land Towns gave themſelves unto them. On the contrary, the *Carthaginians* keeping ſtill the Lordſhip of the Sea, many maritimate places became theirs. The *Romans* therefore, as well to ſecure their own coaſts, often invaded by the *African* fleets,



fleets, as to equal themſelves in every kind of warfare with their enemies, determine to make a fleet. And herein fortune favoured them with this accident, that being altogether ignorant in ſhip-wrights craft, a ſtorm of wind thruſt one of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, of five banks, to the ſhore.

Now had the *Romans* a pattern, and by it they began to ſet up an hundred *Quinqueremes* which were Gallies, rowed by five on every bank; and twenty, of three on a bank: and while theſe were in preparing, they exerciſed their men in the feat of rowing. This they did after a ſtrange faſhion. They placed upon the Sea-ſands many ſeats, in order of the banks in Gallies, whereon they placed their water men, and taught them to beat the ſand with long poles, orderly, and as they were directed by the Maſter, that ſo they might learn the ſtroke of the Gally, and how to mount and draw their Oares.

When their fleet was finiſhed, ſome rigging and other implements excepted, *C. Cornelius*, one of the new Conſuls (for they changed every year) was made Admiral: who being more in love with this new kind of warfare, than well adviſed, paſt over to *Meſſana* with ſeventeen Gallies, leaving the reſt to follow him. There he ſtayed not, but would needs row along the coaſt to *Lipara*, hoping to do ſome piece of ſervice. *Hannibal* a *Carthaginian* was at the ſame time Governour in *Panormus*; who being advertiſed of this new Sea-mans arrival, ſent forth one *Boodes*, a Senator of *Carthage*, with twenty Gallies to entertain him. *Boodes*, falling upon the Conſul unawares, took both him and the fleet he commanded. When *Hannibal* received this good news, together with the *Roman* Gallies, and their Conſul; he grew no leſs fooliſh hardy than *Cornelius* had been. For he, fancying to himſelf to ſurprize the reſt of the *Roman* fleet, on their own coaſt, ere they were yet in all points provided; ſought them out with a fleet of fifty ſail: wherewith falling among them, he was well beaten, and leaving the greater number of his own behind him, made an hard eſcape with the reſt: for of one hundred and twenty Gallies, the *Romans* under *Cornelius* had loſt but ſeventeen, ſo as one hundred and three remained, which were not eaſily beaten by fifty.

The *Romans*, being advertiſed of *Cornelius* his overthrow, make haſte to redeem him, but give the charge of their fleet to his Colleague, *Duilius*. *Duilius*, conſidering that the *Roman* veſſels were heavy and ſlow, the *African* Gallies having the ſpeed of them, deviſed a certain Engine in the prow of his Gallies, whereby they might faſten or grapple themſelves with their enemies, when they were (as we call it) boord and boord, that is, when they brought the Gallies ſides together. This done the weightier ſhips had gotten the advantage, and the *Africans* loſt it. For neither did their ſwiftneſs ſerve them, nor their Marriners craft; the veſſels wherein both Nations fought, being open: ſo that all was to be carryed by the advantage of weapon, and valour of the men. Beſides this, as the heavier Gallies were accidentally likely to cruſh, and crack the ſides of the lighter and weaker, ſo were they by the reaſon of their breadth, more ſteady; and thoſe that beſt kept their feet, could alſo beſt uſe their hands. The example may be given between one of the long boats of his Majeſties great ſhips, and a *London-Barge*.

Certainly, he that will happily perform a fight at Sea, muſt be skilful in making choice of Veſſels to fight in: he muſt believe, that there is more belonging to a good man of War, upon the waters, than great daring; and muſt know, that there is a great deal of difference, between fighting looſe or at large, and grappling. The Guns of a ſlow ſhip pierce as well, and make as great holes, as thoſe in a ſwift. To clap ſhips together, without conſideration, belongs rather to a mad man, than to a man of War: for by ſuch an ignorant bravery was *Peter Streſſie* loſt at the *Azores*, when he fought againſt the *Marqueſs* of *Santa Cruz*. In like ſort, had the Lord *Charles Howard*, Admiral of *England*, been loſt in the year 1588. if he had not been better adviſed, than a great many malignant fools were, that found fault with his demeanour. The *Spaniards* had an Army aboord them; and he had none: they had more ſhips than he had, and of higher building and charging; ſo that, had he intangled himſelf with thoſe great and powerful Veſſels, he had greatly endangered this Kingdom of *England*. For twenty men upon the defences, are equal to an hundred that boord and enter; whereas then, contrariwiſe, the *Spaniards* had an hundred, for twenty of ours to defend themſelves withall. But our Admiral knew his advantage, and held it: which had he not done, he had not been worthy to have held his head. Here to ſpeak in general of Sea-fights (for particulars are fitter for private hands than for the Preſs,) I ſay, that a fleet of twenty ſhips, all good ſailers, and good ſhips, have the advantage, on the open Sea, of an hundred as good ſhips and of ſlower ſailing. For if the fleet of an hundred ſail keep themſelves near together, in a groſs ſquadron; the twenty ſhips, charging

ing them upon any angle, shall force them to give ground, and to fall back upon their own next fellows: of which so many as intangle, are made unserviceable or lost. Force them they may easily, because the twenty ships, which give themselves scope, after they have given one broad side of Artillery, by clapping into the wind, and staying, they may give them the other: and so the twenty ships batter them in pieces with a perpetual volly; whereas those that fight in a troop, have no room to turn, and can alwayes use but one and the same beaten side. If the fleet of an hundred sail give themselves any distance, then shal the lesser fleet prevail, either against those that are arear and hindmost, or against those, that by advantage of over-sailing their fellows keep the wind: and if upon a Lee-shore, the ships next the wind be constrained to fall back into their own squadron, then it is all to nothing, the whole fleet must suffer shipwrack, or render it self. That such advantage may be taken upon a fleet of unequal speed, it hath been well enough conceived in old time; as by the Oration of *Hermocrates*, in *Thucydides*, which he made to the *Syracusians*, when the *Athenians* invaded them, it may easily be observed.

Of the Art of War by Sea, I had written a Treatise, for the Lord *Henry*, *Prince of Wales*; a subject, to my knowledge, never handled by any man, ancient or modern: but God hath spared me the labour of finishing it, by his loss; by the loss of that brave Prince; of which, like an Eclipse of the Sun, we shall find the effects hereafter. Impossible it is to equal words and sorrows; I will therefore leave him in the hands of God that hath him. *Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.*

But it is now time to return to the beaten *Carthaginians*; who by losing their advantage of swift boats, and boarding the *Romans*, have lost fifty sail of their Gallies: as on the other side, their enemies by commanding the Seas, have gotten liberty to sail about the West part of *Sicil*; where they raised the siege laid unto *Segesta* by the *Carthaginians*, and won the Town of *Macella*, with some other places.

## §. VII.

*Divers Enterfeats of War, between the* Romans *and* Carthaginians, *with variable success. The* Romans *prepare to invade* Africk: *and obtain a great Victory at Sea.*

THE Victory of *Duilius*, as it was honoured at *Rome*, with the first Naval Triumph, that was ever seen in that City; so gave it unto the *Romans* a great incouragement, to proceed in their Wars by Sea; whereby they hoped, not only to get *Sicil*, but all the other Isles between *Italy* and *Africk*, beginning with *Sardinia*, whither soon after they sent a fleet for that purpose. On the contrary side, *Amilcar*, the *Carthaginian*, lying in *Panormus*, carefully waited for all occasions, that might help to recompence the late misfortune: and being advertised, that some quarrel was grown between the *Roman* Souldiers, and their Auxiliaries, being such as caused them to incamp apart, he sent forth *Hanno* to set upon them; who taking them unawares, buried four thousand of them in the place. Now during the continuance of the Land-war in *Sicil*, *Hannibal*, who had lately been beaten by Sea, but escaped unto *Carthage*, meaning to make amends for his former errour, obtained the trust of a new fleet, wherewith he arrived at *Sardinia*: the conquest of which Island, the *Romans* had entertained for their next enterprise. Now it so fell out, that the *Romans*, crossing the Sea from *Sicil*, arrived in the Port where *Hannibal* with his new fleet anchored. They set upon him unawares, and took the better part of the fleet which he conducted; himself hardly escaping the danger. But it little availed him to have escaped from the *Romans*. His good friends the *Carthaginians*, were so ill pleased with this his second unfortunate voyage, that they hanged him up for his diligence: for (as it hath been said of old) *Non est bis in bello peccare*; *In War it is too much to offend twice.*

After this, it was long ere any thing of importance was done by the Consuls, till * *Panormus*

If we may give credit to Antiquities, which *Fazellus* a diligent Writer, hath left us in his History of *Sicil*. * *Panormus*, now called *Palermo*, is one of the first Cities that hath been built in all *Europe*. For, whereas *Thucydides* seems to make it a Colony of the *Phœnicians*; *Ranzanus, in libello de Panormo, lib 6.* affirms that it was first and long before the time which *Thucydides* set down founded by the *Chaldeans*, and *Damascenes*. To prove which, he tells us of two inscriptions upon Marble in the *Hebrew* Character found at *Panormus*, in the time of *William* the second, King of *Sicil*, that were then beheld of all the Citizens and other strangers, which being translated into Latin, say as followeth; *Vivente Isaac filio Abrahæ, & regnante in Idumea, atque in valle Damascena, Esau filio Isaac, ingens Hebræorum manus, quibus adjuncti sunt multi Damasceni, atque Phœnices, profecti in hanc triangularem insulam, sedes perpetuas locaverunt hoc amœnissimo loco, quem Panormum nominaverunt.* In the other Marble are found these words; *Non est alius Deus præter unum Deum; non est alius potens præter eundem Deum, &c. Hujus Turris Præfectus est Sapha filius Eliphaz, filii Esau fratris Jacob filii Isaac, filii Abraham: & Turri quidem ipsi nomen est Baych; sed Turri huic proximæ nomen est Pharah.* And this inscription (saith *Fazellus*) was found intire in the Castle Baych, in the year 15[illegible]. Now whether these inscriptions were truly as ancient, as these men believe they were, I leave every man to his own faith. But that the City was of aged times, it appears by *Thucydides*, who affirmeth; when the *Greeks* passed first into *Sicil*, that then the *Phœnicians* inhabited *Panormus*: which certain it is they did in the first *Punick* war; to wit, the *Carthaginians* who were *Phœnicians*, from whom the *Romans* (*A. Aquilius*, and *C. Cornelius* commanding this Army) took it. And when *Marcellus* besieged *Syracuse*, it sent him in aid 3000 Souldiers. But it was rather confederate, than subject to the *Romans*. For *Cicero* against *Verres*, names it among the free Cities of *Sicil*. After *Syracuse* destroyed, it became the first City, and Royal Seat, as well of the *Goths* and *Saracens* in that Island, as of the Emperors of *Constantinople*; of the *Normans*, *French*, and *Arragonians*, which honour it holds this day, and is much frequented, for the excellent wine which grows about it.

normus



*normus* was besieged; where, when the *Romans* had fought in vain to draw the *Carthaginians* into the field; being unable to force that great City, because of the strong Garrison therein bestowed: they then departed from thence, and took certain Inland Towns, as *Mycistratum*, *Enna*, *Camerina*, *Hippana*, and others, between *Panormus* and *Messana*.

The year following, *C. Atilius* the Consul who commanded the *Roman* fleet, discovered a company of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, ranging the coast: and, not staying for his whole number, pursued them with ten of his. But he was well beaten for the haste he made, and lost all, save the Gally which transported him: wherein himself escaped with great labour. But ere all was done, the rest of *Atilius* his fleet was gotten up: who renewing the fight, recovered from the *Carthaginians* a double number of theirs; by which the Victory remaining doubtful, both challenge it. Now to try at once, which of these two Nations should command the Seas, they both prepare all they can. The *Romans* make a fleet of three hundred and thirty Gallies; the *Carthaginians*, of three hundred and fifty, * *Triremes*, *Quadriremes*, and *Quinqueremes*.

* The *Quinqueremes* are Gallies, wherein every Oar hath five men to draw it: the *Quadriremes* had four to an Oar: and the *Triremes*, three. Some have thought, that the *Quinqueremes* had five ranks of Oars, one over another; and the other Gallies (rateably) fewer. But had this been so, they must then have had five decks each over other: which hath seldome been seen in ships of a thousand tuns; neither could the third, fourth, and fifth ranks, have reached unto the water with the Oars.

The *Romans* resolve to transport the War into *Africk*; the *Carthaginians*, to arrest them on the coast of *Sicil*. The numbers, with which each of them filled their fleet, was (perhaps) the greatest that ever fought on the waters. By *Polybius* his estimation, there were in the *Roman* Gallies an hundred and forty thousand men; and in those of *Carthage*, an hundred and fifty thousand: reckoning one hundred and twenty Souldiers, and three hundred Rowers to every Gally, one with the other. The *Roman* fleet was divided into four parts, of which the three first made the form of a Wedge or Triangle; the two first squadrons making the Flanks, and the third squadron, the Base: the point thereof (wherein were the two Consuls as Admirals) looking toward the enemy, and the middle space lying empty. Their Vessels of carriage were towed by the third squadron. After all came up the fourth, in form of a *Crescent*; very well manned, but exceeding thin: so that the horns of it inclosed all the third squadron, together with the corner of the first and second. The order of the *Carthaginian* Fleet I cannot conceive by relation; but, by the manner of the fight afterwards, I conjecture, that the front of their Fleet was thin, and stretched in a great length; much like to that which the *French* call *Combat en haye*, a long front of horse, and thin: which form, since the Pistol prevailed over the Lance, they have changed. Behind this first out-stretched front, their Battalions were more solid: for *Amilcar*, Admiral of the *Carthaginians* had thus ordered them, of purpose, (his Gallies having the speed of the *Romans*) that, when the first Fleet of the *Romans* hasted to break through the first Gallies, they should all turn tail, and the *Romans* pursuing them (as after a victory) disorder themselves, and, for eagerness of taking the Run-awayes, leave their own three squadrons far behind them. For so it must needs fall out; seeing that the third squadron towed their horse-boats and victuallers; and the fourth had the Rearward of all. According to *Amilcars* direction it succeeded. For when the *Romans* had charged, and broken the thin front of the *Carthaginian* first Fleet, which ran away, they forthwith gave after them with all speed possible, not so much as looking behind them for the second squadron. Hereby the *Romans* were drawn near unto the body of the *Carthaginian* Fleet, led by *Amilcar*, and by him (at the first) received a great loss, until their second squadron came up, which forced *Amilcar* to betake him to his Oars. *Hanno* also who commanded the right wing of the *Carthaginian* Fleet, invaded the *Roman* Rearward, and prevailed against them. But *Amilcar* being beaten off, *Marcus Atilius* fell back to their succour, and put the *Carthaginians* to their heels; as not able to sustain both squadrons. The Rear being relieved, the Consuls came to the aid of their third Battalion, which towed the victuallers, which were also in great danger of being beaten by the *Africans*: but the Consuls, joyning their squadrons to it, put the *Carthaginians* on that part also to running.

This victory fell unto the *Romans*, partly by the hardiness of their Souldiers; but principally, for that *Amilcar*, being first beaten, could never after joyn himself unto any of his other squadrons, that remained, as yet, in a fair likelihood of prevailing, so long as they fought upon equal terms, and but squadron to squadron. But *Amilcar* forsaking the fight, thereby left a full fourth part of the *Romane* fleet uningaged, and ready to give succour to any of the other parts that were opprest. So as in conclusion,

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the *Romans* got the honour of the day: for they lost but four and twenty of theirs; whereas the *Africans* lost thirty that were sunk, and threescore and three that were taken.

Now, if *Amilcar*, who had more Gallies than the *Romans*, had also divided his Fleet into four squadrons, (besides those that he ranged in the front to draw on the enemies, and to ingage them) and that, whilst he himself fought with one squadron that charged him, all the rest of the enemies Fleet had been at the same time entertained, he had prevailed: but the second squadron, being free, came to the rescue of the first, by which *Amilcar* was opprest: and *Amilcar*, being opprest and scattered, the Consuls had good leisure to relieve both the third and the fourth squadron, and got the victory.

*Charls* the fifth, among other his Precepts to *Philip* the second his Son, where he advised him concerning War against the *Turks*, tells him, that in all battels between them and the *Christians*, he should never fail to charge the *Janisars* in the beginning of the fight, and to ingage them at once with the rest. For (saith he) the *Janisars*, who are alwayes reserved intire in the Rear of the battel, and in whom the *Turk* reposeth his greatest confidence; come up in a gross body, when all the troops on both sides are disbanded and in confusion; whereby they carry the Victory before them without resistance. By the same order of fight, and reservation, did the *Romans* also prevail against other Nations. For they kept their *Triarii* in store (who were the choice of their Army) for the up-shot and last blow. A great and victorious advantage it hath ever been found, to keep some one or two good troops to look on, when all else are disbanded and ingaged.

## §. VIII.

*The* Romans *prevail in* Africk. Atilius *the Consul, propoundeth intolerable conditions of Peace to the* Carthaginians. *He is utterly beaten and made prisoner.*

NOW the *Romans*, according to their former resolution, after they had re-paired and re-victualled their Fleet, set sail for *Africa*, and arrived at the *Promontory* of *Hercules*, a great Head-land, somewhat to the East of the Port of *Carthage*, and some forty leagues from *Heraclea* in *Sicil*, where *Amilcar* himself as yet staid. From this Head-land (leaving the entrance into *Carthage*) they coasted the East-side of the *Promontory*, till they came to *Clypea*, a Town about fifty *English* mile from it. There they dis-embarked and prepared to besiege *Clypea*; which, to ease them of labour, was yielded unto them. Now had they a Port of their own on *Africa* side; without which all invasions are foolish. By this time were the *Africans* also arrived at their own *Carthage*, fearing that the *Roman* Fleet and Army had directed themselves thither: but being advertised that they had taken *Clypea*, they made provisions of all sorts, both by Sea and Land, for their defence. The *Romans* send to *Rome* for directions, and in the mean while waste all round about them. The order given from the Senate, was, That one of the Consuls should remain with the Army, and that the other should return with the Fleet into *Italy*. According to this direction, *Manlius* the Consul is sent home to *Rome*; whither he carried with him twenty thousand *African* Captains, with all the *Roman* Fleet and Army; except forty ships, fifteen thousand foot, and five hundred horse, that were left with *Atilius*.

With these forces, *Regulus* easily wan some Towns and places that were unwalled, and laid siege to others. But he performed no great matter before he came to *Adis*. Yet I hold it worthy of relation, that near unto the River of *Bagrada*, he encountred with a Serpent of one hundred and twenty foot long, which he slew, not without loss of many Souldiers, being driven to use against it such engines of War, as served properly for the assaulting of Towns. At *Adis* he met with the *Carthaginian* Army, whereof the Captains were *Hanno* and *Bostar*, together with *Amilcar*, who had brought over out of *Sicil* five thousand foot, and five hundred horse to succour his Country. These (belike) had an intent, rather to weary him out of *Africa*, by wary protraction of time, than to undergo the hazard of a main fight. They were careful to hold themselves free from necessity of coming to blows: yet had they a great desire to save the Town of *Adis* out of his hands. Intending therefore to follow their general purpose, and yet to disturb him in the siege of *Adis*, they incamp near unto him, and strongly (as they think) on the top of an hill: but thereby they lose the services both of their *Elephants*, and of their horse-men. This disadvantage of theirs, *Regulus* discovers, and makes use of it. He assails them in their strength, which they defend a while, but in fine the *Romans* prevail, and force them from the place, taking the spoil of their Camp. Following this their good fortune at the heels, they



they proceed to * *Tunis* a City within sixteen miles of *Carthage*, which they assault and take.

* This City was taken from the *Turks* by *Charles* the fift in the year 1536. and was one of the three Keyes, which he gave in charge to *Philip* the second his son to keep safe; to wit, this *Tunis*, the Key of *Africa*: *Flushing*, the Key of the *Netherlands*: and *Kadiz*, the Key of *Spain*. But two of these *Philip* so lost, that he never found them again; the third our *English* were bold, in the time of the renowned Queen *Elizabeth*, to wring out of his hand: where we staid not to pick any lock, but brake open the doors, and having rifled all, threw it into the fire.

By the loss of this battail at *Adis*, and more especially by the loss of *Tunis*, the *Carthaginians* were greatly dismayed. The *Numidians*, their next Neighbours towards the West, insult upon their misfortunes; invade, and spoil their Territory, and force those that inhabite abroad, to forsake their villages and fields, and to hide themselves within the wals of *Carthage*. By reason hereof, a great famine at hand threatens the Citizens. *Atilius* finds his own advantage, and assures himself that the City could not long hold out: yet he feared lest it might defend it self, until his time of Office, that was near expired, should be quite run out, whereby the new Consuls were like to reap the honour of obtaining it. Ambition therefore, that hath no respect but to it self, perswades him to treat of peace with the *Carthaginians*. But he propounded unto them so unworthy and base conditions, as thereby their hearts, formerly possessed with fear, became now so couragious and disdainful, that they resolved, either to defend their liberty, or die to the last man. To strengthen this their resolution, there arrived at the same time a great troop of *Greeks*, whom they had formerly sent to entertain. Among these was a very expert Souldier, named *Xantippus*, a *Spartan*: who being informed of what had passed, and of the overthrow which the *Carthaginians* received neer unto *Adis*, gave it out publickly; that the same was occasioned by default of the Commanders, and not of the Nation. This bruit, ran till it came to the Senate; *Xantippus* is sent for; gives the reason of his opinion; and in conclusion, being made General of the *African* forces, he puts himself into the field. The Army which he led, consisted of no more than twelve thousand foot, and four thousand horse, with an hundred Elephants. No greater were the forces wherewith the *Carthaginians* fought for all that they had, Liberties, Lives, Goods, Wives, and Children: which might well make it suspected, that the Armies by Sea, before spoken of, were mis-numbred; the one consisting of an hundred and forty thousand, and the other of an hundred and fifty thousand: were it not commonly found that they which use the service of mercenary Souldiers, are stronger abroad, than at their own doors.

*Xantippus*, taking the field with this Army, marched directly towards the *Romans*; and ranging his troops upon fair and level ground, fittest both for his Elephants and Horse, presented them battel. The *Romans* wondred much, whence this new courage of their enemies might grow: but confident they were, that it should soon be abated. Their chief care was, how to resist the violence of the Elephants. Against them they placed the *Velites*, or light-armed Souldiers, as a *forlorn hope*; that these might either with darts and other casting-weapons, drive back the beasts upon the enemies, or at least break their violence, and hinder them from rushing freely upon the Legions. To the same end, they made their battails deeper in file, than they had been accustomed to do. By which means, as they were the less subject unto the impression of the Elephants; so were they so much the more exposed unto the violence of the horse, wherein the enemy did far exceed them. The Elephants were placed by *Xantippus*, all in one rank, before his Army; which followed them at a reasonable distance: his horsemen, and some light-armed foot, of the *Carthaginians Auxiliaries*, were in the wings. The first onset was given by the Elephants, against which the *Velites* were so unable to make resistance, that they brake into the battalions following, and put them into some disorder. In this case, the depth of the *Roman* battail was helpfull. For when the beasts had spent their force, in piercing through a few of the first ranks; the squadrons nevertheless persisted in their order, without opening. But the *Carthaginian* horse, having at the first encounter, by reason of their advantage in number, driven those of *Atilius* out of the field, began to charge the *Roman* battalions in flank, and put them in great distress; who being forced to turn face every way, could neither pass forward nor yet retire; but had very much ado to make good the ground whereon they stood. In the mean while, such of the *Romans*, as had escaped the fury of the Elephants, and left them at their backs, fell upon the *Carthaginian* Army, that met them in very good array. It was no even match. The one were a disordered Company, wearied with labour and hurt; the other, fresh, and well prepared, to have dealt with the enemy upon equal terms. Here was

there fore a great slaughter with little fight; the *Romans* hastily recoiled to the body of their Army, which being surrounded with the enemy, and spent with travail, fell all to rout, upon the defeat of these troops, that open the way to a general overthrow. So the *Carthaginians* obtained a full victory; destroying the whole *Roman* Army, save two thousand, and taking five hundred prisoners, together with *Atilius* the Consul. Of their own they lost no more than eight hundred Mercenaries, which were slain when the fight began, by two thousand of the *Romans*: that wheeling about to avoid the Elephants, bare down all before them; and made way even to the *Carthaginian* trenches. These were the two thousand that escaped, when the whole Army behind them was routed. All the rest were either taken or slain. Hereby fortune made the *Romans* know, that they were no less her vassals, than were the *Carthaginians*: how insolent soever they had been in their proposition of peace, as if they had purchased from her the inheritance of their prosperity, which she never gave nor sold to any mortal man. With what joy these newes were welcommed, when they came to *Carthage*, we may easily conjecture; and what great things the vertue of one man hath often brought to pass in the world, there are many examples to prove, no less than this of *Xantippus*: all of them confirming that sentence of *Euripedes*, *Mens una sapiens, plurium vincit manus*; *Many mens hands equal not one wise mind.*

After this great service done to the *Carthaginians*, *Xantippus*, returned into *Greece*; whether for that he was more envyed than honoured, or for what other cause, it is unknown.

The death of *Atilius Regulus* the Consul, was very memorable. He was sent from *Carthage* to *Rome*, about the exchange and ransome of prisoners on both sides: giving his faith to return if the busines were not effected. When he came to *Rome*, and plainly saw that his Country should lose by the bargain: so far was he from urging the Senate unto compassion of his own misery, that he earnestly perswaded to have the prisoners in *Africk* left to their ill destinies. This done, he returned to *Carthage*: where for his pains taken, he was rewarded with an horrible death. For this his constancy and faith, all Writers highly extoll him. But the *Carthaginians* seem to have judged him an obstinate and malicious enemy, that neither in his prosperity would hearken to reason, nor yet in his calamity would have the natural care, to preserve himself and others, by yielding to such an office of humanity, as is common in all wars (not grounded upon deadly hatred) only in regard of some small advantage. Whatsoever the *Carthaginians* thought of him; sure it is, that his faithful observance of his word given, cannot be too much commended. But that grave speech, which he made in the Senate, against the exchange of prisoners, appears, in all reason, to have proceeded from a vain-glorious forwardnes, rather than from any necessity of State. For the Exchange was made soon after his death; wherein the *Romans* had the worse bargain, by so much as *Regulus* himself was worth. As for the authority of all Historians, that magnifie him in this point; we are to consider, that they lived under the *Roman* Empire: *Philinus*, the *Carthaginian*, perhaps did censure it otherwise. Yet the death which he suffered with extrem torments, could not be more grievous to him than it was dishonourable to *Carthage*. Neither do I think that the *Carthaginians* could excuse themselves herein; otherwise than by recrimination: saying, that the *Romans* deserved to be no better intreated, for as much as it is their ordinary practice to use others in the like sort. Cruelty doth not become more warrantable, but rather more odious, by being customary. It was the *Roman* fashion, to whip almost to death, and then to behead, the Captains of their enemies whom they took, yea although they were such as had alwayes made fair wars with them. Wherefore it seems not meet, in reason, that they should cry out against the like tyrannical insolency in others, as if it were lawfull only in themselves.

The consideration both of this misfortune, that rewarded the pride of *Atilius* his intolerable demands; and of the sudden valour, whereinto the *Carthaginians* fear was changed by meer desperation; calls to remembrance, the like insolency of others in prosperity, that hath bred the like resolution in those, to whom all reasonable grace hath been denyed. In such cases I never hold it impertinent, to add unto one, more testimonies; approving the true rules, from which our passions carry us away.

In the year 1378. the *Genowaies* won so fast upon the *Venetians*, as they not only drave their Gallies out of the Sea, but they brought their own fleet within two miles of *Venice* it self. This bred such an amazement in the Citie of *Venice*, that they offered unto the *Genowaies* (their state reserved) whatsoever they would demand. But *Peter Doria*, blown



blown up with many former victories, would hearken to no composition; save the yielding of their City and State to his discretion. Hereupon the *Venetians*, being filled with disdain, thrust out to Sea with all their remaining power, and assail *Doria* with such desperate fury, that they break his fleet, kill *Doria* himself, take nineteen of his *Gallies*, fourscore boats of *Padoa*, and four thousand prisoners, recover *Chiozza*, and all the places taken from them; and following their victory, enter the Port of *Genoa*, enforcing the *Genowaies* basely to beg peace, to their extream dishonour and disadvantage, being beaten; which, being victorious, they might have commanded, to their greatest honour and advantage. The like hapned to the Earl of *Flanders*, in the year 1380. when having taken a notable, and withal an over-cruel revenge upon the *Gantois*, he refused mercy to the rest, who in all humility, submitting themselves to his obedience, offered their City, goods, and estates, to be disposed at his pleasure. This when he had unadvisedly refused, and was resolved to extinguish them utterly; they issue out of their City with five thousand chosen men, and armed with a desperate resolution, they charge the Earl, break his Army, enter *Bruges* (*pell-mell*) with his vanquished followers; and enforce him to hide himself under an heap of straw, in a poor cottage; out of which with great difficulty he escaped, and saved himself. Such are the fruits of Insolency.

## §. IX.

*How the affairs of* Carthage *prospered after the victory against* Atilius: *How the* Romans, *having lost their fleet by tempest, resolve to forsake the Seas: The great advantages of a good fleet in war, between Nations divided by the Sea.*

BY the reputation of this late victory, all places that had been lost in *Africk*, return to the obedience of *Carthage*. Only *Clypea* stands out; before which the *Carthaginians* sit down, and assail it, but in vain: For the *Romans*, hearing of the loss of *Atilius*, with their forces in *Africk*, and withall, that *Clypea* was besieged, make ready a gross Army, and transport it in a fleet of three hundred and fifty Gallies, commanded by *M. Æmilius*, and *Ser. Fulvius*, their Consuls. At the *Promontory* of *Mercury*, two hundred *Carthaginian* Gallies, set out of purpose, upon the bruit of their coming, encounter them: but greatly to their cost. For the *Romans* took by force an hundred and fourteen of their fleet, and drew them after them to *Clypea*; where they staid no longer, than to take in their own men that had been besieged. and this done, they made amain toward *Sicil*, in hope to recover all that the *Carthaginians* held therein. In this hasty voyage they despise the advice of the Pilots, who pray them to find harbour in time, for that the season threatned some violent storms, which ever hapned between the rising of *Orion*, and of the * *Dog-starr*. Now although the Pilots of the *Roman* fleet had thus fore-warned them of the weather at hand, and certified them withall, that the South coast of *Sicil* had no good Ports, wherein to save themselves upon such an accident: yet this victorious Nation was perswaded, that the wind and seas feared them no less, than did the *Africans*; and that they were able to conquer Elements themselves. So refusing to stay within some Port, as they were advised, they would needs put out to Sea; thinking a matter much helping their reputation, after this victory against the *Carthaginian* fleet, to take a few worthless Towns upon the coast. The mercilesse winds in the mean while overtake them, and near unto *Camerina*, overturn and thrust headlong on the rocks, all but fourscore of three hundred and forty ships, so as their former great victory was devoured by the Seas, before the fame thereof recovered *Rome*.

* There is no part of the World, which hath not some certain times of outragious weather beside their accidental storms. We have upon our Coast a *Michaelmas* flaw that seldome or never fails: In the West Indies in the moneths of *August* and *September*, those most forcible winds, which the *Spaniards* call the *Nortes*, or North winds, are very fearful: and therefore they that navigate in those parts, take harbor till those moneths take end. *Charles* the 5ft being as ill advised, in passing the Seas towards *Algire*, in the Winter quarter contrary to the counsel of *A. Doria*; as he was in like unseasonable times to continue his siege before *Metz*, in *Lorraine*, lost an hundred and forty ships by tempests, and fifteen Gallies, with all in effect in them, of men, victuallers, horses, and munition: a loss no less great, than his retreat, both from before the one and the other, was extreme dishonourable.

The *Carthaginians*, hearing what had hapned, repair all their warlike vessels hoping once again to command the Seas: they are also as confident of their land-forces since the overthrow of *Attilus*. They send *Asdrubal* into *Sicil* with all their old Souldiers, and an hundred and forty Elephants imbarked in two hundred Gallies. With this Army and fleet he arrives at *Lilybæum*; where he begins to vex the *Partisans* of *Rome*. But adversity doth not discourage the *Romans*: They build in 3. moneths (a matter of great note) one hundred and twenty ships; with which, and the remainder of their late shipwrack, they row to *Panormus*, or *Palermo*, the chief City of the *Africans* in *Sicil*, and surround it by Land and Water: after a while

while they take it, and leaving a Garrison therein, return to *Rome*.

Very desirous the *Romans* were to be doing in *Africk*: to which purpose they imployed *C. Servilius*, and *C. Sempronius*, their Consuls. But these wrought no wonders. Some spoil they made upon the coasts of *Africk*: but Fortune robbed them of all their gettings. For in their return, they were first set upon the sands, and like to have perished, neer unto the lesser *Syrtes*, where they were fain to heave all over-boord, that so they might get off: then, having with much ado doubled the Cape of *Lilybæum*, in their passage from *Panormus* towards *Italy*, they lost an hundred and fifty of their ships by foul weather. A greater discouragement never Nation had; the god of the wars favoured them no more, than the god of the waters afflicted them. Of all that *Mars* enricht them with upon the *Land*, *Neptune* robbed them upon the Seas. For they had now lost, besides what they lost in fight, four hundred and six Ships and Gallies, with all the munition and Souldiers transported in them.

The exceeding damage hereby received, perswaded them to give over their Navigation, and their fight by Sea, and to send only a Land-army into *Sicil*, under *L. Cæcilius*, and *F. Furius*, their Consuls. These they transport in some threescore ordinary passage boats, by the straights of *Messana*, that are not above a mile and a half broad from land to land. In like sort, the overthrow which *Atilius* received in *Africa*, occasioned chiefly by the Elephants, made them less cholerick against the *Carthaginians*, than before; so that for two years after, they kept the high and woody grounds, not daring to fight in the fair and champion Countries. But this late resolution of forsaking the Seas lasted not long. For it was impossible for them to succour those places which they held in *Sicil*, without a Navy, much less to maintain the War in *Africa*. For, whereas the *Romans* were to send forces from *Messana* to *Egesta*, to *Lilybæum*, and to other places in the extreme West parts of *Sicil*, making sometime a march of above an hundred and forty *English* mile by land, which could not be performed without an Army, and the provisions that follow it, in less than 14. dayes; the *Carthaginians* would pass it with their Gallies, in eight and forty hours.

An old example we have, of that great advantage of transporting Armies by water, between *Canutus*, and *Edmund Ironside*. For *Canutus*, when he had entred the *Thames* with his Navy and Army, and could not prevail against *London*, suddenly imbarqued; and sailing to the West, landed in *Dorset-shire*, so drawing *Edmund* and his Army thither. There finding ill entertainment, he again shipt his men, and entred the *Severn*, making *Edmond* to march after him, to the succour of *Worcester-shire*, by him greatly spoiled. But when he had *Edmond* there, he sailed back again to *London*: by means whereof, he both wearied the King, and spoiled where he pleased, ere succour could arrive. And this was not the least help, which the *Netherlands* have had against the *Spaniards*, in the defence of their liberty, that being Masters of the Sea, they could pass their Army from place to place, unwearied, and entire, with all the Munition and Artillery belonging unto it, in the tenth part of the time, wherein their enemies have been able to do it. Of this an instance or two. The Count *Maurice* of *Nassau*, now living, one of the greatest Captains, and of the worthiest Princes, that either the present or preceding Ages have brought forth, in the year 1590. carryed his Army by Sea, with forty Canons to *Breda*: making countenance either to besiege *Boisleduc*, or *Gertreviden Bergs*; which the enemy (in prevention) filled with Souldiers, and victuals. But as soon as the wind served, he sudenly set sail, arriving in the mouth of the *Meuze*, turned up the *Rhine*, and thence to *Yssell*, and sate down before *Zutphen*. So before the *Spaniards* could march over land round about *Holland*, above fourscore mile, and over many great Rivers, with their Cannon and carriage, *Zutphen* was taken. Again, when the *Spanish* Army had overcome this wearisome march, and were now far from home, Prince *Maurice*, making countenance to sail up the *Rhine*, changed his course in the night; and sailing down the stream, he was set down before *Hulst* in *Brabant*, ere the *spaniards* had knowledge what was become of him. So this Town he also took, before the *Spanish* Army could return. Lastly, the *spanish* Army was no sooner arrived in *Brabant*, than the Prince *Maurice*, well attended by his good fleet, having fortified *Hulst*, set sail again, and presented himself before *Nymegen* in *Gelders*, a City of notable importance, and mastered it.

And to say the truth; it is impossible for any maritime Countrey, not having the coasts admirably fortified, to defend it self against a powerful enemy, that is master of the Sea. Hereof I had rather, that *Spain* than *England* should be an example. Let it therefore be supposed, that King *Philip* the second had fully resolved to hinder Sir *John Norris* in the year 1589. from presenting *Don Antonio*, King of *Portugale*, before the gates of *Lysborne*; and that he would have kept off the *English*, by power of his landforces; as being too weak at Sea, through the great overthrow of his mighty *Armado*, by the fleet of Queen *Elizabeth*, in the year foregoing. Surely, it had not been hard for him, to prepare an Army, that should be able to resist our eleven thousand. But where should this his Army have been bestowed? If about *Lisborne*; then would it have been easie unto the *English*, to take, ransack, and burn the Town of *Croin*, and to waste the Country round about it. For the great and threatning preparations of the Earle of *Altemira*, the Marques of *Seralba*, and others did not hinder them from performing all this. Neither did the hasty levy of eight thousand under the Earle of *Andrada*, serve to more effect, than the increase of honour to Sir *John Norris*, and his Associates: considering that the *English* charged these, at *Puente de Burgos*, and passing the great Bridge, behind which they lay, that was flanked with shot, and barricadoed at the further end, routed them, took their camp; took their General standard with the Kings Arms, and pursued them over all the Country, which they fired. If a Royal Army, and not (as this was) a Company of private adventurers, had thus begun the war in *Galicia*; I think it would have made the *Spaniards* to quit the guard of *Portugale*, and make haste to the defence of their St. *Jago*, whose Temple was not far from the danger. But, had they held their first resolution, as knowing, that Sir *John Norris* his main intent was, to bring *Don Antonio*, with an Army into his Kingdom, whither coming strong, he expected to be readily and joyfully welcomed: could they have hindred his landing in *Portugale*? Did not he land at *Penicha*, and march over the Country to *Lisborn*, six dayes journey? Did not he (when all *Don Antonio* his promises failed) pass along by the River of *Lysborne* to *Cascaliz*, and there, having won the Fort, quietly imbarque his men, and depart? But these, though no more than an handful, yet were they *Englishmen*. Let us consider of the matter it self; what another Nation might do, even against *England*, in landing an Army, by advantage of a fleet, if we had none. This question, *Whether an invading Army may be resisted at their landing upon the coast of* England, *were there no fleet of ours at the Sea to impeach it*; is already handled by a learned Gentleman of our Nation, in his observations upon *Cæsars* Commentaries, that maintains the affirmative. This he holds only upon supposition; *in absence of our shipping*: and comparatively, as that it is a more safe and easie course, to defend all the coast of *England*, than to suffer any enemy to land, and afterwards to fight with him. Surely I hold with him, that it is the best way, to keep our enemies from treading upon our ground; wherein, if we fail, then must we seek to make him wish, that he had stayed at his own home. In such a case, if it should happen, our judgements are to weigh many particular circumstances, that belongs not unto this discourse. But making the question general, and positive, *Whether* England, *without the help of her fleet, be able to debarr an enemy from landing*; I hold that it is unable so to do: and therefore I think it most dangerous to make the adventure. For the incouragement of a first victory to an enemy, and the discouragement of being beaten to the invaded, may draw after it a most perilous consequence.



It is true, that the Marshal *Monluc*, in his Commentaries, doth greatly complain, that by his wanting forces, wherewith to have kept the frontier of *Guyenne*, they of the *Protestant* Religion, after the battail of *Moncontour*, entred that Country, and gathered great strength and relief thence; for if the King (saith he) would have given me but reasonable means, *j'eusse bien gardé à Monsieur l'Admiral de fair boire ses Chevaux en la Garonne*; *I would have kept the Admiral from watering his horses in the River of* Garonne. *Monsieur de Langey*, on the contrary side, prefers the not fighting upon a frontier with an invading enemy, and commends the delay; which course the Constable of *France* held against the Emperour *Charles*, when he invaded *Provence*. Great difference I know there is, and a diverse consideration to be had, between such a country as *France* is, strengthened with many fortified places; and this of ours, where our Rampars are but of the bodies of men. And it was of invasions upon firm land, that these great Captains spake: whose entrances cannot be uncertain. But our question is of an Army to be transported over Sea, and to be landed again in an enemies countrey, and the place left to the choice of the invader. Hereunto I say, That such an Army cannot be resisted on the coast of *England*, without a fleet to impeach it; no, nor on the coast of *France*, or any other Countrey: except every Creek, Port, or sandy Bay, had a powerful Army, in each of them, to make opposition. For let his whole supposition be granted;

granted; That *Kent* is able to furnish twelve thousand foot, and that those twelve thousand be layed in the three best landing places within that Country, to wit, three thousand at *Margat*, three thousand at the *Nesse*, and 6000. at *Foulkston*, that is somewhat equally distant from them both; as also that two of these troops (unless some other order be thought more fit) be directed to strengthen the third, when they shall see the enemies fleet to bend towards it: I say, that notwithstanding this provision, if the enemy, setting sail from the Isle of *Wight*, in the first watch of the night, and towing their long boats at their sterns, shall arrive by dawn of day at the *Nesse*, and thrust their Army on shore there; it will be hard for those three thousand that are at *Margat*, (twenty and four long miles from thence) to come time enough to re-enforce their fellows at the *Nesse*. Nay, how shall they at *Foulkstone* be able to do it, who are nearer by more than half the way? seeing that the enemy, at his first arrival, will either make his entrance by force, with three or four hundred shot of great Artillery, and quickly put the first three thousand, that were intrenched at the *Nesse*, to run; or else give them so much to do, that they shall be glad to send for help to *Foulkston*, and perhaps to *Margat*: whereby those places will be left bare. Now let us suppose, that all the twelve thousand *Kentish* Souldiers arrive at the *Nesse*, ere the enemy can be ready to dis-embarque his Army, so that he will find it unsafe, to land in the face of so many, prepared to withstand him; yet must we believe, that he will play the best of his own game; (having liberty to go which way he list) under covert of the night, set sail towards the East, where what shall hinder him to take ground, either at *Margat*, the *Downes*, or elsewhere, before they at the *Nesse* can be well aware of his departure? Certainly, there is nothing more easie than to do it. Yea, the like may be said of *Waymouth*, *Purbeck*, *Poole*, and of all landing places on the South Coast. For there is no man ignorant, that ships, without putting themselves out of breath, will easily out-run the Souldiers that coast them. *Les armees ne volent point en poste; Armies neither flye, nor run post*, saith a Marshal of *France*. And I know it to be true, that a fleet of ships may be be seen at Sun-set, and after it, at the *Lizard*; yet by the next morning they may recover *Fortland*, whereas an Army of foot shall not be able to march it in six dayes. Again, when those troops lodged on the Sea-shores, shall be forced to run from place to place in vain, after a fleet of ships; they will at length sit down in the mid-way; and leave all at adventure. But say it were otherwise; that the invading enemy will offer to land in some such place, where there shall be an Army of ours ready to receive him; yet it cannot be doubted, but that when the choice of all our Trained Bands, and the choice of our Commanders and Captains, shall be drawn together (as they were at *Tilbury* in the year 1588.) to attend the person of the Prince, and for the defence of the City of *London*: they that remain to guard the coast can be of no such force, as to encounter an Army like unto that wherewith it was intended that the Prince of *Parma* should have landed in *England*.

The Isle of *Tercera* hath taught us by experience, what to think in such a case. There are not many Islands in the world, better fenced by nature, and strengthned by art: it being every where hard of access; having no good harbour wherein to shelter a Navy of friends, and upon every cove or watering place a Fort erected, to forbid the approach of an enemies boat. Yet when *Emanuel de Sylva*, and *Monsieur de Chattes*, that held it to the use of *Don Antonio*, with five or six thousand men, thought to have kept the *Marquess* of *Santa Cruz*, from setting foot on ground therein; the Marquess having shewed himself in the Road of *Angra*, did set sail, ere any was aware of it, and arrived at the *Port des Moles*, far distant from thence; where he wan a Fort, and landed ere *Monsieur de Chattes*, running thither in vain, could come to hinder him. The example of *Philip Strossie*, slain the year before, without all regard of his worth, and of three hundred *French* prisoners murdered in cold blood; had instructed *de Chattes*, and his followers, what they might expect at that Marquess his hands: Therefore it is not like, that they were slow in carrying in relief to *Port des Moles*. Whether our *English* would be perswaded to make such diligent haste, from *Margat* to the *Nesse*, and back again, it may be doubted. Sure I am, that it were a greater march than all the length of *Tercera*; whereof the *French-men* had not measured the one half when they found themselves prevented by the more nimble Ships of *Spain*.

This may suffice to prove, that a strong Army, in a good fleet, which neither foot, nor horse is able to follow, cannot be denyed to land where it list, in *England*, *France*, or elsewhere, unless it be hindred, encountred, and shuffled together, by a fleet of equal or answerable strength.

The



The difficult landing of our *English*, at *Fayal*, in the year 1597. is alledged against this: which example moves me no way to think, that a large Coast may be defended against a strong Fleet. I landed those *English* in *Fayal* my self, and therefore ought to take notice of this instance. For whereas I find an Action of mine cited, with omission of my name; I may, by a civil interpretation, think, that there was no purpose to defraud me of any honour; but rather an opinion, that the enterprize was such, or so ill managed, as that no honour could be due unto it. There were indeed some which were in that voyage, who advised me not to undertake it: and I hearkened unto them somewhat longer than was requisite, especially, whilst they desired me to reserve the title of such an exploit (though it were not great) for a greater person. But when they began to tell me of difficulty; I gave them to understand, the same which I now maintain, that it was more difficult to defend a coast, than to invade it. The truth is, that I could have landed my men with more ease than I did; yea without finding any resistance, if I would have rowed to another place; yea even there where I landed, if I would have taken more company to help me. But, without fearing any imputation of rashness, I may say, that I had more regard of reputation in that business, than of safety. For I thought it to belong unto the honour of our Prince and Nation, that a few Islanders should not think any advantage great enough, against a Fleet set forth by *Q. Elizabeth*: and further, I was unwilling, that some *Low-Country* Captains, and others, not of mine own squadron, whose assistance I had refused, should please themselves with a sweet conceit (though it would have been short, when I had landed in some other place) *That for want of their help I was driven to turn tail.* Therefore I took with me none, but men assured, Commanders of mine own squadron, with some of their followers, and a few other Gentlemen, voluntaries, whom I could not refuse; as, Sir *William Brook*, Sir *William Harvey*, Sir *Arthur Gorges*, Sir *John Skot*, Sir *Thomas Ridgeway*, Sir *Henry Tinnes*, Sir *Charls Morgan*, Sir *Walter Chute*, *Marcellus Throckmorton*, Captain *Laurence Kemis*, Captain *William Morgan*, and others such as well understood themselves and the enemy: by whose help, with Gods favour, I made good the enterprize I undertook. As for the *working of the Sea, the steepness of the Cliffs*, and other troubles that were not new to us, we overcame them well enough. And these (notwithstanding) made five or six companies of the enemies, that fought to impeach our landing, abandon the wall, whereon their Musketiers lay on the Rest for us, and won the place of them without any great loss. This I could have done with less danger, so that it should not have served for example of a Rule, that failed even in this example: but the reasons before alledged, (together with other reasons well known to some of the Gentlemen above-named, though more private than to be here laid down) made me rather follow the way of bravery, and take the shorter course; having it still in mine own power to fall off when I should think it meet. It is easily said, that *the Enemy was more than a Coward*; (which yet was more than we knew) neither will I magnifie such a small piece of service, by seeking to prove him better: whom had I thought equal to mine own followers, I would otherwise have dealt with. But for so much as concerns the proposition in hand; he that beheld this, may well remember that the same enemy troubled us more in our march towards *Fayal*, than in our taking the shore; that he sought how to stop us in place of his advantage, that many of our men were slain or hurt by him, among whom Sir *Arthur Gorges* was shot in that march; and that such, as (thinking all danger to be past, when he had won good footing) would needs follow us to the Town, were driven by him, to forsake the pace of a man of war, and betake themselves to an hasty trot.

For end of this Digression, I hope that this question shall never come to tryal; his Majesties many movable Forts will forbid the experience. And although the *English* will no less disdain, than any Nation under Heaven can do, to be beaten upon their own ground, or elsewhere by a forein enemy; yet to entertain those that shall assail us, with their own Beef in their bellies, and before they eat of our *Kentish* Capons, I take it to be the wisest way. To do which, his Majesty, after God, will imploy his good ships on the Sea, and not trust to any intrenchment upon the shore.

§. X.

*How the* Romans *attempt again to get the Maſtery of the Seas. The Victory of* Cæcilius *the* Roman *Conſul at* Panormus: *The ſiege of* Lilybæum. *How a* Rhodian *Gally entred* Lilybæum *at pleaſure, in deſpight of the* Roman *Fleet. That it is a matter of great difficulty to ſtop the paſſage of good ſhips. The* Romans, *by reaſon of grievous loſſes received under* Claudius *and* Junius *their Conſuls, abandon the Seas again.*

WHen, without a ſtrong Navy, the *Romans* found it altogether impoſſible, either to keep what they had already gotten in *Sicil*, or to enlarge their Dominions in *Africa*, or elſewhere; they reſolved once again, notwithſtanding their late misadventures, to ſtrengthen their Fleet and Ships of war. So cauſing fifty new Gallies to be built, and the old to be repaired, they gave them in charge (together with certain Legions of Souldiers) to the new Conſuls, *C. Atilius*, and *L. Manlius*. On the other ſide, *Aſdrubal* perceiving that the *Romans*, partly by reaſon of the ſhipwrack which they had lately ſuffered, partly by reaſon of the overthrow which they received by *Xantippus* in *Africa*, were leſs daring than they had been in the beginning of the war: and withall, that one of the Conſuls was returned into *Italy*, with the one half of the Army, and that *Cæcilius*, with only the other half, remained at *Panormus*; he removed with the *Carthaginian* forces from *Lilybæum* towards it, hoping to provoke *Cæcilius* to fight. But the Conſul was better adviſed. For when *Aſdrubal* had made his approaches ſomewhat near the Town, *Cæcilius* cauſed a deep trench to be cut, a good diſtance without the ditch of the City: between which and his trench he left ground ſufficient, to embattel a Legion of his Souldiers. To theſe he gave order that they ſhould advance themſelves, and paſs over the new trench, till ſuch time as the *African* Elephants were thruſt upon them. From thoſe beaſts he commanded them to retire by ſlow degrees till they had drawn on the Elephants to the brink of the new trench, which they could by no means paſs. This they performed accordingly. For when the Elephants were at a ſtand, they were ſo gawled and beaten, both by thoſe Souldiers that were on the inſide of the trench, and by thoſe that lay in the trench it ſelf, that being inraged by their many wounds, they brake back furiouſly upon their own foot-men, and utterly diſordered them. *Cæcilius* eſpying his advantage, ſallied with all the force he had; and charging the other troops, that ſtood embattailed, he utterly brake them, and put them to their heels; making a great ſlaughter of them, and taking all their Elephants.

The report of this Victory being brought to *Rome*; the whole State filled with courage, prepared a new Fleet of two hundred ſail, which they ſent into *Sicil*, to give end to that war, that had now laſted fourteen years. With this Fleet and Army the *Romans* reſolve to attempt *Lilybæum*, the only place of importance which the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*; and all (indeed) ſave *Drepanum*, that was near adjoyning. They ſet down before it, and poſſeſs themſelves of all the places of advantage near unto it, eſpecially of ſuch as command the Haven, which had a very difficult entrance. They alſo beat to the ground ſix Towers of defence; and by forcible engines weaken ſo many other parts of the City, as the defendants begin to deſpair. Yet *Himilco*, Commander of the place, faileth not in all that belongs to a man of War. All that is broken he repaireth with admirable diligence; he maketh many furious ſallies, and giveth to the *Romans* all the affronts that poſſibly could be made. He hath in Garriſon (beſides the Citizens) ten thouſand Souldiers; among which there are certain Lieutenants, and other petty officers, that conſpire to render and betray the Town. But the matter is revealed by an *Achæan*, called *Alexon*, who had formerly in danger of the like treaſon, ſaved *Agrigentum*. *Himilco* uſeth the help of *Alexon*, to aſſure the hired Souldiers, and imploys *Hannibal* to appeaſe the troops of the *Gaules*, which did waver, and had ſent their agents to the enemy. All, promiſe conſtancy and truth; ſo that the Traitors, being unable to perform what they had undertaken, are fain to live in the *Roman* Camp as fugitives, that had wrought no good whereby to deſerve their bread. In the mean while, a ſupply of ten thouſand Souldiers is ſent from *Carthage* to their relief, having *Hannibal* the Son of *Amilcar* for their Conductor: who, in deſpight of all reſiſtance, entred the Port and City, to the incredible joy of the beſieged. The old Souldiers, together with the new Companies, (thereto perſwaded by *Himilco* with hope of great reward) reſolve to ſet upon the *Romans* in their trenches, and either force them to abandon the ſiege, or (at leaſt) to take from them, or ſet on fire their engines of battery. The attempt is preſently made, and purſued to the uttermoſt, with great ſlaughter on both ſides. But the *Romans*, being more in number, and having the



the advantage of the ground, hold ſtill their places, and with extreme difficulty defend their engines.

They of *Carthage* deſire greatly to underſtand the ſtate of things at *Lilybæum*; but know not how to ſend into the Town. A certain *Rhodian* undertakes the ſervice; and having received his diſpatch, ſails with one Gally to *Æguſa*, a little Iſland near *Lilybæum*. Thence, taking his time he ſteered directly with the Port; and having a paſſing ſwift Gally, he paſt through the beſt of the Channel, and recovered the water-gate ere any of thoſe which the *Romans* had to guard the Port, could thruſt from the ſhores on either ſide.

The next day, neither attending the covert of the dark night, nor dreading to be boorded by the *Roman* Gallies, who waited his return, he ſet ſail, and ſhipped his Oars (his Gally being exceeding quick of ſteerage, and himſelf expert in all parts of the Channel) recovered the Havens mouth, and the Sea, in deſpight of all the purſuit made after him. Then, finding himſelf out of danger of being encompaſſed by many, he turned again towards the mouth of the Haven, challenging any one, if any one durſt come forth, to undertake him. This enterpriſe, and the well performing of it, was very remarkable, and much wondred at in thoſe dayes: and yet, where there was no great Artillery, nor any other weapons of fire, to kill afarr off, the adventure which this *Rhodian* made was not greatly hazardous. For in this Age, a valiant and judicious man of war will not fear to paſs by the beſt appointed Fort of *Europe*, with the help of a good Tide, and a leading gale of wind: no, though forty pieces of great Artillery open their mouths againſt him, and threaten to tear him in pieces.

In the beginning of our late Queens time, when *Denmark* and *Sueden* were at War, our *Eaſt-land* Fleet, bound for *Leif-land*, was forbidden by the King of *Denmark* to trade with the ſubjects of his enemies, and he threatned to ſink their ſhips if they came through the ſtraights of *Elſenour*. Notwithſtanding this, our Merchants (having a ſhip of her Majeſties, called the *Minion* to defend them) made the adventure, and ſuſtaining ſome Vollies of ſhot, kept on their courſe. The King made all the proviſion he could to ſtop them, or ſink them at their return. But the *Minion*, commanded (as I take it) by *William Burrough*, leading the way, did not only paſs out with little loſs, but did beat down, with Artillery, a great part of the Fort of *Elſenour*; which at that time was not ſo well rampard, as now perhaps it is: and the Fleet of Merchants that followed him, went through without any wound received. Neither was it long, ſince that the Duke of *Parma*, beſieging *Antwerp*, and finding no poſſibility to maſter it, otherwiſe than by famine, laid his Cannon on the bank of the River, ſo well to purpoſe, and ſo even with the face of the Water, that he thought it impoſſible for the leaſt boat to paſs by. Yet the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, not blown up by any wind of glory, but coming to find a good market for their Butter and Cheeſe, even the poor men, attending their profit when all things were extreme dear in *Antwerp* paſſed in boats of ten or twelve Tun, by the mouth of the Dukes Cannon, in deſpight of it; when a ſtrong Weſterly wind, and a Tide of flood favoured them; as alſo with a contrary wind, and an ebbing water, they turned back again: ſo as he was forced, in the end, to build his Stockado overthwart the River, to his marvellous trouble and charge.

The Fort Saint *Philip*, terrified not us in the year 1596. when we entred the Port of *Caliz*, neither did the Fort at *Puntal*, when we were entred, beat us from our anchoring by it; though it plaid upon us with four demi-cannons within point-blank, from ſix in the morning till twelve at noon. The ſiege of *Oſtend*, and of many other places, may be given for proof, how hard a matter it is to ſtop the paſſage of a good ſhip, without another as good to encounter it. Yet this is true, that where a Fort is ſo ſet, as that of *Angra* in *Tercera*, that there is no paſſage along beſide it, or that the ſhips are driven to turn upon a bow-line towards it, wanting all help of wind and tide; there, and in ſuch places, it is of great uſe, and fearful: otherwiſe not.

But to return to our adventrous *Rhodian*: He arrives in ſafety at *Carthage*, and makes them know the eſtate of *Lilybæum*. Others alſo, after this, take upon them to do the like, and perform it with the ſame ſucceſs. The *Romans* therefore labour to choak the Channel; and, for that purpoſe, fill many Merchants ſhips with great ſtones, and ſink them therein. The force of the *Tides* clears it again in part: but they grounded ſo many of thoſe great bellied-boats in the beſt of the entrance, as at laſt it made a manifeſt riſing and heap, like a ragged Iſland in the paſſage. Hereby it came to paſs, that a *Carthaginian* Gally, taking her courſe by night, and not ſuſpecting any ſuch impediment, ran her ſelf aground thereon, and was

was taken. Now comes that brave *Rhodian*, thinking to enter, as he had done before: but this *Carthaginian* Gally, a little before taken, gave him chase, and gathered upon him: he finds what she is, both by her form, and by her swiftness: and being not able to run from her, resolved to fight with her. But she is too well manned for him, so that he is beaten and taken.

*Lilybæum*, after this, is greatly distressed; the Souldiers being worn with labour and watching. But in this despair there rose so violent a tempest, as some of the *Romans* Wooden-Towers, by which they over-topt the walls of *Lilybæum*; were over-turned. A *Greek* Souldier undertakes to fire those that were fallen, and performs it: for the fire was no sooner kindled, but being blown unto by the bellows of a tempest, it increased so fast, as it became resistless, and in the end burned all to ashes, and melted the brazen heads of the battering Rams. Hereupon, despair and weariness hinder the *Romans* from repairing their Engines: so that they resolve, by a long siege, to starve the defendants.

Upon relation of what had past, a supply of ten thousand Souldiers is sent from *Rome*, under *M. Claudius*, the Consul. He arrives at *Messana*, and marcheth over Land to *Lilybæum*: where having re-inforced the Army, and supplied the Gallies with new Rowers, he propounds the surprise of *Drepanum*, a City on the other side of the Bay of *Lilybæum*. This service the Captains and Souldiers willingly embrace. So the Consul embarques his troops, and arrives on the sudden in the mouth of the Port. *Adherbal* is Governour of the Town, a valiant and prudent man of war, who being ignorant of the new supply arrived at *Lilybæum*, was at first amazed at their sudden approach; but having recovered his spirits, he perswades the Souldiers rather to fight abroad, than to be enclosed. Herewithall he promiseth great rewards to such, as by their valour shall deserve them; offering to lead them himself, and to fight in the head of his Fleet. Having sufficiently encouraged his men, he thrust into the Sea towards the *Romans*. The Consul, deceived of his expectation, calls back the foremost Gallies, that he might now marshall them for defence. Hereupon some row backward, some forward, in great confusion. *Adherbal* finds and follows his advantage, and forceth the Consul into a Bay at hand, wherein he rangeth himself, having the Land on his back: hoping thereby to keep himself from being incompassed. But he was thereby, and for want of Sea-room, so straightned, as he could not turn himself any way from his enemies, nor range himself in any order. Therefore when he found no hope of resistance, keeping the shore on his left hand, he thrust out of the Bay with thirty Gallies, besides his own, and so fled away: all the rest of his Fleet, to the number of ninety and four ships, were taken or sunk by the *Carthaginians*. *Adherbal* for this service is greatly honoured at *Carthage*; and *Claudius*, for his indiscretion and flight, as much disgraced at *Rome*.

The *Romans*, notwithstanding this great loss, arm threescore Gallies, with which they send away *L. Junius*, their Consul, to take charge of their business in *Sicil*. *Junius* arrives at *Messana*, where he meets with the whole remainder of the *Roman* Fleet, those excepted which rode in the Port of *Lilybæum*. One hundred and twenty Gallies he had; and besides these, he had gotten together almost eight hundred ships of burthen, which were laden with all necessary provisions for the Army. With this great Fleet he arrives at *Syracuse*, where he stayes a while; partly to take in Corn, partly to wait for some that were too slow of sail to keep company with him along from *Messana*. In the mean time he dispatcheth away towards *Lilybæum* his Questors or Treasurers; to whom he commits the one half of his victuallers, with some Gallies for their Convoy.

*Adherbal* was not careless after his late victory: but studied how to use it to the best advantage. The ships and prisoners that he had taken, he sent to *Carthage*. Of his own Gallies he delivered thirty to *Carthalo*, who had threescore and ten more under his own charge; and sent him to try what good might be done against the *Roman* Fleet in the Haven of *Lilybæum*. According to his direction, *Carthalo* suddenly enters the mouth of that Haven, where he finds the *Romans* more attentive to the keeping in of the besieged *Carthaginians*, than to the defence of their own against another Fleet. So he chargeth them, boords, and takes some, and fires the rest. The *Roman* Camp takes alarm, and hastens to the rescue. But *Himilco*, Governour of the Town, is not behind hand; who sallies out at the same time, and putting the *Romans* to great distress, gives *Carthalo* good leisure to go through with his enterprise.

After this exploit, *Carthalo* ran all along the South coast of *Sicil*, devising how to work mischief to the enemy; wherein Fortune presented him with a fair occasion, which he wisely managed. He was advertised by his Scouts, that they had discryed, near at hand, a great fleet, consisting of all manner of Vessels. These were the victuallers, which the Consul *Junius*, more hastily then providently, had sent before him towards *Lilybæum*. *Carthalo* was glad to hear of their coming: for he and his men were full of courage, by reason of their late victories. Accompting therefore the great multitude of *Roman* Hulks, approaching, to be rather a prey than a fleet likely to make strong opposition, he hastens to encounter them. It fell out according to his expectation. The *Romans* had no mind to fight: but were glad to seek shelter in an open Road, full of Rocks under a covert of a poor Town, belonging to their party; that could help to save them only from the present danger, by lending them engines and other aid, wherewith to beat off the *Carthaginians* that assailed them. *Carthalo* therefore, having taken a few of them, lay waiting for the rest, that could not long ride under those Rocks, but would be forced by any great change of wind, either to put out into the deep, or to save their men, how they could, by taking land, with the loss of all their shipping. Whilst he was busied in this care, the Consul *Junius* drew near, and was discovered. Against him *Carthalo* makes out, and finds him altogether unprepared to fight as being wholly ignorant of that which had hapned. The Consul had neither means to fly, nor ability to fight. Therefore he likewise ran into a very dangerous Creek; thinking no danger so great as that of the enemy. The *Carthaginian* seeing this, betakes himself to a Station between the two *Roman* fleets; where he watcheth, to see which of them would first stir, with a resolution to assault that, which should first dare to put it self into the Sea. So as now all the three fleets were on the South coast of *Sicil*, between the Promontory of *Pachinus* and *Lilybæum*; a Tract exceeding dangerous, when the wind stormed at South. The *Carthaginians*, who knew the times of tempest, and their signs, finding (belike) some swelling billow (for so we do in the West of *England*, before a Southernly storm) hasted to double the Cape of *Pachinus*, thereby to cover themselves from the rage at hand. But the *Romans*, who knew better how to fight than how to Navigate, and never found any foul weather in the entrails of their beasts, their Sooth-sayers being all land-Prophets, were suddenly overtaken with a boisterous South-wind, and all the Gallies forced against the rocks, and utterly wrackt.

This calamity so discouraged the *Romans*, that they resolved again to forsake the Seas, and trust only to the service of their Legions upon firm ground. But such a resolution cannot long hold. Either they must be strong at Sea, or else they must not make war in an Island, against those that have a mightier fleet. Yet are they to be excused, in regard of the many great calamities which they had suffered through their want of skill. Here I cannot forbear to commend the patient vertue of the *Spaniards*. We seldom or never find, that any Nation hath endured so many misadventures and miseries, as the *Spaniards* have done, in their *Indian Discoveries*. Yet persisting in their enterprises with an invincible constancy, they have annexed to their Kingdom so many goodly Provinces, as bury the remembrance of all dangers past. Tempests and shipwracks, famine, overthrows, mutinies, heat and cold, pestilence, and all manner of diseases both old and new, together with extream poverty, and want of all things needful, have been the enemies wherewith every one of their most noble discoverers, at one time or other, hath encountred. Many years have passed over some of their heads in the search of not so many leagues: yea more than one or two have spent their labour, their wealth, and their lives, in search of a golden Kingdom, without getting further notice of it, than what they had at their first setting forth. All which notwithstanding, the third, fourth, and fifth undertakers, have not been disheartned. Surely, they are worthily rewarded with those Treasuries and Paradises which they enjoy; and well they deserve to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like vertue in others, which (perhaps) will not be found.



## §. XI.

*The City of* Eryx *is surprised by the* Romans, *and recovered by* Amilcar, *who stoutly holds war with them five years. The* Romans, *having emptied their common treasury, build a new fleet at the charges of private men. The great victory at Sea of* Luctatius *the Consul; whereby the* Carthaginians *are forced to crave peace. The conditions of the peace between* Rome *and* Carthage.

THE *Romans* were careful to supply with all industry, by land, the want of strength at Sea. Therefore they continue the siege of *Lilybæum*, and seek to make sure to themselves all places, whither the enemies ships could not bring relief. The Consul *Junius*, to cure the wound of

disthonour, which he had received, bethought him what enterprises to undertake. In the end he resolved to attempt the Mountain and City of *Eryx*, with the Temple of *Venus Erycina:* which was the faireſt and richeſt of all the Iſland; and of theſe, by cunning or treaſon, he got poſſeſſion. *Eryx* was commodiouſly ſeated between *Drepanum* and *Panormus*; ſo that it ſeemed a fit place for a Garriſon, that ſhould reſtrain the *Carthaginians* from making roads into the Country. Wherefore *Junius* fortified both the top of the Mountain, and the firſt entrance of the paſſage from the bottom, (both of which places were very defenſible) with a good ſtrength of men. But ſhortly after, in the eighteenth year of this war, the *Carthaginians* ſet forth *Amilcar*, ſurnamed *Barcas*, Father of the great *Hannibal*, with a Fleet and Army, who ſailing to the coaſts of *Italy*, did throughly repay the ſpoils which the *Romans* made in *Africa*. For he firſt of all waſted and deſtroyed the Territories of the *Locrians*, and of the *Brutians*, that were dependants of *Rome*. Then entred he into *Sicil*, and finding there no walled City in the *Carthaginians* power, that ſerved fitly to infeſt the *Romans*, he occupied a piece of ground of great advantage, and lodged his Army thereon; to confront as well the *Romans*, that were in *Panormus*, as thoſe that kept about *Eryx*, putting himſelf between both Armies with admirable reſolution.

The place that *Amilcar* had ſeized upon, was not only very ſtrong by ſituation, but had the command of a Port: whereby it gave him opportunity to ſcour all the coaſt of *Italy* with his Fleet, waſting all along as far as to *Cuma*. In the Iſle of *Sicil* he held the *Romans* to hard work, lying near unto *Panormus:* where, in three years abode, he did many notable acts, though not of much conſequence, for that the enemy could never be drawn to hazard the main chance. Having wearied himſelf and the *Romans* long enough about *Panormus*, he undertook a ſtrange piece of work at *Eryx*. The *Roman* Garriſons, placed there by *Junius*, on the top, and at the bottom of the Mountain, were very ſtrongly lodged. Nevertheleſs *Amilcar* found a way, lying towards the Sea-ſide, by which he conveighed his men into the City of *Eryx*, that was about the midſt of the aſcent, ere the enemy knew of it. By this it came to paſs, that the *Romans* which kept the top of the mountain, were ſtraightly held (as it were) beſieged. And no leſs was *Amilcar* himſelf reſtrained, by both of theſe Garriſons, and ſuch as came to relieve them. There he found them paſtime about two years more; hoping ſtill to weary out thoſe that lay over his head, as they on the contrary did their beſt, to thruſt him out of thoſe quarters.

At this time, all the care, both of the *Romans* and of the *Carthaginians*, was bent unto the proſecuting of this buſineſs at *Eryx*. Wherein it ſeems true (as *Hannibal*, in *Livie*, ſpake unto *Scipio*) that the affairs of *Carthage* never ſtood in better terms, ſince the beginning of the war, than now they did. For whereas the *Romans* had utterly forſaken the Seas, partly by reaſon of their great loſſes; partly upon confidence of their land-forces, which they held reſiſtleſs; *Amilcar*, with a ſmall Army, had ſo well acquitted himſelf, to the honour of his Country, that by the tryal of five years war, the *Carthaginian* Souldier was judged equal, if not ſuperior to the *Roman*. Finally, when all, that might be, had been deviſed and done, for the diſlodging of this obſtinate Warriour: no way ſeemed better to the Senate of *Rome*, than once again to build a fleet; whereby, if the maſtery of the Sea could once be gotten, it was likely that *Amilcar*, for lack of ſupply, ſhould not long be able to hold out. But in performing this, extream difficulty was found. The common treaſury was exhauſted: and the coſt was not little, that was requiſite unto ſuch an enterpriſe. Wherefore there was none other way left, than to lay the burden upon private purſes. Divers of the principal Citizens undertook to build (each at his own charges) one *Quinquereme*, which example wrought ſo well, that they, whoſe ability would not ſerve to do the like, joyned with ſome others, and laying their mony together, concurred two or three of them, in building of another; with condition to be repayed, when the war was finiſhed. By this voluntary contribution, they made and finiſhed two hundred new *Quinqueremes:* taking for their pattern, that excellent ſwift rowing Gally which they had gotten from the *Rhodian*, in the Port of *Lilybæum*, as was ſhewed before. The charge of this fleet was committed to *C. Luctatius Catulus*; who paſt with the ſame into *Sicil* the Spring following, and entred the Port of *Drepanum*; indeavouring by all means to have forced the City. But being advertiſed that the *Carthaginian* fleet was at hand, and being mindful of the late loſſes which his Predeceſſors had received; he was careful to put himſelf in order, againſt their arrival.

*Hanno* was Admiral of the *Carthaginian* fleet; a man (as his actions declare him) wiſe in



in picture, exceedingly formal, and ſkilful in the art of ſeeming reverend. How his reputation was firſt bred, I do not find; but it was upheld by a factious contradiction, of things undertaken by men more worthy than himſelf. This quality procured unto him (as it hath done to many others) both good liking among the ancient ſort, whoſe cold temper is adverſe from new enterpriſes; and therewithall an opinion of great foreſight, confirmed by every loſs received. More particularly, he was gracious among the people, for that he was one of the moſt grievous oppreſſors of their ſubject Provinces; whereby he procured unto the *Carthaginians* much wealth, but therewithall ſuch hatred, as turned it all to their great loſs. He had ere this been imployed againſt the *Numidians* and wild *Africans*, that were more like to Rovers than to Souldiers, in making War. Of thoſe fugitive Nations he learned to neglect more manly enemies, to his own great diſhonour, and to the great hurt of *Carthage*; which loſt not more by his bad conduct, than by his malicious counſel, when, having ſhewed himſelf an unworthy Captain, he betook himſelf to the long Robe. Yet is he much commended in *Roman* Hiſtories, as a temperate man, and one that ſtudied how to preſerve the League between *Carthage* and *Rome*. In which regard, how well he deſerved of his own Country, it will appear hereafter: how beneficial he was to the *Romans*, it will appear, both hereafter, and in his preſent voyage; wherein he reduced the *Carthaginians* to a miſerable neceſſity of accepting, upon hard conditions, that peace which he thence-forth commended.

*Hanno* had very well furniſhed his Navy, with all needful proviſions for the Souldiers at *Eryx* (for dexterity in making preparation was the beſt of his qualities): but he had neither been careful in training his Marriners, to the practice of Sea-fight, nor in manning his Gallies with ſtout fellows. He thought, that the fame of a *Carthaginian* fleet was enough, to make the unexpert *Romans* give way: forgetting, that rather the reſiſtleſs force of tempeſts, than any other ſtrength of oppoſition, had made them to forſake the Seas. Yet in one thing he had either conceived aright, or elſe was ſent forth well inſtructed. It was his purpoſe, firſt of all to ſail to *Eryx*, and there to diſcharge his ſhips of their lading: and having thus lightned himſelf, he meant to take aboord ſome part of the Land-army, together with *Amilcar* himſelf, by whoſe help he doubted not, but that he ſhould be able to make his enemy repent of his new adventure to Sea. This was a good courſe, if it could have been performed. But *Catulus* uſed all poſſible diligence, to prevent the execution of this deſign: not becauſe he was informed of the enemies purpoſe, but that he knew it to be the beſt for them, and for that he feared no danger ſo greatly, as to encounter with *Amilcar*. Wherefore although the weather was very rough, and the Seas went high, when the *Carthaginian* fleet was deſcried; yet he rather choſe to fight with the enemy, that had the wind of him, than to ſuffer his convoy to paſs along to *Eryx*, upon unlikely hope of better opportunity in the future. All that *Hanno* ſhould have done, *Catulus* had performed. He had carefully exerciſed his men in Rowing; he had lightned his Gallies of all unneceſſary burthens; & he had taken aboord the choiſe men of the *Roman* Land-Souldiers. The *Carthaginians* therefore, at the firſt encounter were utterly broken and defeated, having fifty of their Gallies ſtemmed and ſunk, and ſeventy taken, wherein were few leſs than ten thouſand men, that were all made priſoners: the reſt, by a ſudden change of wind, eſcaping to the Iſle of *Hieroneſus*.

The ſtate of *Carthage*, utterly diſcouraged by this change of fortune, knew not whereon to reſolve. Means to repair their fleet in any time, there were none left; their beſt men of war by Sea were conſumed; and *Amilcar*, upon whoſe valour and judgment the honour and ſafety of the Common-weal reſted, was now ſurrounded by his enemies in *Sicil*, where he could not be relieved. In this extremity, they make diſpatch unto *Amilcar* himſelf, and authorized him to take what courſe ſhould ſeem beſt unto his excellent wiſdom, leaving all concluſions to his election and ſole counſel.

*Amilcar*, whom no adverſity, accompanied with the leaſt hope or poſſibility of recovery, had ever vanquiſhed, looking over every promiſe, true or falſe, that the preſent time could make him, (for to attend any thing from the future he was not able) reſolved to make trial, whether his neceſſity might be compounded upon any reaſonable terms. He therefore ſent to *Luctatius* the Conſul an overture of peace: who conſidering it well, gathered ſo many arguments from the preſent poverty of the *Roman* State, waſted beyond expectation in the former war, that he formerly hearkned unto it. So, in concluſion, an accord was made, but with proviſion, That it ſhould hold none otherwiſe, than if the Senate and People of *Rome* would ratifie it with their allowance.

The

The conditions were: First, that the *Carthaginians* should clearly abandon the Isle of *Sicil*. Secondly, that they should never undertake upon *Hieron* King of *Syracuse*, nor invade any part of his Territories, nor the Territories of any of his Friends and Allies. Thirdly, that they should set at liberty, and send back into *Italy*, all the *Romans*, whom they held prisoners, without ransome. Lastly, that they should pay unto the *Romans* two thousand and two hundred talents; which make, as the *French* reckon the talent, thirteen hundred and twenty thousand crowns: the same to be delivered within twenty years next following.

These Articles were sent to *Rome*, where they were not throughly approved: but ten Commissioners were sent into *Sicil*, to make perfect the agreement. These Commissioners added a thousand talents to the former sum; and required a shorter time of payment. Further also they took order, that the *Carthaginians* should not only depart out of *Sicil* it self, but should also withdraw their Companies out of all other Islands between it and *Italy*, renouncing their whole interest therein.

Such was the end of the first *Punick War*, that had lasted about twenty four years without intermission; in which time the *Romans* had lost, by fight or shipwrack, about seven hundred *Quinqueremes*; and the *Carthaginians* about five hundred: the greatness of which losses, doth serve to prove the greatness both of these two Cities, and of the War it self; wherein I hold good the judgement of *Polybius*, That the *Romans*, in general, did shew themselves the braver Nation; and *Amilcar*, the most worthy Captain.

## CHAP. II.

### *Of divers actions passing between the first and second Punick Warrs.*

### §. I.

#### *Of the cruel War begun between the* Carthaginians *and their own Mercenaries.*

THE *Romans* having partly by force, and partly by composition, thrust the *Carthaginians* out of *Sicil*, and all the little Islands thereunto adjacent, gave them rather means and leisure to help themselves in a following war, than cause to hold themselves contented with the present peace. It is an ancient and true rule, *Quod leges à victoribus dicuntur, accipiuntur à victis*; *That laws are given by the Conquerors, and received of the conquered.* But the *Romans* had either forgotten the answer that was made unto them, by one of the *Privernates*; or else had forgotten to follow it in this weighty business. For when one of *Privernum*, after a rebellion, defending in the Senate the cause of his City, was demanded by a Senator, *What peace the Romans might hope for, or assure themselves of, if they quitted their present advantage over them*; he answered in these words, *Si bonam dederitis, & fidam & perpetuam; si malam, haud diuturnam; If the peace be good and faithful that you give us, it will be perpetual; if it be ill, then of little continuance.* To this answer the Senate, at that time gave such approbation, that it was said, *Viri & liberi vocem auditam; An credi posset, ullum populum, aut hominem deniq; in ea conditione, cujus eum pœniteat, diutius quam necesse sit mansurum? That it was the speech of a manly, and free man; for who could believe, that any people, or indeed any one man, would continue longer in an over-burdened estate, than meer necessity did enforce?* Now, if the *Romans* themselves could make this judgement of those Nations, who had little else besides their manly resolution, to defend their liberty; surely, they grossly flattered themselves, in presuming that the *Carthaginians*, who neither in power nor in pride, were any way inferiour unto themselves, would sit down any longer by the loss and dishonour received, than untill they could recover their legs, and the strength which had a while failed them, to take revenge. But occasion, by which (while well entertained) not only private men, but Kings and publick States, have more prevailed, than by any proper prowess or vertue, with-held the tempest from the *Romans* for a time, and turned it most fearfully upon *Africa*, and the *Carthaginians* themselves.

For



For after the first *Punick* war was ended, *Amilcar*, leaving *Eryx*, went to *Lilybæum*, from whence most conveniently the Army might be transported into *Africk*: the care of which business he committed unto *Gesco*, to whom, as to a man of approved sufficiency, he delivered over his charge. *Gesco* had an especial consideration of the great summs, wherein *Carthage* was indebted unto these Mercenaries; and withall, of the great disability to make payment. Therefore he thought it the wisest way, to send them over (as it were) by handfuls a few at a time; that so the first might have their dispatch, and be gone, ere the second or third Companies arrived. Herein he dealt providently. For it had not been hard to perswade any small number, lodged within so great a City as *Carthage*, unto some such reasonable composition, as the present emptiness of the common Treasury did require: so that the first might have been friendly discharged, and a good president left unto the second and third, whilst their dis-junction had made them unable to recover their whole due by force. But the *Carthaginians* were of a contrary opinion. They thought to find, in the whole Army, some that would be contented to gratifie the Publick State, by remitting a great part of their own due: and hoped, by such an example, to draw all the multitude to the like agreement and capitulation. So they detained the first and second commers; telling them, that they would make an even reckoning with all together. Thus every day the number increased, and many disorders (a thing incident among Souldiers) were committed; which much disquieted the City, not accustomed unto the like. In this regard it was thought fit, to remove them all to some other place, where they might be less troublesome. This must be done by some colourable words of perswasion: for their number was already so great, that it was not safe to offend them too far. Wherefore it is devised, that they should all attend the coming of their fellows, at *Sicca*: receiving every one a piece of gold, to bear his charges in the mean while.

This motion is accepted, and the Souldiers began to dis-lodge; leaving behind them their wives, their children, and all their baggage, as meaning shortly to fetch away all, when they came back for their pay. But the *Carthaginians* have no fancy to their returning into the Town; and therefore compel them to truss up their fardels, that they might have none occasion left to make any errands thither. So to *Sicca* they removed, with all their goods; and there lay waiting for news of their fellows arrival, and their own pay. Business they had none to do, and therefore might easily be drawn to mutiny: the whole argument of their discourse inclining them to nothing else. Their daily talk was, how rich they should be, when all their mony came in; how much would fall to every single share, and for how long time the City was behind hand with them in reckoning. They were all grown Arithmeticians; and he was thought a man of worth, that could find most reason to increase their demands, to the very highest, even beyond their due. No part of their long service was forgotten; but the comfortable words and promises of their Captains, leading them forth to any dangerous fight, were called to mind, and so many obligations, not to be cancelled without satisfying their expectation by some unordinary largess.

Thus the time passeth away, until the whole Army being arrived, and lodged in *Sicca*, *Hanno* comes thither to clear the accompt. Now is the day come, wherein they shall all be made rich; especially if they can hold together, in maintaining stoutly the common cause. So think they all; and assemble themselves to hear what good news this messenger had brought: with a full resolution to help his memory, in case he should happen to forget any part of the many promises made to them; all which were to be considered in their Donative. *Hanno* begins a very formal Oration; wherein he bewails the poverty of *Carthage*, tells them how great a summ of mony is to be paid unto the *Romans*; reckons up the excessive charges whereat the Common-wealth had been in the late War; and finally desires them to hold themselves contented with part of their pay, and out of the love which they bare unto the City, to remit the rest. Few of them understood his discourse: for the *Carthaginian* Army was composed of sundry Nations, as *Greeks*, *Africans*, *Gaules*, *Ligurians*, *Spaniards*, and others; all of different languages. Yet they stared upon him, and were (as I think) little pleased with his very gesture. But when such as conceived the whole tenour of his speech, had informed the rest what cold comfort he brought; they were all inraged, and fared like mad-men, so that nothing would serve to appease them.

*Hanno* would fain have asswaged their fury, but he knew not how: for he less understood their dissonant loud noises, than they did his Oration. An Army collected out of so many Countries, that have no one language common to all, or to the greater part

of

of them, is neither easily stirred up to mutiny, nor easily pacified, when once it is broken into out-rage. The best that *Hanno* can do, is to use the help of Interpreters and Messengers. But these Interpreters mistake his meaning; some for want of skill; others of set purpose; and such as deliver his errands in the worst sense, are best believed. Finally, they think themselves much abused by the *Carthaginians*, and resolve to demand their own in peremptory terms, at a nearer distance. In this mood they leave *Sicca*, and march as far as *Tunis*, that is within a very little of *Carthage*, and there they encamp.

Now begin the *Carthaginians* to find their own errour. It is a good Rule,

*Curandum inprimis, ne magna injuria fiat*
*Fortibus & miseris.*

Have special care, that valiant poverty
Be not oppresst with too great injury.

But this proud City, having neglected the Rule, hath also been careless in providing to secure her self against the inconvenience that might follow. She had suffered the whole multitude, whereunto she was like to give cause of discontent, to joyn it self into one body, when the several troops might easily have been dispersed: she hath turned out of her gates the wives, children, and goods of these poor men, which, had she retained in shew of kindness, she might have used them as Hostages for her own safety; and by imploying a miserable penny-father, in her negotiation with men of War, she hath weakned the reputation of her bravest Captains, that might best have served to free her from the threatning danger. Yet likely it is, that *Amilcar* had no desire to be used as an instrument in defrauding his own Souldiers of their wages: especially considering, that as he best could bear witness of their merits, so was he not ignorant, that means to content them were not wanting, if the Citizens had been willing thereunto. Hereunto may be added a probable conjecture, that *Hanno*, with his complices, who at this very time was a bitter enemy to *Amilcar*, had the boldness to impose the blame of his own wretched counsel upon the liberal promises made by the Captains. *Amilcar* therefore did wisely, in suffering those that maligned him, to have the managing of their own plot, and to deal the cards which themselves had shuffled. This they continue to do as foolishly as they had at first begun. They furnish a market at *Tunis*, for the Souldiers; whom they suffer to buy what they list, and at what price they list. They send ever and anon some of their Senatours into the Camp; who promise to satisfie all demands, as far forth as it should be possible. And thus by shifting from one extreme to another, they make the Souldiers understand into what fear the City was driven; which cannot chuse but add much insolency to the passions already stirred up.

This sudden change of weather, and the true cause of it, is quickly found by the Army, which thereupon grows wise, and finding the season fit, labours to make a great harvest. Mony must be had, and without any abatement. This is granted. Many have lost their horses in publick service of the State. The State shall pay for them. They had lived some years by making hard shift, without receiving their allowance of victuals from *Carthage*. If they had lived, they wanted not meat; therefore what was this to the *Carthaginians?* Was it not all one, whether the ships did bring in provision, or their Captains direct them where to fetch it? But this would not serve. They said that they had been sometimes driven to buy; and that (since they could not remember how much, or at what rate they bought) they would be paid for their provision during the whole time, and according to the dearest price that Wheat had born, whilst the War lasted. Such are now the demands of these Mutiners; who might easily have been satisfied with far less charges, and far more honour, by receiving their due at the first. But now they make no end of craving. For whilst the *Carthaginians* are perplexed about this Corn-mony; the Souldiers have devised many more tricks, whereby to extort a greater summ of mony, without all regard of shame. Since therefore no good end could be found of these controversies which daily did multiply, it was thought convenient, that one of the *Carthaginians*, which had commanded in *Sicil*, should be chosen by the Souldiers to reconcile all differences. Hereunto the Army condescended, and made choice of *Gesco*: partly out of good liking to him, who had shewed himself at all times, a friendly man to them, and careful of their good, especially when they were to be transported into *Africk*: partly out of a dislike which they had conceived of *Amilcar*; for that he had not visited them in all this busie time. So *Gesco* comes among them; and to please them the better, comes not without mony: which might give better countenance to his proceedings, than barren eloquence had done to the negotiation of *Hanno*. He calls unto him first of all the



the Captains, and then the several Nations apart, rebuking them gently for that which had passed; advising them temperately concerning the present; and exhorting them to continue their love unto the State, which had long entertained them, and would needs always be mindful of their good services. After this he began to put hand to his purse, offering to give them their whole pay in hand; and then after to consider of other reckonings at a more convenient time. This had been well accepted, and might have served to bring all to a quiet pass, if two seditious Ring-leaders of the multitude had not stood against it.

There was in the Camp one *Spendius*, a sturdy fellow, and audacious, but a slave; that in the late war had fled from a *Roman*, whom he served, and therefore stood in fear, lest he should be delivered back to his Master; at whose hands he could expect no less, than to be whipt and crucified. This wretch could find no better way to prolong his own life, than by raising such troubles as might serve to withdraw men from care of private matters, and make his own restitution impossible, were his Master never so importunte. With *Spendius* there associated himself one *Matho*, an hot-headed man, that had been so forward in stirring up the tumult, as he could not chuse but fear, lest his own death should be made an example, to deterr others from the like seditious behaviour. This *Matho* deals with his Countrymen the *Africans*; telling them, that they were in far worse condition, than either the *Gaules*, the *Greeks*, the *Spaniards*, or any forein Mercenaries. For (saith he) *These our companions have no more to do, than to receive their wages, and so get them gone: but we that are to stay behind in* Africa, *shall be called to another manner of accompt, when we are left alone; so that we shall have cause to wish that we had returned home beggars, rather than loaden with the mony, which (little though it be) shall brake our backs. Ye are not ignorant, how tyrannically those our haughty Masters of* Carthage *do reign over us. They think it reasonable, that our lives and goods should be at their disposition; which they have at other times been accustomed to take from us even without apparent cause, as it were to declare their soveraignty: What will they now do, seeing that we have demeaned our selves as free-men, and been bold to set a good face on the matter, demanding our own, as others have done? Ye all do know, that it were a very shame for us, if having been as forward in every danger of war, as any other men, we should now stand quaking like slaves, and not dare to open our mouths, when others take liberty to require their due. This notwithstanding ye may assure your selves, that we are like to be taught better manners, as soon as our fellows are gone: in regard of whom they are content to shadow their indignation with a good, but a forced countenance. Let us therefore be wise, and consider that they hate and fear us: their hatred will shew it self when their fear is once past: unless we now take our time, and whilst we are the stronger, enfeeble them so greatly, that their hatred shall not be able to do us wrong. All their strength consisteth in mony, wherewithall they have hired others against us, and us against others. At the present they have neither mony nor friends. The best Army that ever served them, whereof we are no small part, lyes at their gates, ready to help us if we be men. A better opportunity cannot be expected; for were our swords once drawn, all* Africk *would rise on our side. As for the* Carthaginians, *Whither can they send for help? The case it self is plain. But we must quickly resolve. Either we must prevent the diligence of* Gesco, *by incensing these* Gaules *and* Spaniards, *and procuring them to draw bloud; or else it behoveth us to please our good Masters, by joyning with them against our fellows, yea by offering to forgive unto them all our wages, if so (peradventure) they may be won to forgive us, or not over-cruelly to punish our faults committed. He is most worthily a wretched slave, that neither hath care to win his Masters love, nor the courage to attempt his own liberty.*

By such perswasions *Matho* wins the *African* Souldiers to his own purpose. They are not now so greedy of mony, as of quarrel, which he that seeketh will not miss to find. When *Gesco* therefore offered to pay them their whole stipend presently, but referred their other demands, for horses and victuals, to some other more convenient time; they brake into great outrage, and say, that they will have all, even all at once, and that out of hand. In this tumult, the whole Army flock together about *Matho* and *Spendius*; whose diligence is not wanting to add more fuel to the fire already blazing. *Matho* and *Spendius* are the only men to whom the Souldiers will hearken: if any other stand up to make a speech, a shower of stones, flying about his ears, puts him to silence, that he shall never afterwards speak word more. Neither stay they to consider what it is that any man would say: enough hath been said already by those good spokes-men; so that no other word (though perhaps to the same purpose) can be heard; save only *Throw, Throw.*

Now

Now the rebellion begins to take form. *Matho* and *Spendius* are chosen Captains; who, followed by a desperate crue of Ruffians, will suffer no man to make his own peace, but pursue their own ends, under fair pretence of the common cause. All which notwithstanding, *Gesco* is not wanting to the good of his Country, but adventures himself upon their fury. One while he deals with the Captains, and other principal men; taking them by the hand, and giving gentle words: another while, he works with the several Nations; putting them all in hope of their own hearts desire, if any reason would content them. None of them are so sullen as the *Africans*: indeed none of them had so good cause. They require him peremptorily to give them their own, and not to feed them with words. The truth is, that they are not so covetous as they seem: but will be more glad of an ill answer, than of a good payment. This is more than *Gesco* knows: he sees not that *Matho* hath any more than bare words to bestow upon them. Wherefore, as rebuking their inconsiderate heat, he tells them, That they may do well, if they stand in want of mony, to seek it of their Captain *Matho*. This is enough. Shall he both defraud them and deride them? They stay no longer, but lay violent hands upon the treasure that he had brought; yea upon him also, and all that are with him: as intending to take this in part of payment, and, for the rest, to take another course. *Matho* and *Spendius* are glad of this. It had little pleased them to see their fellows begin to grow calm, by his fair language: wherefore they cast into bonds both him, and all the *Carthaginians* that they can find; that so the Army may be freed from danger of good *admonition*, which they call Treason. After this follows open war. *Matho* solicites all *Africk*, and his Embassadors are every where well entertained. Neither is it needful to use perswasion: the very fame of this rebellion sufficeth to draw the whole Country into it. Now must the *Carthaginians* be plagued for those oppressions, with which they have plagued others. It is true that adversity hath never been untold of her errours: and as she is ever assured to hear her own, so commonly with her own she undergoes those of other men. The *Africans* finding the *Carthaginians* hang under the wheel, tell them boldly, that their Impositions were merciless; that they took from them the one half of their Corn; that they doubled their tributes in all things else; and that they inflicted upon their vassals the greatest punishment for the least offences. These cruelties the *Carthaginians* themselves have forgotten: but the people, that have suffered so much, retain all in perfect memory. Wherefore not only such as can bear arms, are ready to do service in this great commotion; but the very women bring forth their Jewels, and other ornaments, offering all to sail for the maintenance of so just a quarrel. By this great forwardness, and liberal contribution, *Matho* and *Spendius* are supplied with a strong aid of threescore and ten thousand *Africans*: and are moreover furnished with mony, not only to satisfie the present appetite of their men; but sufficient to continue the war begun, though it should be of long endurance.

## §. II.

### *Divers Observations upon this War with the Mercenaries.*

### †. I.

#### *Of Tyranny, and how Tyrants are fain to use the help of Mercenaries.*

HEre let us rest a while, as in a convenient place, whence we may take a prospect of the subject, over which we travel. Behold a tyrannical City, persecuted by her own Mercenaries with a deadly war. It is a common thing, as being almost necessary, that a tyranny should be upheld by Mercenary forces: it is common that Mercenaries should be false: and it is common that all war made against Tyrants, should be exceeding full of hate and cruelty. Yet we seldome hear, that ever the ruine of a tyranny is procured or sought by those that were hired to maintain the power of it: and seldome or never do we read of any war that hath been prosecuted with such inexpiable hatred, as this that is now in hand.

That which we properly call Tyranny, is, *A violent form of Government, not respecting the good of the subject, but only the pleasure of the Commander.* I purposely forbear to say that it is, the unjust rule of one over many: for very truly doth *Cleon* in *Thucydides* tell the *Athenians*, that their dominion over their subjects, was none other, than a meer tyranny; though it were so, that they themselves were a great City, and a popular estate. Neither is it peradventure greatly needful, that I should call this form of commanding, *violent*: since it may well and easily be conceived, that no man willingly performs obedience to one regardless of his life and welfare; unless himself be either a mad man, or (which is little better) wholly possessed with some extreme passion of love. The practice of tyranny is not alwayes of a like extremity: for some Lords are more gentle than others, to their very slaves; and he that is most cruel to some, is mild enough towards others, though it be but for his own advantage. Nevertheless, in large Dominions, wherein the Rulers discretion cannot extend it self unto notice of the difference which might be found between the worth of several men, it is commonly seen, that the taste of sweetness drawn out of oppression, hath so good a relish, as continually inflames the Tyrants appetite, and will not suffer it to be restrained with any limits of respect. Why should he seek out bounds to prescribe unto his desires, who cannot endure the face of one so honest, as may put him in remembrance of any moderation? It is much that he hath gotten by extorting from some few: by sparing none, he should have riches in goodly abundance. He hath taken a great deal from every one: but every one could have spared more. He hath wrung all their purses, and now he hath enough: but (as Covetousness is never satisfied) he thinks that all this is too little for a stock, though it were indeed a good yearly Income. Therefore he deviseth new tricks of robbery, and is not better pleased with the gains, than with the Art of getting. He is hated for this, and he knows it well: but he thinks by cruelty to change hatred into fear. So he makes it his exercise, to torment and murder all whom he suspecteth: in which course, if he suspect none unjustly, he may be said to deal craftily; but if Innocency be not safe, how can all this make any conspirator to stand in fear, since the Traitor is no worse rewarded, than the quiet man? Wherefore he can think upon none other security, than to disarm all his Subjects; to fortifie himself within some strong place; and, for defence of his Person and State, to hire as many lusty Souldiers as shall be thought sufficient. These must not be of his own Country: for if not every one, yet some one or other may chance to have a feeling of the publick misery. This considered, he allures unto him a desperate rabble of strangers, the most unhonest that can be found; such as have neither wealth nor credit at home, and will therefore be careful to support him, by whose only favour they are maintained. Now, lest any of these, either by detestation of his wickedness, or (which in wicked men is most likely) by promise of greater reward than he doth give, should be drawn to turn his sword against the Tyrant himself: they shall all be permitted to do as he doth; to rob, to ravish, to murder, and to satisfie their own appetites, in most outragious manner, being thought so much the more assured to their Master, by how much the more he sees them grow hateful to all men else. Considering in what age, and in what language I write; I must be fain to say, that these are not dreams: though some *English-man* perhaps that were unacquainted with History, lighting upon this leaf, might suppose this discourse to be but little better. This is to shew, both how tyranny grows to stand in need of mercenary Souldiers, and how those mercenaries are, by mutual obligation, firmly assured unto the Tyrant.



### †. II.

#### *That the Tyranny of a City over her Subjects is worse than the tyranny of one man: and that a tyrannical City must likewise use mercenary Souldiers.*

NOW concerning the tyranny wherewith a City or State oppresseth her subjects; it may appear some wayes to be more moderate, than that of one man: but in many things it is more intolerable. A City is jealous of her Dominion; but not (as is one man) fearful of her life: the less need hath she therefore to secure her self by cruelty. A City is not luxurious in consuming her treasures, and therefore needs the less to pluck from her Subjects. If War, or any other great occasion drive her to necessity of taking from her Subjects more than ordinary summs of mony; the same necessity makes either the contribution easie, or the taking excusable. Indeed, no wrongs are so grievous and hateful, as those that are insolent. *Remember* (saith *Caligula* the Emperor, to his Grand-mother *Antonia*) *that I may do what I list, and to whom I list*: these words were accounted horrible, though he did her no harm. And *Juvenal* reckons it, as the complement of all torments, inflicted by a cruel *Roman* Dame upon her slaves, that whilst she was whipping them, she painted her face, talked with her Gossips, and used all signs of neglecting what those wretches felt. Now seeing that the greatest grievances wherewith a domineering State offendeth her Subjects, are free from all sense of indignity; likely it is, that they will not extremely hate her, although desire of liberty make them weary of her Empire. In these respects it is not needful that she should keep a Guard of licentious cut-throats, and maintain them in all villany, as a *Dionysius* or

*Agathocles* muſt do: her own Citizens are able to terriſie and to hold perforce in obedience, all male-contents. Theſe things, conſidered alone by themſelves, may ſerve to prove, That a City is ſcarce able to deſerve the name of a Tyranneſs, in the proper ſignification.

All this notwithſtanding, it ſhall appear, that the miſeries, wherewith a Tyrant loadeth his people, are not ſo heavy, as the burdens impoſed by a cruel City. Not without ſome appearance of truth, it may be ſaid, that Luſt, and many other private paſſions, are no way incident to a City or Corporation. But to make this good, we ſhall have need to uſe the help of ſuch diſtinctions, as the Argument in hand doth not require. Was not *Rome* laſcivious, when *Cato* was fain to riſe and leave the Theater, to the end, that the reverend regard of his gravity might not hinder the people from calling for a ſhew of naked Courtiſans, that were to be brought upon the open ſtage? By common practice, and general approved cuſtom, we are to cenſure the quality of a whole State; not by the private vertue or vice of any one man, nor by metaphyſical abſtraction of *the univerſal* from *the ſingular*; or of *the Corporation*, from *thoſe of whom it is compounded:* I ſay therefore, (as I have ſaid elſewhere) That it were better to live under one pernicious Tyrant, than under many thouſands. The reaſons proving this, are too many to ſet down, but a few may ſuffice. The deſires of one man, how inordinate ſoever, if they cannot be ſatisfied, yet they may be wearied; he is not able to ſearch all corners; his humour may be found, and ſoothed; age or good advice, yea, or ſome unexpected accident may reform him: all which failing; yet is there hope, that his ſucceſſour may prove better.

Many Tyrants have been changed into worthy Kings: and many have ill uſed their ill-gotten Dominion, which, becoming hereditary to their poſterity, hath grown into the moſt excellent form of Government, even a lawful Monarchy. But they that live under a tyrannical City, have no ſuch hope: their Miſtreſs is immortal, and will not ſlacken the reins, until they be pulled out of her hands, and her own mouth receive the bridle of a more mightier Chariotter. This is woful: yet their preſent ſufferings make them leſs mindful of the future. New flies, and hungry ones, fall upon the ſame ſore, out of which others had already ſucked their fill. A new Governour comes yearly among them, attended by all his poor kindred and friends, who mean not to return home empty to their hives, without a good lading of wax and honey. Theſe fly into all quarters, and are quickly acquainted with every mans wealth, or whatſoever elſe, in all the Province, is worthy to be deſired. They know all a mans enemies, and all his fears: becoming themſelves, within a little ſpace, the enemies that he feareth moſt. To grow into acquaintance with theſe maſterful gueſts, in hope to win their friendſhip, were an endleſs labour, (yet it muſt be undergone) and ſuch as every one hath not means to go about: but were this effected, what availeth it? The love of our Governour is purchaſed with gifts: the Succeſſour of this man, he is more loving than could be wiſhed in reſpect of a fair Wife or Daughter, then comes the third, perhaps of the contrary faction at home, a bitter enemy to both his fore-goers, who ſeeks the ruine of all that have been inward with them. So the miſeries of this tyranny are not ſimple, but interlaced (as it were) with the calamities of civil War. The *Romans* had a Law *De Repetundis*, or, *Of Recovery*, againſt extorting-Magiſtrates: yet we find, that it ſerved not wholly to reſtrain their Provincial Governours; who preſuming on the favour of their own Citizens, and of their kindred and friends at home, were bold in their Provinces, to work all theſe enormities rehearſed; though ſomewhat the more ſparingly, for fear of judgment. If the Subjects of *Rome* groaned under ſuch oppreſſions, what muſt we think of thoſe that were Vaſſals unto *Carthage*? The *Romans* impoſed no burthenſome tributes; they loved not to hear, that their Empire was grievous; they condemned many noble Citizens for having been ill Governours. At *Carthage* all went quite contrary: the rapines newly deviſed by one Magiſtrate, ſerved as preſidents to inſtruct another; every man reſolved to do the like, when it ſhould fall to his turn; and he was held a notable States-man, whoſe robberies had been ſuch, as might afford a good ſhare to the common treaſure. Particular examples of this *Carthaginian* practice are not extant: the Government of *Verres* the *Roman* in *Sicil*, that it is lively ſet out by *Tully*, may ſerve to inform us, what was the demeanor of theſe *Punick* Rulers, who ſtood in fear of no ſuch condemnation, as *Verres* underwent. By proſecuting this diſcourſe, I might inferr a more general propoſition; That a City cannot govern her ſubject Provinces ſo mildly as a King: but it is enough to have ſhewed, That the tyranny of a City is far more intolerable, than that of any one moſt wicked man.

Suitable to the cruelty of ſuch Lords, is the hatred of their ſubjects: and again, ſuitable to the hatred of the ſubjects, is the jealouſie of their Lords. Hence it followed, that in wars abroad, the *Carthaginians* durſt uſe the ſervice of *African* ſouldiers; in *Africk* it ſelf they had rather be beholding to others, that were farther fetcht. For the ſame purpoſe did *Hannibal*, in the ſecond *Punick war*, ſhift his Mercenaries out of their own countries; *Ut Afri in Hiſpania, Hiſpani in Africa, melior procul ab domo futurus uterq; miles, velut mutuis pignoribus obligati ſtipendia facerent; that the Africans might ſerve in* Spain, *the Spaniards in* Africk, *being each of them like to prove the better Souldiers, the farther they were from home, as if they were obliged by mutual pledges.* It is diſputable, I confeſs, whether theſe *African* and *Spaniſh* hirelings, could properly be termed *Mercenaries:* for they were ſubject unto *Carthage*, and carried into the field, not only by reward, but by duty. Yet ſeeing their duty was no better than enforced, and that it was not any love to the State, but meer deſire of gain, that made them fight; I will not nicely ſtand upon propriety of a word, but hold them, as *Polybius* alſo doth, no better than Mercenaries.

## †. III.

### *The dangers growing from the uſe of mercenary Souldiers, and forrain Auxiliaries.*

THe extream danger, growing from the imployment of ſuch Souldiers, is well obſerved by *Machiavel*: who ſheweth, that they are more terrible to thoſe whom they ſerve, than to thoſe againſt whom they ſerve. They are ſeditious, unfaithfull, diſobedient, devourers, and deſtroyers of all places and Countries, whereinto they are drawn; as being held by no other bond, than their own commodity. Yea, that which is moſt fearful among ſuch hirelings, is, that they have often, and in time of greateſt extremity, not only refuſed to fight, in their defence, who have entertained them, but revolted unto the contrary part; to the utter ruine of thoſe Princes and States that have truſted them. Thoſe mercenaries (ſaith *Machiavel*) which filled all *Italy* when *Charls* the eighth of *France* did paſs the *Alpes*, were the cauſe that the ſaid *French* King won the Realm of *Naples* with his Buckler without a Sword. Notable was the example of *Sforza*, the Father of *Francis Sforza*, Duke of *Millan*; who being entertained by Queen *Joane* of *Naples*, abandoned her ſervice on the ſudden, and forced her to put her ſelf into the hands of the King of *Aragon*. Like unto his father was *Francis Sforza*, the firſt of that race, Duke of *Millan*; who being entertained by the *Millanois*, forced them to become his ſlaves, even with the very ſame army which themſelves had levied for their own defence. But *Lodowick Sforza*, the ſon of this *Francis* by the juſt judgement of God, was made a memorable example unto poſterity, in loſing his whole eſtate by the treachery of ſuch faithleſs Mercenaries, as his own Father had been. For having waged an army of *Switzers*, and commited his Dutchy, together with his perſon, into their hands, he was by them delivered up unto his enemy the *French* King, by whom he was incloſed in the Caſtle of *Loches* unto his dying day.

The like inconvenience is found, in uſing the help of forrain Auxiliaries. We ſee, that when the Emperour of *Conſtantinople* had hired ten thouſand *Turks* againſt his neighbour Princes; he could never, either by perſwaſion or force, ſet them again over the ſea upon *Aſia* ſide; which gave beginning to the Chriſtian ſervitude, that ſoon after followed. *Alexander* the ſon of *Caſſander*, ſought aid of the great *Demetrius*: but *Demetrius*, being entred into his Kingdome, ſlue the ſame *Alexander*, who had invited him, and made himſelf King of *Macedon*. *Syracon* the *Turk*, was called into *Egypt* by *Sanar* the *Soldan*, againſt his oppoſite: but this *Turk* did ſettle himſelf ſo ſurely in *Egypt*, that *Saladine* his ſucceſſor became Lord thereof; and of all the *holy Land*, ſoon after. What need we look about for examples of this kind? Every Kingdom, in effect, can furniſh us. The *Britains* drew the *Saxons* into this our Countrey; and *Mac Murrough* drew the *Engliſh* into *Ireland*; but the one and the other ſoon became Lords of thoſe two kingdoms.

Againſt all this, may be alledged the good ſucceſs of the United Provinces of the *Netherlands*, uſing none other than ſuch kind of Souldiers, in their late war. Indeed theſe *Low-Countreys* have many goodly and ſtrong Cities, filled with Inhabitants that are wealthy, induſtrious, and valiant in their kind. They are ſtout Sea-men, and therein is their excellency; neither are they bad at the defence of a place well fortified: but in open field they have ſeldome been able to ſtand againſt the *Spaniard*. Neceſſity therefore compelled them to ſeek help abroad: and the like neceſſity made them forbear to arm any great numbers of their own. For, with money raiſed by their Trade, they maintained the War: and therefore could



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ill ſpare unto the Pike and Musket, thoſe hands, that were of more uſe in helping to fill the common purſe. Yet what of this? they ſped well. Surely they ſped as ill as might be, whilſt they had none other than mercenary Souldiers. Many fruitleſs attempts, made by the Prince of *Orenge*, can witneſs it: and that brave Commander Count *Lodowick* of *Naſſau*, felt, to his grief, in his retrait from *Græningham*; when, in the very inſtant that required their ſervice in fight, his Mercenaries cried out aloud for money, and ſo ran away. This was not the only time, when the hired Souldiers of the States, have either ſought to hide their cowardize under a ſhew of greedineſs; or at leaſt, by meer covetouſneſs, have ruined in one hour the labour of many moneths. I will not ſtand to prove this by many examples: for they themſelves will not deny it. Neither would I touch the honour of *Monſieur* the Duke of *Anjou*, brother to the *French* King; ſave that it is folly to conceal what all the world knows. He that would lay open the danger of forrain Auxiliaries, needeth no better pattern. It is commonly found, that ſuch Aiders make themſelves Lords over thoſe, to whom they lend their ſuccour: but where ſhall we meet with ſuch another as this *Monſieur*, who, for his protection promiſed, being rewarded with the Lordſhip of the Country, made it his firſt work, to thruſt by violence a galling yoak upon the peoples neck? Well, he lived to repent it, with grief enough. Even whilſt he was counterfeiting unto thoſe about him, that were ignorant of his plot, an imaginary ſorrow for the poor Burghers of *Antwerpe*, as verily believing the Town to be ſurpriſed and won; the death of the Count St. *Aignan*, who fell over the wall, and the Cannon of the City, diſcharged againſt his own troups, informed him better what had hapned; ſhewing, that they were his own *French* who ſtood in need of pity. Then was his feigned paſſion changed into a very bitter anguiſh of mind, wherein, ſmiting his breaſt, and wringing his hands, he exclaimed, *Helas, mon dieu, que veux tu faire de moy? Alas, my God, what wilt thou do with me?* So, the affairs of the *Netherlands* will not ſerve to prove, that there is little danger in uſing Mercenary Souldiers, or the help of forrain Auxiliaries. This notwithſtanding, they were obedient unto neceſſity, and ſought help of the *Engliſh*, *Scots*, and *French*: wherein they did wiſely, and proſpered. For when there was in *France* a King, partaker with them in the ſame danger; when the Queen of *England* refuſed to accept the Soveraignty of their Country, which they offered, yet being provoked by the *Spaniard* their enemy, purſued him with continual war; when the heir of *England* reigned in *Scotland*, a King too juſt and wiſe (though not ingaged in any quarrel) either to make profit of his neighbours miſeries, or to help thoſe that had attempted the conqueſt of his own inheritance: then might the *Netherlanders* very ſafely repoſe confidence in the forces of theſe their Neighbour Countries. The Souldiers that came unto them from hence, were (to omit any other commendations) not only regardful of the pay that they ſhould receive, but well affected unto the cauſe that they took in hand: or, if any were cold in his devotion, unto the ſide whereon he fought, yet was he kept in order, by remembrance of his own home, where the *Engliſh* would have rewarded him with death, if that his faith had been corrupted by the *Spaniard*. They were therefore truſted with the cuſtody of Cities; they were held as friends, and patrons; the neceſſity of the poorer ſort was relieved, before the pay-day came, with *lendings*, and other helps, as well as the ability of the States could permit. When three ſuch Princes, reigning at one time, ſhall agree ſo well, to maintain againſt the power of a fourth, injurious (or at the leaſt ſo ſeeming) to them all, a Neighbour-Country of the ſame religion, and to which they all are lovingly affected: then may ſuch a Country be ſecure of her Auxiliaries, and quietly intend her Trade, or other buſineſs, in hope of like ſucceſs. But theſe circumſtances meet ſo ſeldom, as it may well hold true in general: That *mercenary and forraign auxiliary forces are no leſs dangerous, than the enemy againſt whom they are entertained.*

## †. IIII.

*That the moderate government of the* Romans *gave them aſſurance to uſe the ſervice of their own ſubjects in their wars. That in mans nature there is an affection breeding tyranny, which hindreth the uſe and benefit of the like moderation.*

HEre it may be demanded, whether alſo the *Romans* were not compelled to uſe the ſervice of other Souldiers in their many great wars, but performed all by their own Citizens? for if it were their manner to arm their own ſubjects, how hapned it, that they feared no rebellion? if ſtrangers, how then could they avoid the inconveniences above rehearſed? The anſwer is, that their Armies were compounded uſually of their own Citizens, and of the *Latines* in equal number: to which they added, as occaſion required, ſome companies of *Campanes*, *Hetrurians*, *Samnites*, or other of their ſubjects, as were either intereſſed in the quarrel, or might beſt be truſted. They had, about theſe times, (though ſeldom they did imploy ſo many) ten *Roman* Legions; a good ſtrength, if all other help had been wanting; which ſerved to keep in good order their ſubjects, that were alwaies fewer in the army than themſelves. As for the *Latines*, if conſanguinity were not a ſufficient obligation; yet many priviledges and immunities, which they injoyed, made them aſſured unto the State of *Rome*: under which they lived almoſt at liberty, as being bound to little elſe, than to ſerve it in war. It is true, that a yoke how eaſie ſoever, ſeems troubleſome to the neck that hath been accuſtomed to freedom. Therefore many people of *Italy* have taken occaſion of ſeveral advantages, to deliver themſelves from the *Roman* ſubjection. But ſtill they have been reclaimed by war, the Authors of rebellion have ſharply been puniſhed, and the people by degrees have obtained ſuch liberty, as made them eſteem none otherwiſe of *Rome*, than as the common City of all *Italy*. Yea, in proceſs of time it was granted unto many Cities, and thoſe far off removed, even to *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, where St. *Paul* was born, that all the Burgeſſes ſhould be free of *Rome* it ſelf. This favour was conferred abſolutely upon ſome; upon ſome, with reſtraint of giving voyce in election of Magiſtrates, or with other ſuch limitation as was thought fit. Hereunto may be added, that it was their manner, after a great conqueſt, to releaſe unto their new ſubjects half of their tribute which they had been wont to pay to their former Lords, which was a ready way to bring the multitude into good liking of their preſent condition; when the review of harder times paſt, ſhould rather teach them to fear a relapſe, than to hope for better in the future, by ſeeking innovation. Neither would it be forgotten, as a ſpecial note of the *Romans* good Government, That when ſome, for their well-deſerving, have had the offer to be made Citizens of *Rome*, they have refuſed it, and held themſelves better contented with their own preſent eſtate. Wherefore it is no marvel, that *Petellia*, a City of the *Brutians* in *Italy*, choſe rather to endure all extremity of war, than, upon any condition, to forſake the *Romans*; even when the *Romans* themſelves had confeſſed, that they were unable to help theſe their ſubjects, and therefore willed them to look to their own good, as having been faithful to the utmoſt. Such love purchaſed theſe mild Governours, without impairing their Majeſty thereby. The ſum of all is; they had, of their own, a ſtrong army; they doubled it by adjoyning thereunto the *Latines*; and they further increaſed it, as need required, with other help of their own ſubjects: all, or the moſt of their followers, accounting the proſperity of *Rome* to be the common good.

Liv. Dec. 1. lib. 3.

Liv. ibid.



The moderate uſe of ſoveraign power being ſo effectual, in aſſuring the people unto their Lords, and conſequently in the eſtabliſhment or inlargement of Dominion: it may ſeem ſtrange, that the practice of Tyranny, whoſe effects are contrary, hath been ſo common in all ages. The like, I know, may be ſaid of all Vice and Irregularity, whatſoever. For it is leſs difficult, (whoſoever think otherwiſe) and more ſafe, to keep the way of Juſtice and Honeſty, than to turn aſide from it; yet commonly our paſſions do lead us into by-paths. But where Luſt, Anger, Fear, or any the like Affection, ſeduceth our reaſon; the ſame unruly appetite, either bringeth with it an excuſe, or, at leaſt-wiſe, taketh away all cauſe of wonder. In tyranny it is not ſo: for as much as we can hardly deſcry the paſſion, that is of force to inſinuate it ſelf into the whole tenour of a Government. It muſt be confeſſed, that lawleſs deſires have bred many Tyrants: yet ſo that theſe deſires have ſeldom been hereditary, or long-laſting; but have ended commonly with the Tyrants life, ſometimes before his death; by which means the government hath been reduced to a better form. In ſuch caſes, the ſaying of *Ariſtotle* holds, *That tyrannies are of a ſhort continuance*. But this doth not ſatisfie the queſtion in hand. Why did the *Carthaginians* exerciſe tyranny? Why did the *Athenians*? Why have many other Cities done the like? If in reſpect of their general good; how could they be ignorant, that this was an ill courſe for the ſafety of the Weal publick? If they were led hereunto by any affection; what was that affection wherein ſo many thouſand Citizens, divided and ſubdivided within themſelves by factions, did all concurr, notwithſtanding the much diverſity of temper, and the vehemency of private hatred among them? Doubtleſs, we muſt be fain to ſay, That Tyranny is, by it ſelf, a vice diſtinct from others. A Man, we know, is *Animal politicum*, apt even by Nature, to command or to obey; every one in his proper degree. Other deſires of Mankinde, are common likewiſe unto brute beaſts; and

*Ariſt. pol. l. 5. c. 12.*

and ſome of them, to bodies wanting ſenſe: but the deſire of rule belongeth unto the nobler part of reaſon; whereunto is alſo anſwerable an aptneſs to yield obedience. Now as hunger and thirſt are given by nature not only to Man and Beaſt, but unto all ſorts of Vegetables, for the ſuſtentation of their life: as Fear, Anger, Luſt, and other affections are likewiſe natural, in convenient meaſure, both unto Mankind, and to all Creatures that have ſenſe, for the ſhunning or repelling of harm, and ſeeking after that which is requiſite: even ſo is this deſire of ruling or obeying, ingraffed by Nature in the race of Man, and in Man only as a reaſonable creature, for the ordering of his life, in a civil form of Juſtice. All theſe in-bred qualities are good and uſeful. Nevertheleſs, Hunger and Thirſt are the Parents of Gluttony and Drunkenneſs, which, in reproach, are called beaſtly, by an unproper term: ſince they grow from appetites, found in leſs worthy creatures than beaſts, and are yet not ſo common in beaſts, as in men. The effects of Anger, and of ſuch other Paſſions as deſcend no lower than unto brute beaſts, are held leſs vile; and perhaps not without good reaſon: yet are the more pernicious. But as no corruption is worſe by ſharper Laws, as being in general more horrible, and puniſhed more grievouſly, than of that which is beſt; there is not any paſſion, that nouriſheth a vice more hurtful unto Mankind, than that which iſſueth from the moſt noble root, even the depraved Affection of Ruling. Hence ariſe thoſe two great miſchiefs, of which hath been an old queſtion in diſpute, whether be the worſe; That all things, or that nothing ſhould be lawful. Of theſe, a dull ſpirit and overloaden by fortune with power, whereof it is not capable, occaſioneth the one; the other proceedeth from a contrary diſtemper, whoſe vehemency the bounds of Reaſon cannot limit. Under the extremity of either, no Country is able to ſubſiſt, yet the defective dulneſs, that permitteth any thing, will alſo permit the execution of Law, to which meer neceſſity doth enforce the ordinary Magiſtrate; whereas Tyranny is more active, and pleaſeth it ſelf in the exceſs, with a falſe colour of Juſtice. Examples of ſtupidity, and unaptneſs to rule, are not very frequent, though ſuch natures are every where to be found: for this quality troubles not it ſelf in ſeeking Empire; or if by ſome errour of fortune, it encounter therewithall, (as when *Claudius*, hiding himſelf in a corner, found the Empire of *Rome*) ſome friend, or elſe a wife, is not wanting to ſupply the defect, which alſo cruelty doth help to ſhadow. Therefore this Vice, as a thing unknown, is without a name. Tyranny is more bold, and feareth not to be known, but would be reputed honourable: for it is *proſperum & fœlix ſcelus, a fortunate miſchief*, as long as it can ſubſiſt. *There is no reward or honour* (ſaith Peter *Charron*) *aſſigned unto thoſe, that know how to increaſe, or preſerve humane nature: all honours, greatneſs, riches, dignities, Empires, triumphs, trophees, are appointed for thoſe, that know how to afflict, trouble, or deſtroy it.* *Cæſar* and *Alexander*, have un-made and ſlain, each of them, more than a million of men: but they made none, nor left none behind them. Such is the errour of Mans judgement in valuing things according to the common opinion. But the true name of Tyranny, when it grows to ripeneſs, is none other than *Feritie*: the ſame that *Ariſtotle* ſaith to be worſe than any vice. It exceedeth indeed all other vices, iſſuing from the paſſions incident both to Man and Beaſt; no leſs, than Perjury, Murder, Treaſon, and the like horrible crimes, exceed in villany, the faults of Gluttony and Drunkenneſs, that grow from more ignoble appetites. Hereof *Sciron*, *Procruſtes*, and *Pityocamptes*, that uſed their bodily force to the deſtruction of Mankinde, are not better examples, than *Phalaris*, *Dionyſius*, and *Agathocles*, whoſe miſchievous heads were aſſiſted by the hands of deteſtable Ruffians. The ſame barbarous deſire of Lordſhip, tranſported thoſe old examples of *Feritie*, and theſe latter Tyrants, beyond the bounds of reaſon: neither of them knew the uſe of Rule, nor the difference between Freemen and ſlaves.

The rule of the husband over the wife, and of Parents over their children, is natural, and appointed by God himſelf; ſo that it is alwayes, and ſimply, allowable and good. The former of theſe, is as the dominion of Reaſon over Appetite; the latter is the whole authority, which one Freeman can have over another. The rule of a King is no more, nor none other, than of a common Father over his whole Country: which he that knows what the power of a Father is, or ought to be, knows to be enough. But there is a greater and more Maſterly rule, which God gave unto *Adam*, when he ſaid; *Have dominion over the fiſh of the Sea, and over the fowl of the aire, and every living thing that moveth upon the earth*: which alſo he continued unto *Noah* and his children, ſaying, *The fear of you, and the dread of you, ſhall be upon every beaſt of the earth, and upon every fowl of the aire, upon all that moveth* Gen. 1. 28. Gen. 9. 2.



*upon the earth, and upon all the fiſhes of the Sea: into your hands are they delivered.* He who gave this dominion unto Man, did give alſo an aptitude to uſe it. The execution of this power hath ſince extended it ſelf, over a very great part of Mankinde. There are indeed no ſmall numbers of men, whoſe diſability to govern themſelves, proves them, according to *Ariſtotles* doctrine, to be naturally ſlaves. [illegible]

Yet find I not in Scripture any warrant to oppreſs men with bondage: unleſs the lawfulneſs thereof be ſufficiently intimated, where it is ſaid, That a man ſhall not be puniſhed for the death of a ſervant; whom he hath ſlain by correction, if the ſervant live a day or two, becauſe *he is his money*: or elſe by the captivity of the *Midianitiſh* girls, which were made bond-ſlaves, and the Sanctuary had a part of them for the *Lords tribute.* Doubtleſs the cuſtom hath been very ancient: for *Noah* laid this curſe upon *Canaan*, that he ſhould be *a ſervant of ſervants*; and *Abraham* had of *Pharaoh*, among other gifts, *men-ſervants and maid-ſervants*, which were none other than ſlaves. Chriſtian Religion is ſaid to have abrogated this old kinde of ſervility: but ſurely they are deceived that think ſo. Saint *Paul* deſired the liberty of *Oneſimus*, whom he had won unto Chriſt: yet wrote for this unto *Philemon* by way of requeſt, craving it as a benefit, not urging it as a duty. Agreeable hereto is the direction, which the ſame Saint *Paul* giveth unto ſervants: *Let every man abide in the ſame calling wherein he was called: art thou called, being a ſervant? care not for it, but if thou maiſt be made free, uſe it rather.* It is true, that Chriſtian Religion hath procured liberty unto many; not only in regard of piety, but for that the Chriſtian Maſters ſtood in fear of being diſcovered by their ſlaves, unto the perſecutors of Religion. *Mahomet* likewiſe, by giving liberty to his followers, drew many unto his impiety: but whether he forbade it, as unlawful, unto his ſectators, to hold one another of them in bondage, I cannot tell; ſave that by the practice of the *Turks* and *Moors*, it ſeems he did not. In *England* we had many bond-ſervants, untill the time of our laſt civil wars; and I think that the Laws concerning Villenage are ſtill in force, of which the lateſt are the ſharpeſt. And now, ſince ſlaves were made free, which were of great uſe and ſervice, there are grown up a rabble of Rogues, Cutpurſes, and other the like trades; ſlaves in Nature, though not in Law.

Exod. 21. 21. Num. 30. 40. Gen. 9. 25. Gen. 12. 16. Epiſt. to Phil. v. 14. 1 Cor. 7. 20, 21.

But whether this kinde of dominion be lawful, or not; *Ariſtotle* hath well proved, that it is natural. And certainly, we finde not ſuch a latitude of difference in any creature, as in the nature of man; wherein (to omit the infinite diſtance in eſtate of the Elect and Reprobate) the wiſeſt excel the moſt fooliſh, by far greater degree, than the moſt fooliſh of men doth ſurpaſs the wiſeſt of beaſts. Therefore when Commiſeration hath given way to reaſon, we ſhall find, that nature is the ground even of Maſterly power, and of ſervile obedience, which is thereto correſpondent. But it may be truly ſaid, that ſome Countries have ſubſiſted long without the uſe of any ſervility; as alſo it is true, that ſome Countries have not the uſe of any tame Cattel. Indeed the affections which uphold civil rule, are (though more noble) not ſo ſimply needful, unto the ſuſtentation either of our kind, as are Luſt, and the like; or of every one, as are Hunger and thirſt; which notwithſtanding are the loweſt in degree. But where moſt vile and ſervile diſpoſitions have liberty to ſhew themſelves begging in the ſtreets, there may we more juſtly wonder, how the dangerous toil of Sea-faring men can find enough to undertake them, than how the ſwarm of idle vagabonds ſhould increaſe, by acceſs of thoſe, that are weary of their own more painful condition. This may ſuffice to prove, that in Mankind there is found, ingraffed even by Nature, a deſire of abſolute dominion: whereunto the general cuſtom of Nations doth ſubſcribe; together with the pleaſure which moſt men take in flatterers, that are the baſeſt of ſlaves.

This being ſo, we find no cauſe to marvel, how Tyranny hath been ſo rife in all ages, and practiſed, not only in the ſingle rule of ſome vicious Prince, but ever by conſent of whole Cities and Eſtates: ſince other vices have likewiſe gotten head, and born a general ſway, notwithſtanding that the way of vertue be more honourable, and commodious. Few there are that have uſed well the inferiour Paſſions: how then can we expect, that the moſt noble affections ſhould not be diſordered? in the government of wife and children, ſome are utterly careleſs, and corrupt all by their dull connivency: others, by maſterly rigour, hold their own blood under condition of ſlavery. To be a good Governour is a rare commendation: and to prefer the Weal publick above all reſpects whatſoever, is the Vertue juſtly termed *Heroical.* Of this Vertue many ages afford not many examples. *Hector* is named by *Ariſtotle* as one of them; and deſervedly, if this praiſe be

be due to extraordinary height of fortitude, used in defence of a mans own Country. But if we consider, that a love of the general good cannot be perfect, without reference unto *the fountain of all goodness*: we shall find, that no moral vertue, how great soever, can by it self, deserve the commendation of *more than Vertue*, as the *Heroical* doth. Wherefore we must search the Scriptures, for patterns hereof; such as *David*, *Josaphat*, and *Josias* were. Of Christian Kings, if there were many such, the world would soon be happy. It is not my purpose to wrong the worth of any, by denying the praise where it is due, or by prefering a less excellent. But he that can find a King religious, and zealous in Gods cause, without enforcement, either of adversity, or of some regard of State; a procurer of a general peace and quiet; who not only useth his authority, but adds the travel of his eloquence, in admonishing his Judges to do justice; by the vigorous influence of whose Government, civility is infused, even into those places, that have been the dens of savage Robbers and Cut-throats; one that hath quite abolished a slavish *Brehon* Law, by which a whole Nation of his subjects were held in bondage; and one, whose higher vertue and wisdom doth make the praise not only of Nobility and other ornaments, but of abstinence from the blood, the wives, and the goods of those that are under his power, together with a world of chief commendations belonging unto some good Princes, to appear less regardable: he, I say, that can find such a King, findeth an example, worthy to add unto vertue an honourable title, if it were formerly wanting. Under such a King, it is likely, by Gods blessing, that a Land shall flourish, with increase of Trade, in Countries before unknown; that Civility and Religion shall be propagated, into barbarous and heathen Countries; and that the happiness of his subjects, shall cause the Nations far off removed, to wish him their Soveraign. I need not add hereunto, that all the actions of such a King, even his bodily exercises, do partake of vertue; since all things tending to the preservation of his life and health, or to the mollifying of his cares, (who fixing his contemplation upon God, seeketh how to imitate the unspeakable goodness, rather than the inaccessible majesty, with both of which himself is indued, as far as humane nature is capable) do also belong to the furtherance of that common good, which he procureth. Lest any man should think me transported with admiration, or other affection, beyond the bounds of reason; I add hereunto, that such a King is nevertheless a man, must dye, and may err: yet wisdome and fame shall set him free, from *error*, and from death, both with and without the help of time. One thing I may not omit, as a singular benefit (though there be many other besides redounding unto this King, as the fruit of his goodness), The people that live under a pleasant yoke, are not only loving to their Soveraign Lord, but free of courage; and no greater in muster of men, than of stout fighters, if need require: whereas on the contrary, he that ruleth as over slaves, shall be attended in time of necessity, by slavish minds, neither loving his person, nor regarding his or their own honour. Cowards may be furious, and slaves outragious, for a time: but among spirits that have once yielded unto slavery, universally it is found true, what *Homer* saith, *God bereaveth a man of half his vertue, that day when he casteth him into bondage.* Hom. Odyss. l. 17.

Of these things, I might perhaps more seasonably have spoken, in the general discourse of Government: but where so lively an example of the calamity following a tyrannical rule, and the use of Mercenaries, thereupon depending, did offer it self, as is this present business of the *Carthaginians*; I thought that the note would be more effectual, than being barely delivered, as out of a common place.

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### §. III.

*How the war against the Mercenaries was diversly managed by* Hanno *and* Amilcar, *with variable success. The bloody counsels of the Mercenaries; and their final destruction.*

BEing now to return unto those Mercenaries, from whom I have thus far digressed, I cannot readily find, by what name henceforth I should call them. They are no longer in pay with the *Carthaginians*; neither care they to pretend, that they seek their wages already due; so that they are neither Mercenaries, nor Mutiners. Had they all been subjects unto *Carthage*, then might they justly have been termed Rebels: but *Spendius*, and others, that were the principal part of them, ought none allegiance to that State, which they endeavoured to subvert. Wherefore I will borrow the name of their late occupation, and still call them Mercenaries, as *Polybius* also doth.

These, using the advantage of their present strength,



strength, besieged * *Utica* and *Hippagreta*, Cities of great importance, as being seated upon the western Haven of *Carthage*, where it is divided by a neck of land; *Hippagreta* standing inwards upon the great Lake, *Utica* further out upon the Sea. Neither was the Camp at *Tunis* abandoned, which lay fitly to hinder the *Carthaginians* from passing up into the countrey: for *Matho* and *Spendius* wanted not men to follow the war in all parts at once.

* Utica is seated in the great bay that enters towards Carthage, not far within the Promontory of *Apollo*. At this time it is called *Porta Farina*, or *Biserta*, and by the *Africans* themselves, *Gerat Melbs*. *Niger* saith, that the Town it self is ruined, and the place whereon it stood, now called *Hippozaritus*. It was very ancient, and built before *Carthage*, saith *Silius*. As it flourished before *Carthage* was set up, so did it after *Carthage* was thrown down by the *Romans* in the third *Punick* war. Famous it was by the death of *Cato* the younger, who held it against *Cæsar*. *Victor* that worthy Divine, was Bishop thereof in the time of *Genserick* the *Arrian*, who lived all the time of that Tyrant, and hath written the story of his cruelties.

How the *Carthaginians* were amazed with this unexpected peril, any man may conceive. But the business it self awakes them hastily. They are hardly prest on all sides; and therefore travelled their brains the uttermost, how to shake off these furious dogs from their shoulders, who sometimes by night, sometimes by day, came unto the very wals of their City. In this exigent, *Hanno* was made their General: who failed not in his accustomed diligence of making all good preparation: but had gotten together whatsoever was needful, as well to relieve a Town besieged, as to batter and assail any place defended against him. With these provisions, and with an hundred Elephants, he came to *Utica*, so suddenly, that the enemies as men surprised, forsook their Trenches, and retired themselves unto a rising piece of woody ground, where they might be safe against the violence of his beasts. *Hanno*, thinking that he had to do with *Numidians*, whose custome was after any loss, to flie two or three whole days journey off; presently entred the Town; to shew himself after this his victory. But these good fellows, against whom he was to war, had learned of *Amilcar*, to retire and to fight again, many times in one day, as need required. Therefore as soon as they perceived, that he knew not how to use a victory; they assailed their own camp, and with great slaughter, drave the *Carthaginians* out of it, forcing them to hide themselves within *Utica*; and got possession of all the store that *Hanno* had brought for the relief of the Town. This bad beginning *Hanno* followed with sutable indiscretion; losing the benefit of many fair opportunities, and suffering the enemies to take possession of all the entrance from *Carthage* to the firm land.

The *Carthaginians* perceiving this, were exceedingly troubled, and did therefore let fall their shete-anchor; sending to the field their great Captain *Amilcar*, whom they furnished with ten thousand foot of supply, and seventy Elephants. *Amilcar* had work enough to do, before he should be able to meet with the enemy upon equal ground. For, besides other places of advantage that the Mercenaries had occupied. *Hanno* had suffered them to win the only bridge, by which the River *Macra*, or *Bagadras*, was passable unto these, that were to travel into the Continent. This River had not many foords, nor those easie for a single man to get over: but upon them all was kept such guard, as gave to *Amilcar* little hope of prevailing in seeking way by force. As for the Bridge it self, *Matho* and his followers were there lodged: and had there built a Town, wherein to lye commodiously, intentive only to the custody thereof. But *Amilcar* had observed, that the very mouth of *Bagradas* used to be sometimes cloyed with sand and gravel, that was driven in by certain customary winds, and could not be driven out again, by force of that slow river, till the wind failing, or changing suffered the weight of the waters, to disburden their channel. Hereof he made use; and taking his opportunity passed the River, contrary to all expectation, either of the enemy, or of his own Citizens.

There was no need to bid *Spendius* look about him, whence once it was heard, that *Amilcar* was come over *Bagradas*: all the Mercenaries were troubled with the news; knowing that they were no longer to deal with the improvident gravity of *Hanno*, but with an able spirit, even with their own Master in the Art of War, whom they admired, though they hated him. But this fear was soon changed into presumption; when more than fifteen thousand of their own society, were come from *Utica*, and other ten thousand from the guard of the Bridge. Their Army was far greater, than that of *Amilcar*; and they were in their own judgement, the better men; upon which confidence, they resolved to charge him on all sides, and beat him down, in despight of his worth and reputation. With this resolution they attend upon him, watching for some advantage, and still exhorting one another to play the men, and give the onset. Especially they that followed him in the Rear, had a great mind to begin the fight; whereunto their promptness was such, as took from them their former circumspection. *Amilcar* held his way toward the Bridge, keeping himself on plain grounds, that were fittest

teſt for the ſervice of his Elephants, which he placed in front of his Army. Neither made he ſhew of any deſire to fight, but ſuffered the raſhneſs of his enemies to encreaſe, till it ſhould break into ſome diſorder. At length perceiving, that with more boldneſs than good heed, they followed him ſo near, as would be little for their good, if he ſhould turn unto them, he haſted his march, even to ſuch a pace, as made a ſhew little differing from plain flight. The Mercenaries preſently fell upon his skirts; believing, that for fear of them he was ready to run away. But whileſt they confuſedly, as in ſudden opinion of victory, were driven at the heels of thoſe that had the Rear; *Amilcar* wheeled about, and met them in the face, charging them hotly, but in very good order, ſo that amazed, with the apprehenſion of unexpected danger, they fled without making any reſiſtance. In this overthrow there were ſix thouſand of the Mercenaries ſlain, and about two thouſand taken, the reſt fled, ſome to the Camp at *Utica*, others to the Town at the Bridge; whither *Amilcar* followed them ſo faſt, that he wan the place eaſily; the enemies being thence alſo fled unto *Tunis*, as not having recollected their ſpirits to make it good.

The fame of this victory, together with the diligence of *Amilcar* in purſuing it, cauſed many Towns revolted, partly by fear, partly by force, to return to their former obedience. Yet was not *Matho* wanting to himſelf in this dangerous time. He ſent about *Numidia* and *Africk*, for new ſupplies; admoniſhing the people, now or never, to do their beſt, for the recovery of their freedom: he perſwaded *Spendius*, and *Antarius*, that was a Captain of the *Gaules*, to wait upon *Amilcar*, and always to keep the higher grounds, or at leaſt, the foot of ſome hill, where they might be free from the Elephants; and he himſelf continued to preſs the Town of *Hippagreta* with an hard ſiege. It was neceſſary for *Amilcar*, in paſſing from place to place, as his buſineſs required, to take ſuch wayes as there were: for all the Country lay not level. Therefore *Spendius*, who ſtill coaſted him, had once gotten a notable advantage of ground; the *Carthaginians* lying in a plain, ſurrounded with hils, that were occupied by the Mercenaries, with their *Numidian* and *African* ſuccours. In this difficulty, the fame of *Amilcar* his perſonal worth did greatly benefit his Countrey. For *Naravaſus*, a young Gentleman commanding over the *Numidians*, was glad of this occaſion, ſerving to get the acquaintance and love of ſo brave a man, which he much deſired: and therefore came unto *Amilcar* ſignifying his good affection to him, with offer to do him all ſervice. *Amilcar* joyfully entertained this friend, promiſed unto him his own daughter in marriage; and ſo wan from the enemies 2000. horſe, that following *Naravaſus* turned unto the *Carthaginians* ſide. With this help he gave battel unto *Spendius*: wherein the *Numidian* laboured to approve his own valour to his new friend. So the victory was great: for there were ſlain ten thouſand of *Spendius* his fellows, and four thouſand taken priſoners; but *Spendius* himſelf, with *Antarius* the *Gaul*, eſcaped to do more miſchief. *Amilcar* dealt very gently with his priſoners: pardoning all offences paſt, and diſmiſſing as many as were unwilling to become his followers; yet with condition, that they ſhould never more bear arms againſt the *Carthaginians*; threatning to take ſharp revenge upon all that ſhould break this Covenant.

This humanity was vehemently ſuſpected by *Matho*, *Spendius*, and *Antarius*, as tending to win from them the hearts of their Souldiers. Wherefore they reſolved to take ſuch order, that no man among them ſhould dare to truſt in the good nature of *Amilcar*, nor to hope for any ſafety whileſt *Carthage* was able to do him hurt. They counterfeited letters of advertiſement, wherein was contained, that ſome of their company, reſpective only of their private benefit, and careleſs of the general good, had a purpoſe to betray them all unto the *Carthaginians*, with whom they held intelligence; and that it was needful to look well unto *Geſco*, and his companions, whom theſe traitors had a purpoſe to inlarge. Upon this Theme *Spendius* makes an Oration to the Souldiers, exhorting them to fidelity; and ſhewing with many words, that the ſeeming humanity of *Amilcar*, toward ſome, was none other than a bait, wherewith to intrap them all at once together; as alſo telling them what a dangerous enemy *Geſco* would prove, if he might eſcape their hands. Whileſt he is yet in the midſt of his tale, were letters come to the ſame purpoſe. Then ſteps forth *Antarius*, and ſpeaks his mind plainly: ſaying, that it were the beſt, yea, the only way, for the common ſafety, to cut off all hope of reconciliation with *Carthage*; that if ſome were deviſing to make their own peace, it would go hard with thoſe that had a care of the war; that it were better to make an end of *Geſco* his life, than to trouble themſelves with looking to his cuſtody; that by ſuch a courſe every one ſhould be ingaged in the preſent Action, as having none other hope left, than in victory alone; finally, that ſuch as would ſpeak here-againſt, were worthy to be reputed Traitors. This *Antarius* was in great credit with the Souldiers, and could ſpeak ſundry languages, in ſuch ſort, that he was underſtood by all. According to his motion therefore it was agreed, that *Geſco*, and all the other priſoners, ſhould forthwith be put to horrible death, by torments. Nevertheleſs there were ſome, that for love of *Geſco* ſought to alter his intended cruelty; but they were forthwith ſtoned to death, as a Document unto others; and ſo the Decree was put in execution. Neither were they therewithall contented, but further ordained, that all *Carthaginian* priſoners which they took, ſhould be ſerved in like ſort: and that the ſubjects or friends of *Carthage*, ſhould loſe their hands, and ſo be ſent home: which rule they obſerved ever afterwards.

Of this cruelty I need ſay no more, than that it was moſt execrable ferity. As for the counſel of uſing it, it was like unto the counſel of *Achitophel*; *All* Iſrael *ſhall hear, that thou art abhorred of thy father; then ſhall the hands of all that are with thee be ſtrong.* Such are the fruits of deſperation. He that is paſt all hope of pardon, is afraid of his own fellows, if they be more innocent; and to avoid the puniſhment of leſs offences, committeth greater. The cowardize of offenders, and the revengeful ſpirits of thoſe that have been wronged, are breeders of this deſperation: to which may be added ſome deficiency of Laws, in diſtinguiſhing the puniſhments of malefactors, according to the degree of their ſeveral crimes. A coward thinks all proviſion too little for his own ſecurity. *If* Phocas *be a coward* (ſaid the Emperour *Mauritius*) *then is he murderous.* To be ſtedfaſt and ſure, in taking revenge, is thought a point of honour, and a defenſative againſt new injuries. But wrongfully: for it is oppoſite to the rule of Chriſtianity; and ſuch a quality diſcovered, makes them deadly enemies, who otherwiſe would have repented, and ſought to make amends, for the wrong done in paſſion. This was it which wrought ſo much woe to the *Carthaginians*; teaching *Matho*, and his *Africans*, to ſuſpect even their gentleneſs, as the introduction to extream rigour. Like unto the errors of Princes and Governours, are the errours of Laws. Where one and the ſame puniſhment is awarded unto the leſs offence, and unto the greater, he that hath adventured to rob a man, is eaſily tempted to kill him, for his own ſecurity.



Againſt theſe inconveniences, Mercy and Severity, uſed with due reſpect are the beſt remedies. In neither of which *Amilcar* failed. For as long as theſe his old ſouldiers were any way likely to be reclaimed by gentle courſes, his humanity was ready to invite them. But when they were tranſported with beaſtly outrage, beyond all regard of honeſty and ſhame, he rewarded their villany with anſwerable vengeance, caſting them unto wild beaſts to be devoured.

Until this time *Hanno*, with the Army under his command, had kept himſelf apart from *Amilcar*, and done little as may ſeem, for that nothing is remembred of him ſince his late loſſes. Neither was *Amilcar* ſorry to want his help; as being able to do better without him. But when the war grew to ſuch extremity, as threatned utter ruine to the one or the other ſide: then was *Hanno* ſent for, and came to *Amilcar*, with whom he joyned his forces. By this acceſs of ſtrength *Amilcar* was not enabled to do more than in former times; rather he could now perform nothing: ſuch was the hatred between him and his unworthy Colleague. The Towns of *Utica* and *Hippagreta*, that had ſtood alwayes firm to the *Carthaginian* party, did now revolt unto the enemy, murdering all the Souldiers that they had in Garriſon, and caſting their bodies forth, without ſuffering them to be buried. The proviſions brought by ſea, for maintenance of the Army, were loſt in foul weather; and *Carthage* it ſelf ſtood in danger of being beſieged, about which *Matho* and *Spendius* conſulted, whileſt one of the *Carthaginian* Generals did (as it were) bind the others hands.

It hath in all Ages been uſed as the ſafeſt courſe, to ſend forth, in great Expeditions, two generals of one Army. This was the common practice of thoſe two mighty Cities *Athens* and *Rome*, which other States and Princes have often imitated; perſwading themſelves, that great Armies are not ſo well conducted by one, as by two: who out of emulation to excell each other, will uſe the greater diligence. They have alſo joyned two chief Commanders in equal commiſſion, upon this further conſideration; the better to reſtrain the ambition of any one, that ſhould be truſted with ſo great a ſtrength. For hereof all Common-weals have been jealous, having been taught by their examples that have made themſelves Tyrants over thoſe Cities and States that have imployed them. In this point the *Venetians* having been ſo circumſpect, as they have, for the moſt part, truſted ſtrangers, and not their own in all the wars which they have made. It is true, that

that the equal authority of two commanding in chief, serveth well to bridle the ambition of one or both, from turning upon the Prince or State that hath given them truſt: but in managing the war it ſelf, it is commonly the cauſe of ill ſucceſs. In wars made near unto *Rome* it ſelf, when two good friends were Conſuls, or ſuch two at leaſt, as concurred in one deſire of *Triumph*, which honour (the greateſt of any that *Rome* could give) was to be obtained by that one years ſervice; it is no marvel, though each of the Conſuls did his beſt, and referred all his thoughts unto none other end than victory. Yet in all dangerous caſes, when the Conſuls proceeded otherwiſe than was deſired, one Dictator was appointed, whoſe power was neither hindred by any partner, nor by any great limitation. Neither was it indeed the manner, to ſend forth both the Conſuls to one war; but each went whither his lot called him, to his own Province; unleſs one buſineſs ſeemed to require them both, and they alſo ſeemed fit to be joyned in the adminiſtration. Now although it was ſo, That the *Romans* did many times prevail with their joynt-Generals: yet was this never ſo ſeldom, without as much concord, as any other vertue of the Commanders. For their modeſty hath often been ſuch, that the leſs able Captain, though of equal authority, hath willingly ſubmitted himſelf to the other, and obeyed his directions. This notwithſtanding, they have many times by ordaining two Commanders of one Army, received great and moſt dangerous overthrows; wherefore in the ſecond *Punick* War we ſhall find examples. On the contrary ſide, in their wars moſt remote, that were alwayes managed by one, they ſeldom failed to win exceeding honour, as hereafter ſhall appear. Now of thoſe ten Generals, which ſerved the *Athenians* at the battel of *Marathon*, it may be truly ſaid, that had not their temper been better than the judgment of the people that ſent them forth, and had not they ſubmitted themſelves to the conduction of *Miltiades*; their affairs had found the ſame ſucceſs which they found at other times, when they coupled *Nicias* and *Alcibiades* together in *Sicil*: the one being ſo over-wary, and the other ſo haſty, as all came to nought that they undertook: whereas *Cimon* alone, as alſo *Ariſtides*, and others, having ſole charge of all, did their Country and Common-weal moſt remarkable ſervice. For it is hard to find two great Captains of equal diſcretion and valour; but that the one hath more of fury than of judgment, and ſo the contrary, by which the beſt occaſions are as often overſlipt, as at other times many actions are unſeaſonably undertaken. I remember it well, that when the Prince of *Conde* was ſlain after the Battel of *Jarnac*, (which Prince, together with the admiral *Chaſtillan*, had the conduct of the *Proteſtant* Army) the *Proteſtants* did greatly bewail the loſs of the ſaid Prince, in reſpect of his Religion, perſon, and birth; yet comforting themſelves, they thought it rather an advancement, than an hinderance to their affairs. For ſo much did the valour of the one out-reach the adviſedneſs of the other, as whatſoever the Admiral intended to win by attending the advantage, the Prince adventured to loſe, by being over-confident in his own courage.

But we need no better example, than of the *Carthaginians* in this preſent buſineſs: who, though they were ſtill ſick of their ill-grounded love to *Hanno*, and were unwilling to diſgrace him; yet ſeeing that all ran towards ruine, through the diſcord of the Generals, committed the deciſion of their Controverſies, unto the Army that ſerved under them. The judgment of the Army was, that *Hanno* ſhould depart the Camp: which he did, and *Hannibal* was ſent in his ſtead, one that would be directed by *Amilcar*, and that was enough.

After this, the affairs of *Carthage* began to proſper ſomewhat better. *Matho* and *Spendius* had brought their Army near unto the City; and lay before it, as in a ſiege. They might well be bold to hope and adventure much, having in their Camp above fifty thouſand, beſides thoſe that lay abroad in Garriſons. Nevertheleſs, the City was too ſtrong for them to win by aſſault: and the entrance of victuals they could not hinder, if any ſhould be ſent in by friends from abroad.

*Hieron* King of *Syracuſe*, though during the wars in *Sicil* he aſſiſted the *Romans*, and ſtill continued in their alliance, yet now ſent ſuccours to the *Carthaginians*: fearing their fall, and conſequently his own; becauſe if no other State gave the *Romans* ſomewhat to trouble their digeſtion, the Principality of *Syracuſe* would ſoon be devoured by them. The *Romans* alſo gave them ſome ſlender aſſiſtance, and, for the preſent, refuſed good offers made unto them by the Mercenaries. This they did to ſhew a noble kind of diſpoſition; which was indeed but counterfeit, as the ſequel manifeſtly proved.

Whilſt *Matho* and his followers were buſily preſſing the City, *Amilcar* was as diligent in waiting at their backs, and cutting off all that come to their ſupply: ſo that finding themſelves more ſtraightly beſieged by him, than *Carthage* was by them, they purpoſed to deſiſt from their vain attempt, and try ſome other courſe. Hereupon they iſſue into the field: when *Spendius*, and one *Zarcas* an *African* Captain aſſiſting the rebellion, take upon them to find *Amilcar* work; leaving *Matho* in *Tunis*, to negotiate with their friends, and take a general care of the buſineſs. The Elephants of *Carthage*, and horſe of *Naravaſus*, made *Spendius* fearful to deſcend into the Plains. Wherefore he betook himſelf to his former method of war, keeping the mountains, and rough grounds, or occupying the ſtraighteſt paſſages, wherein the deſperate courage of his men might ſhew it ſelf, with little diſadvantage. But *Amilcar* had more ſkill in this Art, than could be matched by the labour of *Spendius*. He drew the enemy to many ſkirmiſhes; in all which the ſucceſs was ſuch, as added courage to his own men, and abated the ſtrength and ſpirit of the Rebels. Thus he continued, provoking them night and day: ſtill intrapping ſome of them, and ſometimes giving them the overthrow in plain battel: until at length he got them into a ſtraight, whence ere they ſhould get out, he meant to take of them a good account. Their judgment was enough to perceive their own diſadvantage; and therefore they had the leſs ſtomach to fight; but awaiting for help from *Tunis*. *Amilcar* prudently foreſeeing, that neceſſity might teach them to dare impoſſibilities, uſed the benefit of their preſent fear, and ſhut them cloſe up with Trench and Rampart. There they waited miſerably, for ſuccour that came not: and having ſpent all their victuals, were ſo pinched with hunger, that they fed upon the bodies of their priſoners. This they ſuffered patiently, as knowing that they had not deſerved any favour from *Carthage*: and hoping that their friends at *Tunis* would not be unmindful of them. But when they were driven to ſuch extremity, that they were fain to devour their own companions, and yet ſaw none appearance or likelihood of relief: their obſtinacy was broken, and they threatned their Captains with what they deſerved, unleſs they would go forth to *Amilcar*, and ſeek ſuch peace as might be gotten. So *Spendius*, *Zarxas*, and *Autarius*, fell to conſultation, wherein it was reſolved to obey the multitude, and yield themſelves, if it were ſo required, unto the death, rather than periſh by the hands of their own companions. Hereupon they ſend to crave parlie, which is granted; and theſe three come forth to talk with *Amilcar* in perſon. What they could ſay unto him, it is hard to conjecture: yet by the conditions which *Amilcar* granted, it ſeems that they took the blame upon themſelves, and craved pardon for the multitude. The conditions were, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould chuſe, out of the whole number of theſe enemies, any ten whom they pleaſed, to remain at their diſcretion; and that the reſt ſhould all be diſmiſſed, each in his ſhirt, or in one ſingle coat. When the peace was thus concluded, *Amilcar* told theſe Ring-leaders, that he choſe them preſently, as part of the ten, and ſo commanded to lay hands on them: the reſt he forthwith went to fetch with his whole Army in order. The Rebels, who knew not that peace was concluded upon ſo gentle Articles, thought themſelves betrayed: and therefore amazedly ran to Arms. But they wanted Captains to order them: and the ſame aſtoniſhment that made them break the Covenants of Peace, whereof they were ignorant, gave unto *Amilcar* both colour of Juſtice, in accompliſhing revenge and eaſe in doing the execution. They were all ſlain: being forty thouſand, or more, in number.

This was a famous exploit: and the news thereof exceeding welcome to *Carthage*; and terrible to the revolted Cities of *Africk*. Henceforward *Amilcar*, with his *Naravaſus*, and *Hannibal*, carried the war from Town to Town, and found all places ready to yield: *Utica* & *Hippagreta* only ſtanding out, upon fear of deſerved vengeance; and *Tunis*, being held by *Matho*, with the remainder of his Army. It was thought fit to begin with *Tunis*, wherein lay the chief ſtrength of the enemy. Coming before this Town, they brought forth *Spendius*, with his fellows, in view of the defendants, and crucified them under the walls; to terrifie thoſe of his old companions, that were ſtill in Arms. With this rigour the ſiege began; as if ſpeedy victory had been aſſured. *Hannibal* quartered on that part of *Tunis*, which lay toward *Carthage*. *Amilcar* on the oppoſite ſide: too far aſunder to help one another in ſudden accidents; and therefore it behoved each to be the more circumſpect.

*Matho* from the walls beheld his own deſtiny, in the miſery of his companion, and knew not how to avoid it otherwiſe than by a caſt at dice with fortune. So he brake out upon that part of the *Carthaginian* Army, that lay ſecure, as if all danger were paſt, under the command of *Hannibal*: and with ſo great and unexpected fury he ſallied, that after an exceeding ſlaughter, he took *Hannibal*



priſoner;

prisoner; on whom, and thirty the most noble of the *Carthaginian* prisoners, he presently revenged the death of *Spendius* by the same torture. Of this, *Amilcar* knew nothing, till it was too late; neither had he strength enough remaining, after this great loss, to continue the siege; but was fain to break it up, and remove unto the mouth of the River *Bagradas*, where he incamped.

The terrour was no less within *Carthage*, upon the same of this loss, than had been the joy of the late great victory. All that could bear arms, were sent into the field, under *Hanno*; whom, it seems, they thought the most able of their Captains surviving the late accidents of War. If there were any Law among them forbidding the imployment of one sole General near unto their City (for they are known to have trusted one man abroad) the time did not permit, in this hasty exigent, to devise about repealing it. But thirty principal men are chosen by the Senate, to bring *Hanno* to *Amilcars* Camp, and by all good perswasions to reconcile them. This could not be effected in one day. It nearly touched *Amilcar* in his honour, that the carelesness of *Hannibal* seemed to be imputed unto him, by sending his enemy to moderate his proceedings. Nevertheless after many conferences, the authority of the Senators prevailed; *Amilcar* and *Hanno* were made friends; and thenceforth, whilst this war lasted, *Hanno* took warning by *Hannibals* calamities, to follow good directions, though afterwards he returned to his old and deadly hatred.

In the mean season *Matho* was come abroad, as meaning to use the reputation of his late success, whilst it gave some life unto his business. He had reason to do as he did: but he wanted skill to deal with *Amilcar*. The skirmishes, and light exercises of war, wherein *Amilcar* trained his *Carthaginians*, did so far abate the strength, and withall diminish the credit of *Matho*; that he resolved to try the fortune of one battel: wherein either his own desire should be accomplished, or his cares ended. To this conclusion the *Carthaginians* were no less prone, than *Matho:* as being weary of these long troubles, and insupportable expences; confident in the valour of their own men, which had approved it self in many tryals; and well assured of *Amilcar* his great worth, whereunto the enemy hath not what to oppose. According to his determination, each part was diligent in making provision: inviting their friends to help; and drawing forth into the field, all that lay in Garrison.

The issue of this battel might have been foretold, without help of witchcraft. *Matho*, and his followers, had nothing whereon to presume, save their daring spirits, which had been well cooled by the many late skirmishes, wherein they had learned how to run away. The *Carthaginians* had reason to dare, as having been often victorious: and in all points else they had the better of their enemies; especially (which is worth all the rest) they had such a Commander, as was not easily to be matched in that Age. Neither was it likely that the desire of liberty should work so much, in men accustomed to servitude; as the honour of their State would, in Citizens, whose future and present good lay all at once ingaged in that adventure. So the *Carthaginians* wan a great victory, wherein most of the *Africans* their enemies were slain; the rest fled into a Town, which was not to be defended, and therefore they all yielded; and *Matho* himself was taken alive. Immediately upon this victory, all the *Africans* that had rebelled, made submission to their old Masters: *Utica* only, and *Hippagreta* stood out, as knowing how little they deserved of favour. But they were soon forced to take what conditions best pleased the victours. *Matho* and his fellows were led to *Carthage* in triumph; where they suffered all torments that could be devised, in recompence of the mischiefs which they had wrought in this war. The war had lasted three years, and about four months, when it came to this good end: which the *Carthaginians*, whose subjects did not love them, should with less expence, by contenting their Mercenaries, have prevented in the beginning.

## §. IV.

*How the Mercenaries of the* Carthaginians, *that were in* Sardinia, *rebelled: and were afterwards driven out by the Ilanders. The faithless dealing of the* Romans *with the* Carthaginians, *in taking from them* Sardinia, *contrary to the peace.*

WHilst *Matho* and *Spendius* were making terrible combustion in *Africk*; other Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians* had kindled the like fire in *Sardinia:* where murdering *Bostar* the Governour, and other *Carthaginians*, they were in hope to get, and hold that Island to their own use. Against these, one *Hanno* was sent with a small Army (such as could be spared in that busie time) consisting likewise of Mercenaries, levied on the sudden. But these companies that followed *Hanno*, finding it more for their safety, and present profit, to joyn themselves with those that were already revolted, than to endanger themselves by battel, for the good of that Common-weal, of which they had no care; began to enter into practice with the *Sardinian* Rebels, offering to run one course of fortune with them in their enterprise. This their offer was kindly taken; but their faith was suspected. Wherefore to take away all jealousie and distrust, they resolved to hang up their Commander *Hanno*, and performed it. A common practice it hath been in all Ages, with those that have undertaken the quarrel of an unjust war, to enjoyn the performance of some notorious and villainous act, to those that come in to them as seconds, with offer to partake, and to assist the impious purposes which they have in hand. It is indeed the best pawn, that desperate men can deliver to each other, to perform some such actions, as are equally unpardonable to all.



By such a kind of cruelty did the ungrateful *Mantineans* murder a Garrison of *Achaians*, sent unto them for their defence against the *Lacedæmonians*, by *Aratus*; who, when he had formerly possest himself of their City, by right of war, did not only spare the sack and spoil thereof, but gave them equal freedom, with the rest of the Cities united. These revolts are also common in our Court-wars; where, in the Conquests of new fortunes, and making of new parties, and factions, without the depression or destruction of old friends, we cannot be received and trusted by old enemies. *Ceſont les coups de vieille eſcrime. Theſe* (say the *French*) *be the blows of the old Art of fencing.*

These Mercenaries in *Sardinia* were no whit less violent in their purpose, than were *Spendius*, and his associates: only they wanted a *Matho* among them, to negotiate with the inhabitants of the Province. The Ilanders were no less glad, than the souldiers, that the *Carthaginians* were expelled the Country: but they could not agree about the profit of the victory. The *Sardinians* thought that it was enough, if they rewarded the souldiers for their pains taken. Contrariwise, the souldiers were of opinion, that the title of the *Carthaginians* to that Isle, was devolved unto themselves, by right of Conquest. The same quarrel would (in likelihood) have risen between *Spendius* with his Mercenaries, and their *African* friends; if the common desire of both had once taken effect: unless the riches of *Carthage* had served to content them all. But in *Sardinia*, where there was none other valuable reward, than possession and rule of the Country; the matter was not easily taken up. So they fell to blows; which how they were dealt, I know not; but finally the Mercenaries were driven out, and compelled to save themselves in *Italy*. Before their departure out of *Sardinia*, they had invited the *Romans* into it; with as good right, as the *Mamertines* had called them into *Sicil*. Yet this offer was refused, upon reasons that follow.

Some *Italian* Merchants had relieved *Matho* and *Spendius* with Corn: of whom the *Carthaginians* took almost five hundred, and held them in prison. Hereof was made a great complaint: so that the *Romans* sent Embassadours to *Carthage*, requiring satisfaction. It was no time for the *Carthaginians* to dispute: they quietly yielded to release them all. This was so kindly taken, that they forbad all their Merchants to trade thenceforth with the Rebels; admonishing them to carry all provisions to *Carthage*. And upon the same reason did they forbear to meddle with *Sardinia*, or to accept the City of *Utica*, offering it self unto their subjection. This might have served as a notable example of the *Roman* Faith, to all posterity: had not the issue proved, that it was meer regard of greater profit, which kept them so temperate, no longer than the hope lasted of thriving better thereby, than they should have done by open breach of Faith. The whole estate of *Carthage* depended at that time, upon the vertue of *Amilcar*: who, had he been overthrown by *Spendius* or *Matho*, in one main battel, that mighty City must either have fallen into the barbarous hands of merciless villains, or have humbled her self under protection of the *Romans*, with whom she had lately striven for superiority. That extreme necessity, whereinto *Matho* reduced the City, by the fortune of one sally made out of *Tunis*, is enough to prove, that *Carthage* was not far from such a miserable choice. Wherefore it was not unwisely done of the *Romans*, to make such demonstration of kindness, and honourable dealing, as might invite a rich, but sinking ship, to run her self aground upon their shore. But when all was well ended in *Africk*, and the *Carthaginians* began to prepare for the recovery of *Sardinia*; then did Ambition put off her goodly vizor. The *Romans* perceiving that *Carthage*, beyond their hope, had recovered her feet again; began to strike at her head. They entertained the proffer of those Mercenaries, that were fled out of *Sardinia*; and they denounced war against this enfeebled and

impoveriſhed City, under a ſhameleſs pretence, *that the preparations made for* Sardinia, *were made indeed againſt* Rome *it ſelf*. The *Carthaginians* knew themſelves unable to reſiſt, and therefore yielded to the *Romans* demand; renouncing unto them all their right in *Sardinia*. But this was not enough. They would have twelve hundred talents, in recompence belike (for I ſee not what reaſon they could alledge) of the great fear which they had endured, of an invaſion from *Carthage*. It is indeed plain, that they impudently ſought occaſion of war. But neceſſity taught the *Carthaginians* patience; and the mony was payed, how hardly ſoever it was raiſed. From this time forward, let not *Rome* complain of the *Punick* faith, in breach of Covenants: ſhe her ſelf hath broken the peace already, which *Amilcar* purpoſeth to make her dearly repent; but what *Amilcar* lives not to perform, ſhall be accompliſhed by *Hannibal* his renowned Son.

## §. V.

*How the Affairs of* Carthage *went, between the* African *Rebellion, and the ſecond* Punick *War.*

THE injurious dealings of the *Romans*, expreſſing their deſire to pick a quarrel; ſerved to inſtruct the *Carthaginians* in a neceſſary leſſon; That either they muſt make themſelves the ſtronger, or elſe reſolve to be obedient unto thoſe that were more mighty. In a City long accuſtomed to rule, the braver determination eaſily took place: and the beſt means were thought upon, for the increaſe of Puiſſance and Empire. The ſtrength, and the jealouſie of the *Romans*, forbad all attempts upon the Mediterranean Seas; but the riches of *Spain*, that lay upon the *Ocean*, were unknown to *Rome*: wherefore that Province might ſerve both to exerciſe the *Carthaginians* in war, and to repair their decayed forces, with all needful ſupplies. Of the *Spaniſh* Expedition, the charge and ſoveraign truſt was committed unto *Amilcar*: upon whom his Country did wholly repoſe it ſelf; in hope to recover ſtrength by his means, that had ſaved it from ruine.

*Hanno*, with ſome other envious men that were of his faction, took little pleaſure in the general love and honour, which daily increaſed towards *Amilcar* and his friends. Yet could they not deny him to be the moſt worthy of command in all the City: only they commended peace and quietneſs; adviſing men to beware of provoking the *Romans*, in whoſe amity they ſaid, that the felicity of *Carthage* did conſiſt. By ſuch diſcourſes, harſh to the ears of good Citizens, who had feeling of the wrong done to their Common-weal, they got none other reputation, than of ſingularity: which the ignorant ſort ſuſpected to be wiſdom.

But the glory of *Amilcar* was continually upheld and enlarged, by many notable ſervices that he did, to the ſingular benefit of his Country. He paſſed the ſtraights of *Herculeſ*, (now called the ſtraights of *Gibralter*) and landed on the Weſtern coaſts of *Spain*; in which Country, during nine years that he lived there, he ſubjected unto the State of *Carthage* the better part of all thoſe Provinces. But finally in a battel that he fought with a Nation in *Portugal*, called the *Vettones*, (defending himſelf a long time with an admirable reſolution) he was invironed and ſlain: carrying with him to the grave the ſame great honour and fame, by which in many ſignal victories, he had acquired the name of a ſecond *Mars*.

After the death of *Amilcar*, *Aſdrubal* his Son-in-law was made General of the *Carthagenian* forces in *Spain*. This was a good man of war; but far better in practice and cunning than in deeds of arms. By his notable dexterity in matter of negotiation, he greatly enlarged the Dominion of *Carthage*: adding ſo many ſubjects and confederates thereunto, that the *Romans* began to grow jealous again of this haſty increaſe. He built a goodly City upon a commodious Haven, in the Kingdom of *Granado*, oppoſite to that of *Oran* in *Africa*, and gave it the name of *New Carthage*, which to this day it nearly retaineth, being called now **Carthagena*. With this ſucceſs of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, the *Romans* were not a little troubled; but began to accuſe their own negligence. For whereas they had formerly taken ſo much pains to beat them out of the Iſle of *Sicil*, as ſuſpecting their neighbourhood there; they had now, by cumbring themſelves in a war of far leſs importance, (whereof I ſhall ſpeak anon) given them leiſure without interruption, to recover upon their own Continent, a Dominion by far exceeding, both in the bodies of men, and in revenue, that which the *Romans* had taken from them. But how to help this, at the preſent they know not; for they daily expected to be invaded by the *Gaules*, their ancient enemies, and neareſt neighbours to the Weſt. But he needeth little help of force, that knoweth himſelf to be feared: it is enough if he requeſt, requeſt ſhall have the vertue of a command.

* The Spaniards have ſince built a City of the ſame name in the Weſt-Indies: which being peopled by them in the year 1532. was ſacked by the Engliſh in the year 1585.



Yet were the *Romans* utterly deſtitute of all good colour, that might help them to intermeddle in *Spain*. The *Spaniards* were then unacquainted with *Rome*, whereof (in probability) they ſcarce had heard the name: ſo that there were no *Mamertines*, nor other ſuch Rebels, to call in *Roman* ſuccours; but in the enterpriſe of *Sardinia*, the *Romans* had learned an impudent pretence, that might alſo ſerve their turn in *Spain*. For though it were apparent, that the *Spaniſh* affairs had no relation to the peace between theſe two Cities; and though it were nothing likely, that *Aſdrubal* had any purpoſe to extend his victories unto the gates of *Rome*, or to any of the *Roman* frontiers: yet (as if ſome ſuch matter had been ſuſpected) they ſent unto him, requiring that he ſhould forbear to proceed any further, than to the River of *Iberus*. In addreſſing their meſſengers, rather to *Aſdrubal*, than to the City of *Carthage*; they ſeem to have hoped, that howſoever the generality of the *Carthaginians* had ſweetly ſwallowed many bitter pills, to avoid all occaſion of war with *Rome*, yet the bravery of one man might prove more faſtidious, and reſenting the injury, return ſuch anſwer, as would intangle his whole Country in the quarrel, that they ſo much deſired; and might embrace at leiſure, when once they had found apparent cauſe. But *Aſdrubal* finely deluded their expectation. He pretended no manner of diſlike at all: and whereas they would have this inſolent covenant inſerted into the Articles of peace; he took upon him to do it of his own power, with ſuch appearance of conformity to their will, that they went their wayes contented, and ſought no further.

If it had been ſo, that the State of *Carthage*, thereunto preſſed by the *Romans*, for fear of preſent war, had ratified this new compoſition made by *Aſdrubal*; yet ſhould it not have ſtood bound in honour, to obſerve the ſame carefully, unleſs an oath had alſo been extorted, to make all ſure. But ſince all paſſed quietly, under the bare authority of *Aſdrubal*, this Capitulation was none other in effect than a ſecond breach of peace; whereof the *Romans* might be accuſed more juſtly, than they could accuſe the *Carthaginians* of perjury, (as they after did) for refuſing to ſtand to it.

By this Treaty with *Aſdrubal*, the *Romans* wan ſome reputation in *Spain*. For when it was once conceived by the *Spaniards*, that the City which would needs be Miſtreſs over them, ſtood in fear her ſelf of receiving blows from a ſtouter Dame; there were ſoon found ſome, that by offering themſelves to the protection of *Rome*, became (as they thought) fellow-ſervants with *Carthage*. But the *Carthaginians* will ſhortly teach them another leſſon. The *Saguntines*, a people on the South-ſide of *Iberus*, entred into confederacy with the *Romans*, and were gladly accepted. Surely it was lawful unto the *Romans*, to admit the *Saguntines*, or any other people (neither ſubject, nor open enemy in war to the *Carthaginians*) into their ſociety: and unlawful it was unto the *Carthaginians*, to uſe violence towards any that ſhould thus once become confederate with *Rome*. Nevertheleſs, if we conſider the late agreement made with *Aſdrubal*, we ſhall find that the *Romans* could have none other honeſt colour of requiring it, than an implicit covenant of making the River *Iberus* a bound, over which they themſelves would not paſs, in any Diſcovery or Conqueſt by them intended to be made upon *Spain*: in which regard, they might have ſome honeſt pretence to require the like of the *Carthaginians*; though *Rome*, as yet, had no foot on the one ſide of *Iberus*, whereas *Carthage*, on the other ſide of that River, held almoſt all the Country. Howſoever it were, this indignity was not ſo eaſily digeſted, as former injuries had been. For it was a matter of ill conſequence, that the Nations which had heard of no greater power than the *Carthaginian*, ſhould behold *Saguntum* reſting ſecurely among them, upon confidence of help from a more mighty City. Wherefore either in this reſpect, or for that the ſenſe is moſt feeling of the lateſt injuries; or rather for that now the *Carthaginians* were of power to do themſelves right: war againſt *Saguntum* was generally thought upon, let the *Romans* take it how they liſt. In ſuch terms were the *Carthaginians*, when *Aſdrubal* died, after he had commanded in *Spain* eight year. (being ſlain by a ſlave, whoſe Maſter he had put to death) and the Great *Hannibal*, Son of the Great *Amilcar*, was choſen General in his ſtead.

## §. VI.

*The eſtate of* Greece *from the death of* Pyrrhus, *to the reign of* Philip *the Son of* Demetrius *in* Macedon.

IN the long term of the firſt *Punick* war, and the vacation following, between it and the ſecond; the eſtate of *Greece*, after the death of *Pyrrhus*, was grown ſomewhat like unto that, wherein *Philip* of *Macedon* had found it; though far weaker, as the after-

after-ſpring. The whole Country had recovered by degrees, a form of liberty: in petty tyrannies (bred of thoſe inferiour Captains, which in the times of general combuſtion, had ſeiſed each upon ſuch towns as he could get) were, by force or accident, extirpated, and reformed; and ſome States were riſen to ſuch greatneſs, as not only ſerved to defend themſelves, but to give protection to others. This converſion to the better, proceeded from the like diſſenſions and tumults in *Macedon*, as had been in *Greece*, when *Philip* firſt began to encroach upon it. For after many quarrels and great wars, about the Kingdom of *Macedon*, between *Antigonus* the elder, *Caſſander*, *Demetrius*, *Lyſimachus*, *Seleucus*, *Pyrrhus*, and the *Gaules*: *Antigonus* the ſon of *Demetrius*, finally got and held it, reigning ſix and thirty years; yet ſo, that he was divers times thence expelled, not only by the *Gaules*, and by *Pyrrhus*, as hath been already ſhewed, but by *Alexander* the Son of *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot*, from whoſe father he had hardly won it. This happened unto him, by the revolt of his Souldiers, even at ſuch time, as having overthrown with great ſlaughter an Army of the *Gaules*, he was converting his forces againſt the *Athenians*, whom he compelled to receive his Garriſons. But his young ſon *Demetrius* raiſed an Army, wherewith he chaſed *Alexander*, not only out of *Macedon*, but out of his own *Epirus*, and reſtored his Father to the Kingdom.

By the help of this young Prince *Demetrius* (though in another kind) *Antigonus* got into his poſſeſſion the Citadel of *Corinth*; which was juſtly termed *the fetter of Greece*. This Citadel called *Acrocorinthus*, ſtood upon a ſteep rocky hill on the North ſide of the Town, and was by nature and art ſo ſtrong, that it ſeemed impregnable. It commanded the Town; which was of much importance, as occupying the whole breadth of the *Iſthmus*, that running between the *Ægean* and *Ionique* Seas, joyneth *Peloponneſus* to the Main of *Greece*. Wherefore he that held poſſeſſion of this Caſtle was able to cut off all paſſage by land, from one half of *Greece* unto the other; beſides the commodity of the two Seas, upon both of which, this rich and goodly City had commodious havens. *Alexander*, the ſon of *Polyſperchon*; and after his death, *Crateſipolis* his wife, had gotten *Corinth* in the great ſhuffling of Provinces and Towns, that was made between *Alexanders* Princes. Afterwards it paſſed from hand to hand, untill it came, I know not how, to one *Alexander*; of whom I find nothing elſe, than that he was thought to be poiſoned by this *Antigonus*, who deceived his wife *Nicæa* thereof, and got it from her by a trick. The device was this: *Antigonus* ſent his young ſon *Demetrius* to *Corinth*, willing him to court *Nicæa*, and ſeek her marriage. The fooliſh old widow perceived not how unfit a match ſhe was for the young Prince, but entertained the fancy of marriage; whereto the old King was even as ready to conſent, as was his ſon to deſire, and came thither in perſon to ſolemnize it. Hereupon all *Corinth* was filled with ſacrifices, feaſts, plaies, and all ſorts of games: in the midſt of which, *Antigonus* watched his time, and got into the Caſtle, beguiling the poor Lady, whoſe jealouſie had been exceeding diligent in keeping it. Of this purchaſe he was ſo glad, that he could not contain himſelf within the gravity beſeeming his old age. But as he had ſtollen it; ſo was it again ſtollen from him: neither lived he to revenge the loſs of it, being already ſpent with age.

*Demetrius*, the ſon of this *Antigonus*, ſucceeding unto his Father, reigned ten years. He made greater proof of his vertue before he was King, than after. The *Dardanians*, *Ætolians*, and *Achæans*, held him continually buſied in war; wherein his fortune was variable, and for the more part ill. About theſe times the power of the *Macedonians* began to decay: and the *Græcians* to caſt off their yoke.

*Philip*, the only ſon of *Demetrius*, was a young child when his Father died; and therefore *Antigonus*, his Uncle, had the charge of the Kingdom, during the minority of the Prince; but he aſſumed the name and power of a King, though he reſpected *Philip* as his own ſon, to whom he left the Crown at his death; This *Antigonus*, was called the *Tutor*, in regard of his Protectorſhip; and was alſo called *Doſon*, that is as much as, *Will-give*, becauſe he was ſlow in his liberality. He repreſſed the *Dardanians* and *Theſſalians*, which moleſted his Kingdom, in the beginning of his reign. Upon confidence of this good ſervice, he took ſtate upon him, as one that rather were King in his own right, than only a Protector. Hereupon the people fell to mutiny; but were ſoon appeaſed by fair words, and a ſeeming unwillingneſs of his to meddle any more with the Government. The *Achaians* took from him the City of *Athens*, ſoon after *Demetrius* his death; and likely they were to have wrought him out of all, or moſt that he held in *Greece*, if their own eſtate had not been endangered by a nearer enemy. But civil diſſenſion, which had



had overthrown the power of *Greece*, when it flouriſhed moſt, overthrew it eaſily now again, when it had ſcarcely recovered ſtrength after a long ſickneſs; and gave to this *Antigonus* no leſs authority therein, than *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, got by the like advantage.

Theſe *Achaians* from ſmall beginnings, had increaſed in ſhort time to great ſtrength and fame: ſo that they grew the moſt redoubted Nation of all the *Greeks*. By the equality of their Laws, and by their clemency (notwithſtanding that they were a long time held under by the *Macedonians* and *Spartans*) they did not only draw all others by their love and alliance, but induced, through their example, the reſt of the Cities of *Peloponneſus*, to be governed by one Law, and to uſe one and the ſame ſort of weights, meaſure, and money.

*Aratus*, the *Sicyonian*, was the firſt that united them again; and gave them courage, after that they had been by the *Macedonian* Captains divided into many Principalities. In elder times they were governed by Kings, as moſt of the great Cities of *Greece* were; to which kind of rule they firſt ſubjected themſelves, after the deſcent of the *Heraclidæ*, when *Tiſamenus* the ſon of *Oreſtes* poſſeſt the Territory of *Achaia*. In this eſtate they continued to the time of *Gyges*; after whom, when his ſons ſought to change the Legal Government of their Predeceſſors into Tyranny, they expelled them, and made their State popular; as ſeeming moſt equal. This form of Common-weal had continuance, with ſome ſmall changes according to the diverſity of times, till the reign of *Philip* and *Alexander* Kings of *Macedon*: who tempeſt-like overturned all things in that part of the world. For thoſe twelve Cities, called *the Cities of alliance* (whereof, *Helice*, and *Bura* or *Olenus*, the Sea had eaten up a little before the Battail of *Leuctres*) were, by diſturbance of the *Macedonians*, divided from each other, and trained into a war, no leſs fooliſh than cruel, among themſelves. But in the one hundred and four and twentieth *Olympiad* (in which, or near it, *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Lagus*, *Lyſimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, left the world) two of ten remaining Cities and people, namely, the *Patenſes* and the *Dimæi*, united themſelves, and laid the foundation of the general accord, and re-union, which after followed. For having been, ſome of them *Partiſans* with ſundry *Macedonian* Captains, and others having been governed by petty Kings; they began to faſten themſelves in a ſtrong league of amity, partly, in the *Olympiad* before ſpoken of, and partly, at ſuch time as *Pyrrhus* made his firſt voyage into *Italy*. Now after the uniting of the *Patrenſes* and *Dimæi*, to whom alſo the Cities of *Titræa*, and *Phara*, joyned themſelves; *Ægira* chaſed out her Garriſons: and the *Burians*, killing their Kings, entred with the *Ceraunians* into the ſame Confederacy. Theſe Cities, for twenty and five years, uſed the ſame form of Government with the *Achaians*; who by a Senatory and two Prætors, ordered all things in their Common-weal; and ſoon after by one Prætor, or Commander: of which, *Marcus Carynenſis* was the firſt, and *Aratus* the ſecond.

This *Aratus* was a noble young Gentleman of *Sicyon*, who, living at *Argos* in exile, whilſt his Country was oppreſſed by Tyrants, found means, through the help of other baniſhed men, to enter their own City by night, with ladders; whence they chaſed the Tyrant, and reſtored the people to liberty. This was in the time of *Antigonus Gonatas* King of *Macedon*, a Prince more buſie in watching what to get among the *Greeks*, than wiſe in looking to his own. For fear of *Antigonus*, the *Sicyonians* enter into the *Achaian* league: which though at that time it received more increaſe by their acceſſion than it added ſtrength to them; yet the benefit of this conjunction ſerved well enough againſt *Antigonus*, whoſe ſubtlety was ſomewhat greater than his valour. As the induſtry and counſel of *Aratus* delivered his Country from bondage, and fortified it by the *Achaian* league; ſo further, by his great liberality, with the exceeding great coſt of 150. talents, he pacified the inexplicable controverſies, between the baniſhed *Sicyonians*, which returned with him, and the other Citizens that had poſſeſſion of theſe mens Lands; as alſo with the ſame money he drew many others to aſſiſt him in thoſe enterpriſes following, that redounded to the ſingular good of all *Achaia*. The mony he obtained of *Ptolemy Energetes* King of *Egypt*; who partly had a deſire to hold ſome ſtrong and ſure friendſhip in *Greece*, partly was delighted with the converſation of *Aratus* himſelf, that made a dangerous voyage to him into *Egypt*, and fed his pleaſure in goodly pictures, with the gift of many curious pieces, wherein the workmen of *Sicyon* excelled.

The firſt of *Aratus* his great attempts, was the ſurprize of the *Acrocorinthus* or Citadel of *Corinth*; which he wan by night, being thereinto guided by ſome theeves that he had hired for the purpoſe, who living in the place, had practiſed to rob *Antigonus* his

his treasury, passing in and out by a secret path among the rocks. Yet was he fain to fight for it, ere he could get it: though indeed *Antigonus* his Souldiers were rather overcome by their own fear, than by any force of the assailants; as mistrusting left the *Achaians* were more in number, than in truth they were, and having lost the advantages of the place already, upon which they had presumed, before they were aware of any enemy.

In these kinds of night-services, ambushments, surprises, and practices, *Aratus* was very cunning, adventurous, and valiant: in open field, and plain battail, he was as timorous. By this strange mixture of cowardize and courage, he ministred argument of disputation, to Philosophers and others; Whether a valiant man (as he was esteemed, and in some cases approved) might look pale and tremble, when he began battail; and Whether the vertue of Fortitude were diversified, by the sundry natures of men, and in a manner confined unto several sorts of action. In resolving which doubts it may be said, that all vertue is perfected in men by exercise, wherein they are trained by occasion: though a natural inclination standeth in need of little practice; whereas the defect hereof must be supplyed with much instruction, use, good success, and other help, yet hardly shall grow absolute in general. Such was *Aratus* in matter of War. In sincere affection to his Country he was unreprovable, and so acknowledged: as his following actions will truly testifie.

When *Acrocorinthus* was taken, and joyned unto the Common-wealth of *Achaia*, the *Megarians* revolted soon after from *Antigonus*, and entred into the same Corporation. So did the *Trazenians*, and the *Epidaurians*: whereby this new erected State grew so powerful, that it adventured to take *Athens*, from the *Macedonians*, and *Argos* and *Megalopolis*, from tyrants that held them. The enterprise upon the *Athenians* was of none effect. For though *Aratus* wasted the Isle of *Salamis*, to shew his strength, and sent home the *Athenian* prisoners, without ransome, to allure the City by shew of love; yet the *Athenians* stirred neither against him, nor for him, as being now grown honest slaves to the *Macedonians*. Upon *Argos* the adventure was carried more strongly. The *Achaians* came sometimes to the gates of the City, but the people stirred not: once they entred it, and might have won it, if the Citizens would have lent any help to the recovery of their own freedom; sundry times, and with diverse events, they fought with the Tyrants, (who rose up one after another in *Argos*) in open field, and slew one of them in battail; but all sufficed not: untill at length *Aristomachus* the Tyrant was so terrified, perswaded, and hired by *Aratus*, that he consented to resign his Estate. The like did *Xenon* the Tyrant of *Hermione*, and *Cleonymus*, that had oppressed the *Phliasians*.

Whilst this business with the *Argives* was on foot, *Lysiadas* the Tyrant of *Megalopolis*, was so well handled by *Aratus*, that, without compulsion, he gave liberty to his City, and annexed it to the Council of *Achaia*: whereby he got such credit, that he was chosen General of their forces (which was a yearly Office, and might not be held two years together by one man:) every second year, for a certain while, he and *Aratus* succeeded one another by turns. But those late Tyrants, and new Citizens, *Lysiadas* and *Aristomachus*, were carried with private passion from care of the general good; in which courses they opposed *Aratus*, to the great hurt of *Achaia*, as shall appear in due time.

The *Achæans* having obtained so much puissance and reputation, that *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt* was become Patron of their Alliance, and (in title of honour) General of their forces by Sea and Land; made open War upon *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus Gonatas*, for the liberty of *Athens*. It is strange and worthy of noting, That when *Aratus* in this quarrel had lost a battail, the *Athenians* wore Garlands, in sign of joy, to flatter their good Lords the *Macedonians*, that had won the victory. Such were now the *Athenians* become; in whom the rule was verified, that holds true in general of the multitude, *Aut humiliter servit, aut superbe dominatur*; *It is either base in service, or insolent in command*. Nevertheless when *Demetrius* was dead, *Aratus* performed that by money, which he could not by force; and corrupting the Captain of the *Macedonian* Garrison, purchased liberty to the *Athenians*, who thenceforth held good correspondence with the *Achæans*, loving them, and speaking well of them, which was all that they could do: but into their Corporation they entred not, scorning it belike, in regard of their own out-worn glory.

Now as the Common-wealth of *Achaia* daily increased within *Peloponnesus*, by justice and honesty; so did the *Ætolians*, in the utter part of *Greece*, yea and within *Peloponnesus* it self, wax very powerful, by sturdiness of body, and rude courage in fight, without help of any other vertue. They had stoutly



stoutly defended themselves against *Antipater* and *Craterus*; partly by daring to do and suffer much, partly by the natural strength and fastness of their Country; but especially by the benefit of the time, which called away these famous Captains to other business, as hath been related. They had molested *Cassander*, in favour of *Antigonus*, and were themselves as much plagued by him, and by the *Acarnanians*, a little, but a stout Nation, that took his part. Afterwards they had to do with *Demetrius*, the son of the first *Antigonus*, and more or less with all the Kings of *Macedon* succeeding him. They likewise held often war with the *Acarnanians*, *Athamanians*, *Epirots*, and many Cities in *Peloponnesus*: so that they were hardned with perpetual travail; seldom putting off their Armour. But their hardiness ill deserved the name of valour, seeing they had no regard of honesty or friendship, measuring all things by their own insolent wills, and thinking all people base-minded, that were not as fierce and outragious as themselves.

These *Ætolians* had lately made great spoils in *Peloponnesus*, and occupied a good part of the Country. They had invaded the friends of the *Achæans*; taken and sacked *Pallene*; where although they were soundly beaten by *Aratus*, yet their desire of gain made them make a new voyage thither, as to a Country wherein somewhat was to be gotten. But they were forced to look another way, by *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus Gonatas*: who prest them so hardly, that they were driven to seek help of the *Achæans*; which they obtained. The war which the *Achæans* made upon *Demetrius*, without *Peloponnesus*, in *Attica*, though it tended to expelling the *Macedons* out of *Greece*, yet the benefit thereof redounded chiefly unto the *Ætolians*, at whose instance it was set on foot: for thereby were the *Macedonian* forces diverted from them. Neither was this good turn unacknowledged; though very basely the *Ætolians*, giving thanks in words, devised how to requite the benefit with some great mischief. They saw that the *Achæans* were desirous to bring all *Peloponnesus* into their Alliance and Corporation: of which intent, the *Lacædemonians* were very jealous. Wherefore these *Ætolians* laboured earnestly, to set the *Lacædemonians* and *Achæans* together by the ears: hoping that if this might come to pass, they themselves should be called in to help (it skilled not on what side) and so get no small share, both in booty and Territory. Neither did they forbear to communicate this their device unto *Antigonus*; offering to make him partaker of their gain, whom they knew to be offended with the many losses, that this Kingdom hath sustained by the *Achæans*. Of this plot *Aratus* was aware: who therefore determined to suffer many indignities, rather than to give the *Lacædemonians* cause to take Arms. But this resolution was taken somewhat too late: and not altogether in his own power to hold. He had been meddling with the *Arcadians*, that were dependants of *Lacedæmon*: and thereby had provoked the *Lacedæmonians* to look about them; seeing that all *Peloponnesus*, excepting themselves, the *Eleans*, and a few *Arcadians* their friends (who also were attempted) was already become *Achæan*.

The City of *Sparta* was in ill case about these times; and subject to the injuries of any stronger neighbour. *Pyrrhus* had greatly weakned it; The *Ætolians* entring *Laconia* with an Army, had carried away fifty thousand slaves; and, which was worse, their discipline was corrupted, Avarice and Luxury reigned among them, the poor was oppressed by the rich, and the generosity of spirit, that had sometime been their general vertue, was hardly now to be found among the best of them. There were left in *Sparta* no more than seven hundred natural Citizens; of whom not above one hundred had Lands: all the rest were needy people, and desirous of innovation. Hereupon followed intestine sedition; which endangered the City most of all. *Agis* a good King, who sought to reform the disorders of the State, exhorted the people to a strict observation of *Lycurgus* his laws. To which purpose he caused them to pass an Act, for the abolishing of all debts, and equal division of Lands. All the younger, and poorer sort were glad of this: but the rich men opposed it. These had recourse unto *Leonidas* the other King, (for in *Sparta* were two Kings) who took their part: being himself a dissolute man, as one trained up in the Court of *Syria*, whence also he had his wife. In this contention *Leonidas* was expelled the City, and a new King chosen in his stead. But *Agis* his friends and Counsellors in this enterprise, abused his good meaning to their own private commodity. They were hasty to take away all debts, and cancel all bonds, for they themselves were deeply indebted: but the division of Lands they afterwards hindred, because their own possessions were great. Hence arose a tumult in *Sparta*, which these men increased by their foul oppression of the poorer Citizens. So that in fine, *Leonidas* was brought home, and restored to his Kingdom, and the two adverse

adverſe Kings driven to take Sanctuary; out of which, *Cleombrotus*, the late-made King, was diſmiſſed into exile: but *Agis* was trained forth, drawn into priſon, and there by his enemies condemned and ſtrangled, together with his Mother, and his old Grand-mother. The like to this was never known in *Sparta*: and (which is the more odious) this cruelty proceeded from the *Ephori*, Magiſtrates that ſhould have given Patronage to the Laws, uſing their power, and more power than to them belonged, againſt a King, that had proceeded orderly in reforming the City as the Law required.

The death of *Agis* was much lamented by all good Citizens; and ſerved to eſtabliſh the impotent rule of a few tyrannical oppreſſors. In which caſe *Aratus* might well hope to adjoin *Lacedæmon* to the *Achæans* Common-wealth: though it were great injuſtice to take ſuch advantages, and attempt by force, that which would have redounded to the general good of *Peloponneſus*, and to the benefit of *Sparta* it ſelf, if it could have been wrought by perſwaſion.

But the ſame man who redreſſed the diſorders of *Sparta*, and revenged the death of *Agis*, did alſo requite the unjuſt attempts of the *Achæans*, even in their own kind: obtruding upon them by force an union of all *Peloponneſus*, though little to their good liking, for that the *Lacedæmonians* and their King, ſhould have been the principal; not they and their Prætor. *Leonidas* having thus cauſed *Agis* to be ſlain, took his wife that was very rich and beautiful, and gave her in marriage (perforce) to his own ſon *Cleomenes*. This young Prince fell greatly inamoured on his wife, and ſought to win her affection, as well as he had her perſon. He diſcourſed much with her about the purpoſe of her former husband *Agis*, & by pitying his misfortune, began to entertain a deſire of accompliſhing that, wherein *Agis* had failed. So coming himſelf to be King, whileſt he was very young, he gladly embraced all occaſions of War: for that he hoped by ſtrong hand to effect that, which *Agis* by proceeding formally in ſo corrupt an eſtate of the City, had attempted to his own ruine. Therefore when the *Ephori* gave him in charge, to take and fortifie *Athenæum*, a Temple on the marches of *Laconia*, to which both they and the *Megalopolitans* pretended title, he readily performed it. Hereof *Aratus* made no complaint, but ſought to take by ſurprize *Tegea* and *Orchomenus*, Cities then Confederate with the *Lacedæmonians*: wherein, his intelligence failing, he loſt the labour of a painful night travel, and diſcovered his enmity to *Sparta*; of which *Cleomenes* was nothing ſorry. By theſe degrees the war began. In the entrance whereto *Aratus* had diſcovered the *Ætolian* practice, and therefore would have ſtayed the quarrel from proceeding too farr. But *Lyſiadas* and *Ariſtomachus* would needs fight, and he could do none other than be ruled by them; eſpecially ſeeing *Cleomenes* was ſo urgent. *Ariſtomachus* was at that time General of the *Achæans*, (He and *Lyſiadas* being of great account, ſince they had abandoned their tyranny) who ſent unto *Aratus*, lying then in *Athens*, and required his aſſiſtance in a journey to be made into *Laconia*. No diſſwaſions of *Aratus* would ſerve, therefore he came in perſon, and took part of a buſineſs, little pleaſing him in the preſent, and leſs in the future. When he met with *Cleomenes*, he durſt not fight; but oppoſed himſelf againſt *Ariſtomachus*, who deſired to give battel. Yet had the *Achæans* twenty thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe, in their Army: whereas *Cleomenes* had no more than five thouſand in all. This gave reputation to the *Lacedæmonian*, and raiſed an ill report upon *Aratus*; which *Lyſiadas* helped to make worſe, by accuſing his cowardize. Nevertheleſs the *Achæans* would not fall out with *Aratus* their Benefactor, but choſe him their General the year following; againſt *Lyſiadas* his accuſer that ſued for the place. Being General himſelf, it behoved him to confute with deeds, the ſlanderous words of *Lyſiadas*. Therefore he purpoſed to ſet upon the *Eleans*: but was met withal on the way, near unto the Mount *Lycæus*, by *Cleomenes*, who vanquiſhed him in a great battel, and drave him to hide himſelf all night for fear, ſo that he was thought to have been ſlain. This miſadventure *Aratus* recompenced by a trick of his own more natural occupation: performing with his broken Army, that which could hardly have been expected, had he been victorious. For whileſt there was no ſuſpicion of any great matter that he could undertake; he ſuddenly wrought with ſome of the *Mantinæans*, who did let him into their City. Theſe *Mantinæans*, (whom he had thus brought to his purpoſe) had once before joyned themſelves with the *Achaians*; but ſhortly upon fear, or ſome other paſſion, they gave themſelves to the *Ætolians*; and from the *Ætolians*, preſently after this victory, to *Cleomenes*, from whom immediately they were thus won. For this their levity they were not puniſhed, but freely admitted now again into the *Achæan* ſociety. As this good



good ſucceſs repaired the credit of *Aratus*; ſo another battel almoſt ruined it. *Cleomenes* and he encountred near unto *Megalopolis*; where the *Achæans* had ſomewhat the better at the firſt, but their General durſt not follow his advantage. Thereupon *Lyſiadas*, of whom we ſpake before, grew ſomewhat impatient with anger; and taking with him all the horſe, brake upon the *Lacedæmonians* whom he routed at the beginning, but purſuing them too far into places of hard paſſage, he was ſlain by them, and his followers driven back upon their own Companions; in ſuch ſort, that finally all the Army was diſordered and put to flight. This was a great loſs and incenſed the *Achæans* againſt *Aratus*: yet their indignation proceeded no further, than that they refuſed to make any longer contribution, towards the pay of thoſe Mercenaries which he had waged. This *Aratus* took patiently, and followed the war nevertheleſs; wherein though *Cleomenes* wan ſome Towns, and *Aratus* got the better in one ſmall fight, yet little of importance was done; the *Achæans* being weary, and the *Spartan* King intentive to another buſineſs.

*Cleomenes* having led into the field all that were like to hinder his purpoſe, and tired them with painful journeys, forſook the *Achæan* war on a ſudden, and came unexpected home to *Sparta*, where he ſlew the *Ephori*, and reſtored by force the ancient diſcipline of *Lycurgus*. Then he gave an account of his doings; and ſhewing by what degrees the *Ephori* had incroched upon the power of Kings, and many diſorders had grown in the City; he juſtified his proceedings, and forthwith began to make equal diviſion of the Lands, reducing all to the firſt inſtitution. He alſo ſupplied the defect of Citizens, by chooſing new, out of ſuch as were friends to the State, and valiant men: ſo that henceforth his Countrey might not altogether ſtand in need of Mercenary help, as it lately had done, to ſave it ſelf from the *Ætolians*, *Illyrians*, and ſuch other enemies. All this was diſpatched in great haſte; the *Spartans* well ſatisfied, and *Cleomenes* himſelf ready in the field, ere his enemies could take any advantage of theſe his domeſtical troubles.

The *Achæans* hearing of this great alteration in *Sparta*, thought that it would be long ere *Cleomenes* durſt iſſue forth of the City, for fear of ſome rebellion. But it was not long ere they heard, that he had waſted all the Countrey of *Megalopolis*; had ranged over all *Arcadia* at his pleaſure; and was admitted into *Mantinæa*; and ready to take other places, even of *Achaia*. Theſe news diſpleaſed them not a little: but they muſt patiently endure to hear worſe. For when *Cleomenes* had ſhaken off the power of the *Ephori*, that curbed his authority, he proceeded more roundly in his work, being better obeyed, and by better men. His *Lacedæmonians* reſumed their ancient courage; and he himſelf had the heart to demand the Principality of *Greece*. He did not therefore henceforth contend about the poſſeſſion of a few Towns: but adventured to win or loſe all. The *Ætolians*, in favour of his attempt, declared themſelves on his ſide: and whereas he had gotten *Mantinæa*, *Tegea*, and other places; to which they had ſome title, they willingly renounced all their intereſt unto him.

*Aratus* did apprehend the danger of his Countrey, and ſaw that *Antigonus*, with the *Ætolians*, or perhaps without them, would ſhortly make an end of that, which *Cleomenes* had thus begun. Therefore he adviſed how to provide againſt the worſt, and either to repair all, or (if it could not be) to ſave all from utter ruine. The office of General, when it was next put upon him, he refuſed; fearing to be ſo far preſt, as to hazard in one battel all the force of his Countrey, to which as he had never any affection, nor perchance courage, ſo was his manner of warfare otherwiſe. For he commonly attempted by ſurpriſe, and defended upon the advantage of place, after the manner of the *Iriſh*, and of all other Nations, overcharged with numbers of men. Yet did he not forſake the care of the Weal-publick, though in aiming at the general good, it ſeems that private paſſion drew him into an ill courſe. He ſaw, that *Megalopolis* could not be defended without making a dangerous hazard of battel; that *Mantinæa* had not only opened her gates unto *Cleomenes*, but ſlain the *Achæan* Garriſon that lay therein; that other Towns had yielded unto him, without compulſion; and that *Ariſtomachus*, once Tyrant of *Argos*, and ſince General of the *Achæans*, was now revolted unto the enemy following the fortune of *Cleomenes*. *Ptolemy* was too far off to help; and the nearneſs of *Antigonus* was very dangerous; yet might be uſeful, if this King would (as *Polybius* ſaith) like others, be friend or enemy, as ſhould beſt agree with his own profit. To make trial hereof, *Aratus* practiſed with ſome of *Megalopolis*, whom he found apt unto his purpoſe; and inſtructed them how to deal with *Antigonus*, and the *Achæans*.

The City of *Megalopolis* had been well affected

affected to the *Macedonians*, ever since the time of *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, who had obliged it unto him by some special benefits. At this time it lay nearest unto the danger; was very faithful, and therefore deserved succour; yet could not well be relieved by the *Achæans*, with their own proper strength. Wherefore it was thought meet, that Embassadours should be sent unto the General Council of *Achaia*, requesting leave and good allowance, to try the favour of *Antigonus* in their necessity. This was granted, for lack of what else to answer: and the same Embassadours dispatched away to *Antigonus*. They did their own errand briefly; telling him of the good will and respect which their City had of long time born unto him and his Predecessors; of their present need; and how it would agree with his honour to give them aid. But when they delivered the more general matter, wherein *Aratus* had given them instruction; shewing how the ambition of *Cleomenes*, and violence of the *Ætolians*, might redound to his own great loss or danger, if the one and the other were not in time prevented; how *Aratus* himself did stand affected; and what good likelihood there was of reducing the *Achæans* under the Patronage of *Macedon*: then began *Antigonus* to lend a more attentive ear to their discourse. He embraced the motion: and to give it the more life, he wrote unto the *Megalopolitans*, that his help should not be wanting, so far forth, as it might stand with the *Achæans* good liking. Particularly he commended himself by these Messengers to *Aratus*; assuring them, that he thought himself highly bound to this honourable man, whose former actions he now perceived, not to have been grounded upon any hatred to the *Macedonians*, but only upon a just and worthy love to his own Nation. With this answer they returned to *Megalopolis*: and are presently sent away to the Council of *Achaia*; there to make some speedy conclusion, as the necessity of the time required. The *Achæans* were glad to hear, that *Antigonus* was so inclinable to their desire; and therefore were ready to entertain his favour, with all good correspondence. Hereunto *Aratus* gave his consent; and praised the wisdom of his Countrimen, that so well discerned the best and likeliest means of their common safety: adding nevertheless, that it were not amiss, first of all to try their own ability; which if it failed, then should they do well to call in this gracious Prince, and make him their Patron and Protector. Thus he shewed himself moderate; in that which himself of all others did most wish: to the end, that he might not afterward sustain the common reprehension, if any thing fell out amiss; since it might appear, that he had not been Author of this Decree, but only followed, and that leisurably, the general consent.

Nevertheless, in true estimation, this fineness of *Aratus* might have been used, with his greater commendation, in a contrary course. For it had been more honourable to make an end of the war, by yielding unto *Cleomenes* that power which they gave unto *Antigonus*: since thereby he should both have freed his Country from all further trouble; and withall, should have restored unto the universal state of *Greece*, that honourable condition, whereof the *Macedonians* had bereft it. But it is commonly found, (which is great pity) that Vertue, having risen to honour by degrees, and confirmed it self, (as it were) in the seat of principality, by length of time, and success of many actions, can ill endure the hasty growth of any others reputation, wherewith it sees it self likely to be overtopped. Other cause to despise the *Lacedæmonians* there was none, than that they lately had been in dangerous case: neither could any reason be found, why *Aratus* should prefer *Antigonus* before *Cleomenes*, than that he had stood in doubt of the one, when he thought himself more mighty than the other. Wherefore he was justly plagued, when he saw his own honours reversed by the insolent *Macedonians*: and in stead of living as a companion with *Cleomenes*, that was descended of a long race of Kings, the posterity of *Hercules*, was fain to do sacrifice unto *Antigonus*, as unto a god, and was finally poysoned by *Philip*, whose Nobility was but of five descents, and whom perhaps he might have seen his fellows, if he had not made them his Lords. By this inclination to the *Macedonians*, the love of *Ptolemy* was lost: who forthwith took part with *Cleomenes*, though he did not supply him with such liberality, as he had used to the *Achæans*; being warned, as may seem, by their example, to be more wary both in trusting and disbursing. *Cleomenes* himself, whilst this business with *Antigonus* was a-foot, passed through *Arcadia* with an Army, and laboured by all means to draw the *Achæans* to battel. At the City of *Dymes* in *Achaia* were assembled all the remaining forces of the Nation; with which it was concluded to make trial, whether perhaps they might amend their estate, without seeking help of the *Macedonian*. Thither went *Cleomenes*, and there fought with them; where he had so great a victory, that



that the enemy was no longer able to keep the open field. The calamity was such, that *Aratus* himself durst not take upon him to be their General, when his turn came in the next election. Wherefore the *Achæans* were compelled to sue for peace; which was granted upon this easie condition: That they should not arrogate unto themselves the command of *Peloponnesus*, but suffer the *Lacedæmonians* (as in former ages) to be their Leaders in war. Hereunto if they would condescend, he promised unto them, that he would presently restore all places taken from them, and all his prisoners ransom-free: also that they should enjoy their own Laws and Liberties without molestation. This gentle offer of *Cleomenes* was very pleasing to the *Achæans*: who desired him to come to the City of *Lerna*, where a Parliament should be held, for the conclusion of the War.

Now seemed the affairs of *Greece* likely to be setled in better order, than they had ever been since the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* Wars, yea, or since the *Persian* invasion: when God, who had otherwise disposed of these matters, hindred all with a draught of cold water, which *Cleomenes* drank in great heat, and thereupon fell extream sick, and so could not be present at *Lerna*, but caused the Parliament to be deferred to another time. Nevertheless he sent home the chief of his prisoners, to shew that he meant none other than good faith. By this fair dealing he confirmed the *Achæans* in their desire of his friendship; who assembled again at *Argos*, there to establish the League. But *Aratus* was violently bent against it, and fought by great words, and terrible threats, to make his Countreymen afraid of resolving. When all would not serve turn, he betook himself to his cunning; and sent word to *Cleomenes*, that he should do well to leave his Army behind him, and come alone into *Argos*, receiving hostages for safety of his person. *Cleomenes*, was already far on his way, when he met with this advertisement; and took it in ill part, that he should be thus deluded. For it had been an easie matter, to have told him so much at the first, & not have made him come so far with an Army, which afterwards he must dismiss. Yet that which chiefly seems to have troubled him, was the drift of his oppugners; who fought thereby, either to make him wait without the gates, and deal only with themselves and their Messengers, or if he would adventure himself into the City, then to deprive him of all Royal shew, that might breed respect of him in the multitude. This was that indeed which *Aratus* feared, and for which he fought to hinder his coming thither in person; left the people, hearing the promises of *Cleomenes* ratified by his own mouth, should presently be won with his gentle words, and finish the bargain without more ado. Therefore *Cleomenes* wrote unto the whole Councel, bitterly complaining against these juggling tricks: and *Aratus* was not far behind with him in as bitter an Oration. So between fear of the one, and reverence of the other, the Assembly knew not how to proceed, but abruptly brake up, leaving all, as it were to fortune. *Cleomenes* took his advantage of their present weakness, and renewed the War. Many Cities yielded unto him willingly; many he forced; and partly by force, partly by terror, he wan *Argos*, which never King of *Sparta* before him could do. In this case *Aratus* sent his own son to *Antigonus*, intreating him to defer no time, but come presently to relieve the distressed *Achæans*. *Antigonus* gave good words as could be wished: saveing that he utterly refused to do any thing, unless he might first have *Acrocorinthus* put into his hands. This demand was somewhat like unto that of the Hunter, who promised to help the horse against his enemy the Stagg: but with condition, that the horse should suffer him to be saddled and bridled. *Aratus* was herewithall contented, but wanted all honest colour to do it: seeing the *Corinthians* had no way deserved to be thus given away to the *Macedonians*. Yet at length an occasion was found; for that the *Corinthians*, perceiving what he intended, were minded to arrest him. So he withdrew himself out of their City, and sent word to *Antigonus*, that their Castle should be ready to let him in. The *Corinthians* on the other side ran to *Cleomenes*; who lost no time, but made haste with them to *Corinth*, where he fought how to get possession of their Castle, or at least to save it from *Antigonus*, by surrounding it within Trenches, that none might issue nor enter without his leave. Whilest this was doing, he took special order, that *Aratus* his house and goods, within the Town, should be kept for the Owner; to whom he sent Messenger after Messenger, desiring him to come to agreement, and not to bring in the barbarous *Macedonians*, and *Illyrians*, to *Peloponnesus*; promising, that if he would hearken to these perswasions, then would he give him double the same pension, which he had been wont to receive of King *Ptolomy*. As for the Castle of *Corinth*, which was the gate of *Peloponnesus*, and without which none could hold assured soveraignty of the Country; he

desired that it might not be committed unto his own disposition, but be joyntly kept by the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans*. All this entreaty served to no purpose. For *Aratus*, rejecting utterly the motion, sent his own son as an Hostage to *Antigonus*; and laboured with the *Achæans*, to put *Acrocorinthus* into his hands. Which when *Cleomenes* understood, he seised upon the goods of *Aratus* in *Corinth*, and wasted all the Countrey of *Sicyon*, whereof this his Adversary was native.

*Antigonus* in the mean time drew near to the *Isthmus*; having passed with his Army through *Eubœa*, because the *Ætolians* held the straights of *Thermopylæ* against him. This they did, either in favour of *Cleomenes*, which they pretended; or in doubt of the greatness, whereunto the *Macedonians* might attain by the good success of this journey. At his coming thither, he found the *Lacedæmonians* ready to forbid his entrance: and that with sufficient strength; yet with no purpose to hazard battel, but rather to weary him thence with hunger; against which he came not well provided. *Antigonus* therefore laboured hard to make his way by force; but he was not able so to do: he secretly got into the *Corinthian* Haven; but was violently driven out again, with great loss of men; finally he resolved to turn aside, and seek a passage over the gulfe of *Corinth*, to *Sicyon*, or some other part of *Achaia*; but this required much time, and great preparation, which was not easily made.

In this perplexity, news from *Argos* came by Sea, that greatly comforted *Antigonus*, and no less troubled his enemies. The *Achæans* were gotten into that City; and the Garrison which *Cleomenes* had left therein, though it was not driven out of the Citadel, yet was hardly distressed, and stood in need of present help. *Argos* had always been enemy to *Sparta*, and well affected to the Kings of *Macedon*. When *Cleomenes* took it, he forbare to chase out those whom he most suspected; partly, at the entreaty of friends, and partly, for that they all made shew to be glad of his prosperity. They were glad indeed of *Cleomenes* his victories, both in *Argos* and elsewhere, as many as hoped that he would cause all debters to be discharged from their creditors, as he had lately done in *Sparta*. But that which *Cleomenes* had done in *Sparta*, was agreeable to the *Spartan* institution: in other places, where it would have been tyrannical, he did it not. Thereupon, such as were disappointed of their unjust hopes, began to turn good Common-wealths men; and called him Tyrant for his doings at home, because he would not do the like abroad. So they took their time, invited the *Achæans*, assailed his Garrison, cut in pieces the rescue that he sent, and compelled him at length to forsake the defence of *Corinth*, and look unto the enemies that were behind his back. For when he understood by continual messengers, that his men which held the Citadel at *Argos* were almost lost: he began to fear left his labour in guarding the entry should grow frivolous; the *Achæans* in the mean while spoiling all that lay within. Therefore he forsook his custody of the *Isthmus*, and made all haste towards *Argos*: which if he could save, he meant to trust fortune with the rest. And so far he prevailed at his coming to *Argos*, that both *Argives* and *Achæans* were glad to house themselves, leaving him Master of the streets; when the horsemen of *Antigonus* were discovered afar off, hasting to relieve the Citizens; and *Antigonus* himself (to whom *Corinth* was yielded, as soon as the *Spartan* had turned his back) following apace with the body of his Army. *Cleomenes* therefore had no more to do, then to make a safe retreat. This he did, and got him home into *Laconia*: losing in short space all, or most of that which he had been long in getting.

*Antigonus* having shewed himself at *Argos*, and commended the Citizens, went into *Arcadia*; where he wan such Castles as were held for *Cleomenes*, and restored them to the old Possessors. This done, he took his way to *Ægium*, where was held a Parliament by the *Achæans*; to whom he declared the cause of his coming, and spake brave words, that filled them with hope. The *Achæans* were not behind with him; but made him Captain-General over them and their Confederates: and further entered into covenant with him, That they would not deal with any Prince or State, either by writing, or Embassadour, without his consent. All this while & somewhat longer *Aratus* was the only man, that seemed to rule the Kings heart: carrying him to *Sicyon* his own Town, (for Winter was come on) where he not only feasted him as a great Prince, but suffered more than humane honours, as sacrifices and the like, to be done unto him. This example of *Aratus* and his *Sicyonians*, was followed by the rest of *Achaia*: which had made (forsooth) a very wise bargain, if in stead of *Cleomenes* that would have been a King, it had obtained the protection of a God. But this god was poor, and wanting wherewith to pay his *Macedonians*, imposed the



the burthen upon the *Achæans*. This was hardly taken: yet worse must be indured in hope of better. Neither was *Aratus* himself over-carefully respected; when the statues of those Tyrants, which he had thrown down in *Argos*, were again erected by *Antigonus*; or when the statues which he had erected, of those that had taken *Acrocorinthus* with him, were all thrown down by the same King, and one only left unto himself at his earnest intreaty. It might therefore appear, that this god was also spightful. Nevertheless in taking revenge upon those that offended him, *Aratus* did satisfie his own passion by the aid of these *Macedonians*. For with extreme torments he did put *Aristomachus* to death, who had been once Tyrant of *Argos*, afterwards General of the *Achæans*, and from them revolting unto *Cleomenes*, did fall at length into their hands. In like sort handled he (though not as yet) the *Mantinæans*, for their ingratitude and cruelty shewed to the *Achæans*. For he slew all the principal Citizens, and sold the rest, men, women, and children, all for bondslaves: dividing the spoyl; two parts to the *Macedonians*, and the third to the *Achæans*. The Town it self was given by *Antigonus* to the *Argives*, who peopled it with a Colony of their own; and *Aratus* having charge of this busines, caused it to be new named *Antigonia*. Surely of this cruelty there can be no better excuse, than even the flattery which *Aratus* was driven to use to *Antigonus*: forasmuch as it was a token of servility, whereinto they had urged and brought him; whom he, as in revenge thereof, did thus requite. But leaving to speak of this change, which the coming in of the *Macedonian* wrought in the Civil State of the *Achæans*; let us return unto this war against the *Lacedæmonian*.

The next Summer *Antigonus* wan *Tegea*, *Mantinæa*, *Orchomenus*, *Heræa*, and *Telphussa*: *Mantinæa* he dis-peopled, as was said before; in *Orchomenus* he placed a Garrison of his *Macedonians*; the rest he restored to the *Achæans*, with whom he wintred at *Ægium*, where they held a Parliament. Once only *Cleomenes* had met him this year; and that was on the borders of *Laconia*, where he lay ready to defend his own Territory. The reason why he stirred no further, nor followed *Antigonus* to *Mantinæa*, & to those other Towns that he wan, was this: He had few Souldiers, and had not mony enough to wage more. *Ptolemy* the *Egyptian* promised much, but would perform nothing, unless he might have *Cleomenes* his own Mother, and his children in pledge. These were sent unto *Egypt*, yet the aid came not. For *Ptolemy* was slow; as dealing in the busines of *Greece*, rather for his minds sake, than upon any apprehension of necessity. *Cleomenes* therefore provided for himself, as well as his own ability would serve. He manumised all the *Heilotes*, which were the *Lacedæmonian* slaves: taking mony for their liberty, and arming two thousand of them after the *Macedonian* fashion. Having thus increased his forces, he came on the sudden to *Megalopolis*, that lay secure, as having defended it self in more dangerous times, and having now *Antigonus* near at hand in *Ægium*. The Town he wan: but after he was entred, all that were fit to bear Arms rose hastily against him; and though they could not drive him out, yet saved the multitude, to whom they gave a Port free for their escape. He sent after the Citizens, offering their Town and goods to them again, if they would be of his party. But they bravely refused his offer: wherefore he sacked and ruined it, carrying with him to *Sparta* a great booty that he found therein. These news astonished the *Achæans* at *Ægium*: who thereupon brake up their Parliament. *Antigonus* sent hastily for his *Macedonians*, out of their wintering-places: but they were so long in coming, that *Cleomenes* was safely gone home. Therefore he returned them back to their lodgings, and went himself to *Argos*, there to pass the rest of his unlucky winter, somewhat further from the eyeyes of the grieved *Achæans*. When he had layn a while at *Argos*, *Cleomenes* was at the gates, with no great number of men, yet with more than *Antigonus* had then about him. The *Argives* perceiving that their Country would be spoiled, if *Antigonus* did not issue into the field, were very earnest with him to go forth and fight. But he was wiser than to be moved with their clamors, and suffered them to see their villages burnt; to bid him resign his Office of Protector unto some that were more valiant; and to satisfie their passions with foolish words, rather than he would be overcome in fight, and thereby loose more honour than could easily be repaired. By this *Cleomenes* had his desire, in weakning the reputation of his enemy: though he thereby added neither followers, nor other strength unto *Lacedæmon*.

Afterwards, when the season was more fit for war, *Antigonus* gathered together all his troops; meaning to requite these bravadoes of his enemy, with the conquest of *Sparta*. *Cleomenes*, on the other side laboured to keep the war from his own gates; and therefore entred upon the Country of *Argos*, where

where he made such a havock, as drew *Antigonus* thither, from his intended invasion of *Laconia*. Many great affronts the *Macedonian* was fain to endure, in coasting of the *Spartan* King; that ranging over the Country of the *Argives*, *Phliasians*, and *Orchomenians*, drave a Garrison of his out of *Oligyrtis*; and did sacrifice, as it were before his face, in the suburbs of *Argos*, without the Temple of *Juno*, that was shut up; sending unto him in scorn, to borrow the keys. These were light things; yet served to dis-hearten the *Achæan* side, and to fill the enemy with courage, which was no matter of light importance. Therefore he concluded to lay apart all other regard of things abroad, and to put all to hazard; by setting up his rest, without any more delay, upon *Sparta* it self. He had in his Army eight and twenty thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, collected out of sundry Nations, as *Macedonians*, *Illyrians*, *Gaules*, *Epirots*, *Bœotians*, *Acarnanians*, and others: together with the *Achæans*; and their friends of *Peloponnesus*. *Cleomenes* had of all sorts twenty thousand, with which he lay at *Selasia*: fortifying slightly the other passages into *Laconia*, through which the *Macedonians* were not likely to seek entrance. *Antigonus* coming unto *Selasia*, found his enemy so strongly encamped, upon and between the hills of *Eva* and *Olympus*, that he was constrained to spend much time there, before he could advance any one foot: neither lay it in his power to come hastily to blows, which he greatly desired, without the hazard of his whole Army, in assailing their well defenced Camp. But at length (as it happens, when men are weary both of their hopes and fears) both Kings being resolved to make an end one way or other; *Antigonus* attempted with his *Illyrians*, to force that part which lay on the hill *Eva*. But his *Illyrians* were so ill seconded by the *Achæan* foot, that the *Spartan* horse, and light-armed foot, incamped in the straight valley between those hills, issuing forth, fell upon their skirts, and not only disordered them, but were like to have endangered all the rest. If *Cleomenes* himself had stood in that part of the battel, he would have made great use of such a fair beginning. But *Eucl*ydas, his Brother, a more valiant than skilful Souldier, commanded in that wing: who neither followed this advantage, nor took such benefit as the ground afforded, whereon he lay. *Philopœmen* the *Arcadian* of *Megalopolis*, who afterwards proved a famous Captain, served then on horse, as a private young man, among the *Achæans*. He seeing that all was like to go to rout, if their *Illyrians* were driven to fall back upon the Army following them; perswaded the Captains of the *Achæan* horse, to break upon the *Spartan* Mercenaries. But they would not: partly despising his youth and want of charge; partly, for that *Antigonus* had given order, that they should keep their places, until they received a sign from him, which was not as yet. *Philopœmen* perceiving them to be more orderly than well advised, intreated some of his own Country-men to follow him, gave a charge on the *Spartans*, and forced them, not only to leave the *Illyrians*, but seek how to save themselves. Being so far advanced, he found the place which the *Illyrians* had attempted, like enough to be won, through the unskilfulness of him that held it. Wherefore he alighted, and perswaded the men at Arms his Companions to do the like: the folly of *Euclydas* being manifest, who kept the top of the Hill, and stirred not to hinder those that ascended, but waited for them in a Plain, where they might fight upon even terms. So he recovered the Hill-top; where, though he was sore hurt, yet he made good the place that he had gotten, until the whole Army came up to him; by which the *Lacedæmonians* were beaten from it, with great slaughter of them in their descent. This overthrow, and death of *Euclydas*, made *Cleomenes* lose the day: who fighting bravely on the other side, upon *Olympus*, against *Antigonus* himself, was like to have been surrounded and lost, if he had not withdrawn himself with an extraordinary speed. In this battel ended the glory of *Lacedæmon*, which, as a light ready to go out, had with a great, but not long blaze, shined more brightly of late, than in many ages past.

*Cleomenes* fled unto *Sparta*; where he had no desire to stay; finding only two hundred left, of six thousand *Spartans* that he had led unto this battel, and most of his hired Souldiers dead, or gone away. So he perswaded his people to yield themselves unto *Antigonus*; and promising to do all that should at any time lye in his own power, for their good, he hasted away to the Sea-side (where he had shipping long before provided against all that might happen) and imbarked himself for *Egypt*. He was lovingly entertained by *Ptolemy Euergetes*; who undertook to restore him to his Kingdom, and (perhaps) meant no less, as being much delighted with his gallant behaviour, and qualities. In the mean season, he had a Pension allowed him, of four and twenty Talents, yearly. But this *Ptolemy* died; and his Son *Ptolemy Philopater* succeeded him: a vicious young Prince,



Prince, wholly governed by lewd Women, and base Men, unmindful of all vertue, and hating any in whom it was found. When therefore *Cleomenes* was desirous to return into *Greece*, whither the troubles in *Peloponnesus* did seem to invite him; *Ptolemy* and his Minions, would neither give him aid; nor yet dared to dismis him (as he desired) to try his own friends in *Greece*, because he was too well acquainted with the weakness of *Egypt*: nor well knew how to detain him against his will. At length they devised matter against him, and made him prisoner. the last act of him was, that with thirty of his Country-men, he undertook a desperate enterprize: breaking out of the prison, and provoking the *Alexandrians* to rebel and seek their liberty. In which attempt he slew some enemies of his that he met; and having walked up and down the streets without resistance (no man offering to take his part, or, which is very strange, to fight against him on the Kings behalf) he, and his Companions, agreed together to be ministers of thier own death. Upon his deadbody *Ptolemy* was bold to shew his indignation: and slew his Mother and Children, that had been sent thither, as Hostages; together with the Wives of his Adherents, as many as were there, attending upon the old Queen. Such was the end of *Cleomenes*, a generous Prince, but Son of *Leonidas*, who had caused *Agis*, with his Mother and Grand-mother, to come to such a bloody end, as now befell his own Wife, Son, and Grand-children.

After the victory at *Sellasia*, *Antigonus* without resistance entred *Sparta*: wherein to never the force of any Enemy, before him, could make way. He kindly intreated the Citizens, and left them to their own Laws and Government: tarrying there no longer than two or three daies; after which he hastned out of *Peloponnesus*, and never returned. The cause of his speedy departure was an advertisement that he received out of *Macedon*; how the *Illyrians* over-ran and destroyed the Country. Had these news come a little sooner, or had *Cleomenes* either deferred the fight, a few daies longer, or at least-wise tarried a few daies after the fight, in *Sparta*; the Kingdom of *Lacedæmon* would have stood, and perhaps have extended it self over all *Greece*. But God had otherwise determined.

*Antigonus* fought a great battel with the *Illyrians*, and overcame them. Yet therein he caught his bane: not by any wound, but by over-straining his voice; wherewith he brake a vein that bled inwardly, and in short space finished his life, who was troubled before with a consumption of the lungs. His Kingdom descended unto *Philip* the Son of *Demetrius*, being then a Boy: as also about the same time it was, that *Antiochus*, surnamed (I know not why) *the Great*; and *Ptolemy Philopater*, began to reign in *Asia* and *Egypt*; Boyes all. Of these, *Ptolemy*, though old enough to love Harlots, when he first was King, yet continued a Boy all the seventeen years of his reign. The unripe age of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, bred such intestine inconvenience to their Kingdoms, as is usual in the minority of Princes: but their elder years brought them acquainted with the *Romans*; upon which occasion, when it comes, we shall more seasonably speak of them, and of their Kingdoms, more at large.

## §. VII.

*How the* Illyrians *infested the Coast of* Greece; *and how they were subdued by the* Romans.

WHilst things thus passed in *Greece*, and whilst the *Carthagimians* were busie in their conquest of *Spain*; the *Romans* had found themselves work among the *Sardinians* and *Corsicans*, that were easily subdued at first, and easily vanquished again, when they rebelled. They made also war with the *Illyrians*, wherein they got much honour with little pain. With the *Gaules* they had much ado, that lasted not long; being rather, as *Livy* saith, a tumult than a war. So that by all these light exercises their valour was hardly kept from rust. How they got the Islands in the *Mediterranean* Sea, it hath been shewed before: of their dealings with the *Illyrians* and *Gaules*, it is not meet to be utterly silent. *Lin. lib. 21.*

The *Illyrians* inhabited the Country now called *Slavonia*; a troublesome Nation, impatient of rest, and continually making war for gain, without either regard of friend or foe. They were invited by *Demetrius*, King of *Macedon*, to help the *Mydionians* his friends, that were besieged by the *Ætolians*, for that they refused to be of their society. Before the *Illyrians* succours came, the *Mydionians* were so far spent, that the *Ætolians* contended about the booty: the old Prætor, or chief Magistrate of their Nation, who was going out of his office, claiming to have the honour of the victory, and the division of the spoyl to be referred unto him; for that he had in a manner brought the siege to an end, and won the Town: others, that were in hope to be chosen into the Office, contradicting this;

this, and desiring that old orders might be kept. It was a petty strife, and somewhat like to that of the *French* in latter ages, who thought upon dividing the prey, before they had won the victories, which anon they lost, at *Poitiers* and *Agincourt*. The *Ætolians* wisely compounded the difference, ordering it thus, That the old, and the new Prætor should be joyntly intituled in the victory, and have equal authority in distribution of the gettings. But the *Illyrians* finished the strife much more elegantly, and after another fashion. They arrived and landed ere any was aware of them; they fell upon the *Ætolians*; and though good resistance was made, yet got the victory, partly by force of their multitude, partly by the help of the *Mydionians*, that were not idle in their own business, but stoutly sallied out of the Town. Many of the *Ætolians* were slain, more were taken, their Camp and all their baggage was lost: the *Illyrians* took the spoyl, and went their way; the *Mydionians* erected a Trophie, inscribing the names both of their old and new Magistrates (for they also chose new Officers at the same time) as the *Ætolians* had directed them by example.

The success of this voyage highly pleased *Agron* King of the *Illyrians*: not only in regard of the money, wherewith *Demetrius* had hired his assistance; or of the booty that was gotten; but for that having vanquished the stoutest of the *Greeks*, he found it not uneasie to enrich himself by setting upon the less warlike. For joy of this he feasted, and drank so immoderately, that he fell into a *Pleurisie*, which in few dayes ended his life. His Kingdom, together with his great hopes, he left unto *Teuta* his wife.

*Teuta* gave her people free liberty to rob all sorts at Sea, making no difference between friend and foe; as if she had been sole Mistress of the salt Waters. She armed a fleet and sent it into *Greece*; willing her Captains to make war where they found advantage, without any further respect. These fell on the western coast of *Peloponnesus*; where they invaded the *Eleans*, and *Messanians*. Afterwards they returned along by *Epirus*, and stayed at the City of *Phœnice*, to take in victuals and other necessaries. There lay in *Phœnice* eight hundred *Gaules*, that having been Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians*, went about to betray, first *Agrigentum*, then *Eryx*, to the *Romans*; but failing to do either, they nevertheless revolted, and were for their misdeeds disarmed and sent to Sea by the *Romans*, yet entertained by these *Epirots*, and trusted to lye in Garrison within their Town. The *Gaules* were soon grown acquainted with the *Illyrians*, to whom they betrayed *Phœnice*; which deserved none other, in trusting them. All *Epirus* was presently in arms, and hastned to drive out these unwelcome guests. But whilst the *Epirots* lay before the Town, there came news into their Camp, of another *Illyrian* Army, that was marching thitherward by land, under one *Scerdilaidas*, whom Queen *Teuta* had sent to help his fellows. Upon this advertisement, a part of them is sent away towards *Antigonia*, to make good that Town, and the straights adjoyning, by which these new commers must enter into their Country; another part of them remains at *Phœnice*, to continue the siege. Neither the one nor the other sped well in their business. For *Scerdilaidas* found means to joyn with his fellows; and they that were besieged within *Phœnice*, sallied out of the Town, and gave such an overthrow to the *Epirots*, as made them despair of saving their Country, without great and speedy help from abroad. Wherefore Embassadours were sent to the *Achæans* and *Ætolians*: craving their help, with very pitiful terms of intreaty. They obtained their suit; neither was it long, before an Army, sent by these two Nations, was ready in *Epirus* to present battail unto *Scerdilaidas*. But *Scerdilaidas* was called home by letters from *Teuta* the Queen, that signified a rebellion of some *Illyrians* against her: so that he had no mind to put his forces to hazzard, but offered composition, which was accepted. The agreement was, That the *Epirots* might ransome their Town, and all their people that were prisoners; and that the *Illyrians* should quietly depart with all their booty and slaves. Having made this profitable and honourable bargain, the *Illyrians* returned into their own Country by land, sending their booty away by Sea.

At their coming home, they found no such great trouble, as that which they brought, or had occasioned in this voyage. For, in fulfilling the commandement of their Queen, they had taken many *Italian* Merchants, whiles they lay at *Phœnice*; and made them good prize. Hereof the complaints, made unto the *Roman* Senate, were so frequent, that Embassadours were sent to require of *Teuta*, that she should abstain from doing such injuries. These Embassadours found her very jolly; both for the riches which her fleet had brought in; and for that she had, in short space



space, tamed her rebels, and brought all to good order, save only the Town *Issa*, which her forces held straightly besieged. Swelling with this prosperity, she could hardly afford a good look to the *Romans*, that found fault with her doings, and, calling them by a true name, *Piracy*, required amends. Yet when their speech was ended, she vouchsafed to tell them, That injury in publick she would do them none: as for private matters, no account was to be made of them; neither was it the manner of Kings to forbid their subjects to get commodity, how they best could by Sea. But (said the younger of the two Embassadours) we *Romans* have a manner, and a very laudable one, to take revenge in publick, of those private wrongs that are born out by publick authority: therefore we shall teach you, God willing, to reform your Kingly manners, and learn better of us. These words the Queen took so impatiently, that no revenge could satisfie her, but the death of him that had spoken them. Wherefore, without all regard of the common Law of Nations, she caused him to be slain: as if that had been the way to set her heart at rest; which was indeed the mean to disquiet and afflict it ever after.

The *Romans*, provoked by this outrage, prepare two great Armies; the one by Sea, consisting of two hundred sail, commanded by *C. Fulvius*; the other by Land, led by *A. Postbumus*. They trouble not themselves any more with requiring satisfaction: for this injury is of such nature, as must be requited with mortal war. It is indeed contrary to all human Law, to use violence towards Embassadours: the reason and ground whereof, seems to be this; that since without mediation, there would never be an end of war and destruction, therefore it was equally received by all Nations, as a lesson taught by Nature, that Embassadours should pass freely, and in safety, between enemies. Nevertheless, as I take it, this general Law is not without limitation. For if any King or State lay hold upon Embassadours sent by their enemies, not unto themselves, but unto some third, whom they should draw into the quarrel; then it is as lawful to use violence to those Embassadors (thus employed to make the war more terrible) as it is to kill the men of war, and subjects of an enemy. And so might the *Athenians* have answered it when they slew the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadours, that were sent to *Xerxes*, to draw him into a war upon the *Athenians*. Neither are those Embassadours, which practise against the person of that Prince, in whose Countries they reside, warranted by any law whatsoever. For whereas the true office of an Embassadour residing, is the maintenance of amity; if it be not lawful for one Prince to practise against the life of another; much less may an Embassadour do it without incurring justly the same danger of punishment, with other Traitors; in which case, his place gives him no priviledge at all. But we will leave this dispute to the *Civilians*; and go on with the revenge, taken by the *Romans*, for the slaughter of their Embassadour *Coruncanus*.

The *Illyrian* Queen was secure of the *Romans*, as if they would not dare to stir against her. She was indeed in an errour, that hath undone many of all sorts, greater and less than she, both before and since: *Having more regard unto fame, than unto the substance of things.* The *Greeks* were at that time more famous than the *Romans*; the *Ætolians* and *Epirots* had the name of the most warlike people in *Greece*; these had she easily vanquished, & therefore thought, that with the *Romans* she should be little troubled. Had she considered that her whole Army, which wrought such wonders in *Greece*, was not much greater than of ten thousand men; and that nevertheless, it prevailed as much by odds of number, as by valour, or skill in arms; she would have continued to use her advantage against those that were of more fame than strength, with such good caution, that she should not have needed to oppose her late-gotten reputation, against those that were more mighty than her self. But she was a woman, and did what she lifted. She sent forth a greater fleet than before, under *Demetrius* of *Pharos*; with the like ample commission to take all that could be gotten. This fleet divided it self, & one part of it fell with (a) *Dyrrachium*, the other with *Corcyra*. *Dyrrachium* was almost surprised by the *Illyrians*; yet was it relieved by the stout Citizens. In (b) *Corcyra* the *Illyrians* landed, wasted the Isle, and besieged the Town. Hereupon the *Ætolians* and *Achæans* where called in to help; who came, and were beaten in a fight at Sea: losing, besides others of less note, *Marcus Caryneusis*, the first Prætor of *Achaia*, whom *Aratus* succeeded. The Town of *Corcyra*, dismayed with this overthrow, opened the gates unto *Demetrius Pharius*, who took possession of it with an *Illyrian* Garrison: sending the rest of his forces to besiege *Dyrrachium*. In the mean season, *Teuta* was angry with her Captain *Demetrius*: I know not why; but so as he resolved to try any other course, rather than to trust her.

(a) *Dyrrachium*, sometime called *Epidamus*, and now *Durazzo*, seated upon the *Adriatick* sea, between the Islands of *Pharos* and *Corcyra*.

(b) *Corcyra*, an Island of the *Adriatick* sea, not far from *Durazzo*, called now *Corfu*, and in the possession of the *Venetians*.

The *Romans* were even ready to put to

Sea, though uncertain which way to take, when advertisement was brought to *C. Fulvius* the Consul, of *Demetrius* his fear and discontent. Likely it was that such an occasion might greatly help to advance the business in hand. Wherefore the Consul sailed thither; where he found the Town of *Corcyra* so well prepared to his hand by *Demetrius*, that it not only received him willingly, but delivered into his power the *Illyrian* Garrison, and submitted it self unto the *Roman* protection.

After this good beginning, the Consul sailed along the coast to (c) *Apollonia*; accompanied with *Demetrius*, whom he used thenceforth as his Counsellor and guide. To *Apollonia* came also *Posthumus*, the other Consul, with the Land-Army, numbred at twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Thence they hasten towards *Dyrrachium*, which the *Illyrians* had besieged; but upon news of the *Roman* army they disperse themselves. From thence the *Romans* enter *Illyria*, and take *Parthenia*; beat the *Illyrians* by sea, take twenty of their ships, and enforce the Queen *Teuta* to forsake the coast, and to cover her self in *Rison* far within the Land. In the end, part of the *Romans* haste them homeward, and leave the best places of *Illyria* in the hands of *Demetrius*; another part staies behind, and prosecutes the war, in such sort, that *Teuta* was forced to beg peace; which she obtained upon miserable conditions; to wit. That she should quit the better part of *Illyria*, and pay tribute for the rest; and from thenceforth never send any of her ships of war towards the coasts of *Greece*, beyond the Island of *Lissa*: except it were some one or two vessels unarmed, and by way of Trade.

(c) *Apollonia*, a City near *Dyrrachium*, or *Durazzo*, upon the Sea-coast. *Pinetus* calls it *Sissopolis*.

After this *Illyrian* war, the *Romans* sent Embassadours into divers parts of *Greece*, signifying their love to their Country, and how, for good wil thereunto, they had made war with good success upon *Teuta*, and her people. They hoped, belike, that some distressed Cities would take this occasion, to desire their patronage: which if it hapned, they were wise enough to play their own games. But no such matter fell out. The Embassadours were only rewarded with thanks; and a decree made at *Corinth*, That the *Romans* thenceforth might be partakers of the *Isthmian* pastimes. This was an idle courtesie, but well meant by the vain *Greeks*, and therefore well taken by the *Romans*: who by this *Illyrian* expedition got nothing in *Greece*, save a little acquaintance, that shall be more hereafter.

## §. VIII.

### *Of the war between the* Romans *and* Gauls, *somewhat before the coming of* Hannibal *into* Italy.

THE *Gaules* that dwelt in *Lombardy*, were the next, against whom the *Romans* took Arms. These were a populous Nation, and often molested *Rome*; sometimes with their own forces, and sometimes with the assistance of those that inhabited *France*. Once their fortune was good, when they took *Rome* and burnt it: though the issue of that war proved not answerable to the beginning, if we may give credit unto *Roman* Historians. In following times their success was variable, and commonly bad. Many overthrows they received; and if they got any victory, it yielded them no profit, but was soon extorted out of their hands. They were indeed more fierce than well advised: lightly stirred up to war, and lightly giving over. At the first brunt, they were said to be more than men; but when that was past, less than women. The *Romans* were acquainted with their temper, by long experience, and knew how to handle them: yet gave always careful heed to their approach, were it only bruited. For the danger of them was sudden, and uncertain; by reason of their neighbourhood and want of intelligence among them. Few of their attempts upon *Rome* were called wars, but *tumultus Gallici*, *tumults of the Gauls*: and rightly. For they gave many alarams to *Italy*, and used to rise with great Armies: but after a few dayes march, and sometimes before their setting forth, any small occasion served to disperse them. Having received an overthrow, they would rest ten or twelve years, sometimes twenty or thirty: till they were stirred up again, by younger heads, unacquainted with the danger. Whilst they rested, the State of *Rome*, that against these made only defensive war, had leisure to grow, by setting upon others. Herein God provided well for that Monarchy, which he intended to raise: that the *Gauls* never fell upon *Italy* with a mighty power, in the time of any other great and dangerous war. Had they attempted to conquer it, whilst *Pyrrhus* was travelling in the same enterprize; or in either of the two former *Punick* wars: it may be doubted what would have become of this Imperious City. But it seems that the *Gauls* had no better intelligence in the affairs of *Italy*, than strangers had in *Gaule*. At least, they knew not how to use their times: and were therefore like to smart, whensoever the enemies, whom they had much provoked, and little hurt, should find leisure to visit them at their own home: which was now after the first *Punick* War. Once before this, the *Romans* had been bold. to set upon the *Gaules* in their own Country: and that was three years before the coming of *Pyrrhus* into *Italy*. At that time the *Senones*, a Tribe of the *Gaules*, invading *Hetruria*, and besieging *Arretium*, had won a great battel, and slain *L. Cæcilius*, with the most of his Army. *Mannius Curius* the new Consul, sent Embassadours to them, to treat about ransome of prisoners. But these Embassadours they slew. Therefore when fortune turned to the better, the *Romans* followed it so well, that they expelled their *Senones* out of their Countrey, and sent a colony of their own to inhabit it. This caused the (a) *Boji*, another people of *Gaule*, to fear the like measure: who thereupon took arms, and drew the *Hetrurians* to their side. But the *Romans* overthrew them in two great battels; and thereby made them sue for peace, which lasted untill the end of this *Illyrian* war.

(a) There were divers nations of the *Boji*, as in *Pannonia*, *Illyria* in Germany, in *Bavaria*, in *France*, and in *Aquitaine*; but these *Boji* were of *French* race, and dwelt at this time about the mouth of the River *Po*.

It vexed the *Gaules* to see a *Roman* colony planted in their Countrey; who had been accustomed to enlarge their bounds, by driving out their neighbours perforce. Wherefore they laboured with the *Transalpines* (so the *Romans* called those in *France*, as lying from them beyond the *Alpes*, though to us they were neerer; like as they called *Cisalpines*, or *by-hither the Alpes*, those who dwelt between them and the Mountains) to draw them to their party: reasonably presuming, that as their disjunction had caused their loss, so their union might recompenceit, with large amends. But the business was so foolishly carried, that the *Cisalpines* and *Transalpines* fell together by the ears, putting the *Romans* only to *a tumult*, without further trouble of war. Soon after, they were urged by a greater indignity, to go more substantially to work. For *C. Flaminius*, a popular man in *Rome* proposed a Decree, which was ratified by the people; That, besides one Colony already planted in the territory of the *Senones*, as many more should be carried thither, as would serve to people the whole Country between *Ancona* and *Ariminum*: exterminating utterly those *Gaules*. Such an offer were it made in *England*, concerning either *Virginia*, or *Guiana* it self, would not overjoy the Multitude. But the Commonalty of *Rome* took this in so good part, notwithstanding all danger joyned with the benefit, that *Flaminius* had ever after their good will.



This dreadful President extremely displeased the *Boji*; who being neighbours to *Ariminum*, feared the like displantation. And because the rest of the *Gaules* had reason to resolve, that themselves also should be rooted out by degrees; the great Nation of the *Insubrians*, which inhabited the Dutchy of *Milan*, joyned with the *Boji*, and upon a common purse entertained the *Gessates*, Nations about *Rhodanus*, wageable as the *Switzers* in these times. The *Gessates* having received a great impress, come to the field under the conduct of their Kings *Concolitanus* and *Aneroestus*: who with the *Boji*, and *Insubrians*, compound an Army of fifty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, and those of the best men, and best appointed, that ever invaded the *Roman* Territory; to whom the *Senogalli*, that had been beaten out of their possessions, gave a great increase of strength. On the contrary side, the *Venetians*, and the (b) *Cenomanni*, adhered to the *Romans*: as better believing in their prosperity and rising fortune. For fear of whose incursions therefore, the *Gaules* were forced to leave a good part of their Army, on the frontier of *Milan*: with the rest of their forces they entred into *Tuscane*. The *Romans* hearing of this danger, send *Æmilius* to *Rimine*, to stop their passage; and in the place of *C. Atilius* their other Consul, who then was in *Sardinia*, they imploy one of their Prætors, for the defence of *Tuscane*.

(b) *Cenomanni* are the people about *Bergamo*, on the north side of the River *Po* in *Italy*. There were also *Cenomanni* in *France*, and inhabited the Countrey of *Maine*.

Being at this time greatly troubled with the consideration of this powerful Army, which the *Gaules* had assembled, they caused a view to be taken, as well of all their own forces, as of those of their Allies: who were no less willing than themselves, to oppose the incursions of the barbarous people; fearing, as they had cause, that their own destruction could not be prevented otherwise, than by the good fortune of *Rome*. The numbers, found in this Muster, deserve to be recorded: because they set out the power of the *Romans* in those dayes. With the Consuls they sent forth to the war four Legions of their own: every Legion consisting of five thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse; and of their Allies, thirteen thousand foot, & two hundred horse. There were also appointed for supplies (if any misadventure came to these) of the *Sabines* and *Hetrurians* fifty thousand foot, & four thousand horse, which Army was to be lodged in the border of *Hetruria*. Of the *Umbri* and *Sarsinates*, which inhabited the *Apenines*, there were twenty thousand; and of the *Venetians* and *Cenomans*, other twenty thousand;

land: which latter Armies were directed to invade the *Boji*, that forcing them to defend their own Territories, the General Army of the *Gauls* should be thereby greatly diminished. There were besides these, to be ready against all uncertain chances of war, thirty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, garrisoned in *Rome* it self, of their own people; and of their Allies, thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Over and above these great troops; in the Roll of the *Latines*, that was sent unto the Senate, there were numbred fourscore thousand foot, and five thousand horse; in that of the *Samnites*, seventy thousand foot, and of horse seven thousand; in that of the (g) *Iapyges* and *Messapyges*, fifty thousand foot, and sixteen thousand horse; the *Lucans* sent a list of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse; th (b) *Marsi*, (i) *Marrusini*, (k) *Ferrentani*, and the *Vestini*, of twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse. The *Romans* had also two Legions in *Sicil*, and about *Tarentum*, containing eight thousand four hundred foot, and four hundred horse. So as of the *Romans* and *Campanes* joyntly, reckoning men armed, and fit to bear arms, there were registred two hundred and fifty thousand foot; and of horse three and twenty thousand: of which, reckoning the *Romans* apart, there were an hundred and fifty thousand foot, and about six thousand horse. Casting up the whole forces of all the Provinces in *Italy*, both of the *Romans* and their confederates, it amounted to seven hundred thousand foot, and seventy thousand horse. But the number is somewhat mis-cast by *Polybius*; not with a purpose to inrich himself by the dead payes; for where he reckons nine hundred horse too many, he fals short nine thousand two hundred of the foot.

(g) *Iapyges* and *Messapyges* seem to be one Nation; who are also called *Salentines*, *Peucetians*, *Aulonats*, and *Calabrians*. The Countrey is now *Apulia*, containing the Northermost head-land of *Calabria*.

(b) A people of the kingdome of *Naples*.

(i) *Ptolomy* calls them a people of *Italy*.

(k) A people of *Campania*, called to this day *Feventines*, saith *Leander*.

How great soever this muster was, it seems to have been like unto that, which *Lodowick Sforza* made, when *Lewis* the twelfth invaded *Milan*: at what time, the better to encourage himself and his subjects he took a Roll of all persons able to bear arms, within the Dutchy, though indeed he were never able to bring a tenth part of them into the field. Certain it is, that the battels of *Trebia*, *Thrasymene*, and *Cannæ*, did not consume any such proportion, as was answerable to this large accompt. Yet were the *Romans* fain to arm their slaves, even for want of other Souldiers, after their overthrow at *Cannæ*. Wherefore the marvel is not great, that the *Carthaginians* and others were little terrified with report of such a multitude. For all heads are not fit for Helmets: though the *Roman* Citizens were, in general, as good fighting men, as elswhere might be found.

Notwithstanding all these counter preparations, the *Gaules* keep on their way: and entring into *Tuscane*, destroy, and put to fire and sword, all that lay before them. From thence they march directly towards *Rome*; hoping to find the *Romans* rather in deliberation, than in the field. But their intelligence fails them. For the *Roman* Army, sent into *Tuscane*, having taken some other way than they did, and finding that it had missed of them, came again fast after them, to arrest them in their journey. Hereof when they heard the rumour, fearing to be charged on their backs, they turned head: and in the same evening discovered the *Roman* Army, by whom they incamped. It was now a matter of apparent necessity, that fight they must. Wherefore they helped themselves with a stratagem, that shewed no great sineness of wit, but such as well beseemed those that had none other occupation than war; and stood them in good stead at the present. In the dead of the night, they cause their foot to march away, but not far, leaving their horse in guard; to whom they give order to come off at the first light of day, with such a speed, as might rather argue a running away, than a retreat; as if they had not dared to abide battell. The *Romans*, interpreting this their hasty departure, as the *Gaules* desired they should, follow them in disorder. The *Gaules* return, charge them, and kill six thousand upon the place; the rest take a piece of ground of advantage, and defend themselves, till *L. Æmilius*, being at *Ariminum*, comes to their succour. Upon the coming of the Consul, the *Gaules* consult, whether they should give the *Romans* battel, or forbear. In which dispute, *Aneroestus*, one of their Kings, perswades them, rather to return into their own Countreys; where, after they had disposed of the great spoils and riches which they had gotten, they should then renew the war, being without carriage, pester or other impediment. This advice they all embrace; for, seeing they that were Mercenaries, had obtained what they came for, to wit, the spoils of their enemies, they thought it wisdom, to hazard neither it, nor themselves any further.

This indeed had been a good resolution, if they had taken it, before the enemy had been in sight. But as well in the wars of these later ages, as in former times, it hath ever been found extream dangerous to make a retreat in the Head of an Enemies Army. For although they that retire, do often turn head;



head; yet in always going on from the pursuing enemy, they find within few miles, either straight, hedge, ditch or place of disadvantage, which they are inforced to pass in disorder. In such cases, the Souldier knows it as well as the Captain, that he which forsakes the field, perceives and fears some advantage of the Enemies. Fear, which is the betrayer of those succours that reason offereth, when it hath once possest the heart of man, it casteth thence both courage and understanding. They that make retreat, are alwayes in fear to be abandoned; they that lead the way, fear to be ingaged: and so the hindmost treads on his heels that is foremost, and consequently, all disband, run, and perish, if those that favour the retrait be not held to it by men of great courage. The miserable overthrow that the *French* received in *Naples*, in the year 1503. upon a retreat made by the *Marquess* of *Sal*, doth testifie no less. For although a great troop of *French* horse sustained the pursuing Enemy a long time, and gave the foot leasure to trot away; yet being retarded by often turnings, the *Spanish* foot overtook and defeated them utterly. During the wars between the *Imperials* and the *French*, *Bois* and *Mont* were lost at *Brignolles*, who in a bravery would needs see the enemy, before they left the field. So was *Stroz* overthrown by the *Marquess* of *Marignan*, because he could not be perswaded to dislodge the night before the *Marquess* his arrivall. Therefore did the *French* King *Francis* the first wisely: when without respect of *point of honour*, he dislodged from before *Landersey*, by night, as many other the most advised Captains, (not finding themselves in case to give battel) have done. *Je ne trouve point* (saith the Marshal *Monluc*) *au fait des armes chose si difficile, qu'une retraitte; I find nothing in the art of war so difficult as to make a safe retreat.* A sure rule it is that there is less dishonour to dislodge in the dark, than to be beaten in the light. And hereof *M. de la None* gives this judgement of a days retreat, made in *France*, presently before the battel at *Moncountour*. For (saith he) staying upon our reputation, in shew, *not to dislodge by night*; we lost our reputation indeed, by dislodging by day: whereby we were forced to fight upon our disadvantage, and to our ruine. And yet did that worthy Gentleman *Count Lodowick* of *Nassau*, brother to the late famous *Prince of Orange*, make the retreat at *Moncountour* with so great resolution, as he saved the one half of the *Protestant* Army, then broken and disbanded; of which my self was an eye-witness, and was one of them that had cause to thank him for it.

Now the *Gaules*, embracing the safe advice (as they take it) of one of their Kings, turn their backs to the enemy, and their faces homeward. *Æmilius* follows them as near as he can, without ingaging himself, attending his advantage. In the mean while, *C. Atilius* the other Consul, with the Legions of *Sardinia*, lands at *Pisa*; so as the *Gaules* inclosed between two Armies, are forced to fight. They therefore equally strengthen their Rear and Front. To sustain *Æmilius*, they appoint the *Gessates*, and the *Milanois*; in the Front they range the *Piemontois*, and the rest of the *Gaules* inhabiting upon the River of *Po*. The manner of the fight *Polybius* describeth at large: which was well fought of all hands. But in the end the *Gaules* fell; and so did *Atilius* the Consul: who died in the place, accompanied with the two Kings of the *Gaules*, *Concolitanus* and *Anroestus*; with forty thousand of their Vassals.

After this fatal overthrow, the *Gaules* lost courage; and, ere long, all that they held in *Italy*. For they were invaded the year following this overthrow, by the new Consuls, *Fulvius* and *Manlius*. The *Romans* knew well how to use their victory: they gave not ten, twenty, or thirty years time to the *Gaules*, to repair their forces, as the *Gaules* had done to them. These new Consuls beat the *Boji*; but by reason of the great rains that fell, and the great pestilence that reigned, they were compelled for that present to surcease. In the second year, *Furius* and *Flaminius* invade the *Milanois*; and prevail very far, being strongly assisted by the *Cenomanni* and the *Venetians*. Nevertheless these Consuls were revoked out of their Province, by the Senate of *Rome*, and compelled to resign their Office; because the *Augures*, or *Soothsayers*, had found, that some token or other of the Birds (in which, and all sorts of their divination, the *Romans* were extremely superstitious) had not only foreshewed little good, when they were chosen, but had also nullified the election. *C. Flaminius*, receiving letters of this revocation from the Senate, and being otherwise advertised of the contents, was not hasty to open them: but first gave battel unto the enemies, vanquished them, and spoiled their Countrey; then perused the letters; and returning home obtained a triumph, sore against the will of the Senate, and not altogether with good liking of the people, who yet bare him out, for that he sided in faction with the Commonalty, though a man of great Nobility.

This

This was that *Flaminius*, who had propounded the Decree, for dividing the Countrey of the *Scnones* among the people of *Rome*. He was the first, or one of the first, that understanding the Majesty of *Rome* to be indeed wholly in the people, and no otherwise in the Senate, than by a way of Delegacy, or grand Commission; did not stand highly upon his birth and degree, but courted the multitude, and taught them to know and use their power, over himself and his fellow Senators, in reforming their disorders. For this, the Commons highly esteemed him, and the Senators as deeply hated him. But he had the surer side, and found imitators, that rose by the same art, which in process of time, grew the only or chief way to preferment.

*Flaminius* and his Colleague, being disposed, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, were chosen Consuls, for the rest of that year. The *Gaules* about this time desired peace; and were like to have obtained it: though the new Consuls were against it, as fearing to want work. But when thirty thousand of the *Gessates* following their King *Britomarus*, were come over the *Alpes*, and joyned with the *Insubrians*: all other discourse, than of present war, was at an end. So the Consuls hasted into their Province, where they besieged *Acerræ*, a Town not far from *Novarro* (so far had the *Romans* pierced already in the Dutchy of *Milan*. To divert them from this siege, *Britomarus* sat down before *Clastidium*, a Town in the same Tract, with a great part of his forces: leaving the rest, with the *Insubrians*, to attend upon the Consuls at *Acerræ*, and to look to the defence of *Milan*. But this would not suffice, to make the *Romans* break up their siege. *Marcellus*, taking with him the greatest part of the horse, and six hundred foot lightly armed, thought to deal well enough with those at *Clastidium*. *Britomarus* heard of the Consuls coming, and met him upon the way: so suddenly, that the *Romans* had no leisure to rest themselves after their journey, but were compelled instantly to fight: Herein *Britomarus* had done well, if he had not forthwith, in a rash bravery, lost his game at a cast. He had advantage enough in number, both of horse and foot: but he thought so well of his own personal valour, that he rode out single before his Army, provoking any one to fight with him. *Marcellus* was no less daring, than the barbarous King: whether more wise in this action, I will not dispute; he was more fortunate, and that sufficed to commend him. He slue and disarmed *Britomarus*, in the presence of both Armies: whereby his own men took such courage, and his enemies were so dismaied, that without much trouble of fight the *Romans* obtained a great Victory.

This was the third and last time, that ever any *Roman* General slue the General of the enemies, with his own hand. To this kind of victory, belonged a peculiar triumph; whereof only *Romulus*, *Cossus*, and this *Marcellus*, had the honour: yet I dare say, that the two *Scipio's*, and divers of the *Roman* Captains, especially *Cæsar*, were better men of war than any of these three; though they never offered up to *Jupiter*, *Opima spolia*, *The Armour of a General slain by themselves*, *when they were Generals*, nor perhaps affected so to do.

After this victory, *Acerræ* was yielded to the *Romans*; and *Milan* soon after: with all that belonged to the *Cisalpines*, or *Gaules*, that dwelt in *Lumbardie*. Thus was that valiant and mighty Nation, that had so many years vexed the State of *Rome*, and in former times taken the City it self, brought to nothing in a short time; their pleasant and fertile Territory possest by the *Romans*; and the remainder of their *Nation*, inhabiting *Italy*, so many as would not subject their necks to the *Roman* yoke, either forced to abandon their Countreys, or to hide themselves in the cold and barren Mountains, like Outlawes and Thieves. And thus did the *Romans* spend the three and twenty years following the peace made with *Carthage*. In part of which time, they were at such leisure, that they closed up the Temple of *Janus*: which they never did before, (it standing always open, when they had any war) save once in the reign of *Numa*; nor in long time after, until the reign of *Augustus*. But this their present happiness was not to last long: a dangerous war, and perhaps the greatest that had ever been, was to come unto their gates; which being well ended, they might boldly undertake, to extend their Monarchy as far as their ambition could reach.





## CHAP. III.

### *Of the second Punick Warr.*

#### §. I.

*The Wars of* Hannibal *in* Spain. *Quarrels between the* Romans *and* Carthaginians. Hannibal *besieged and taketh* Saguntum, *whilst the* Romans *are busied with the* Illyrians. *War proclaimed between* Rome *and* Carthage.

HANNIBAL, the Son of *Amilcar*, was about six and twenty years old, when he was chosen General of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spain*. He was elected by the Army, as soon as *Asdrubal* was dead: and the election was ratified by the State of *Carthage*; wherewith *Hanno* and his Complices were nothing pleased. This was now the third of the *Barchine* family (so called of *Amilcar*, whose surname was *Barcas*) that had command in chief, over the men of war. Which honour would perhaps have been less envied by these domestical enemies, if the Allies and Friends of the *Barchine* house, had not also born the whole sway in Government, and been the only men regarded, both by the Senate and the people. This general good will, as it was first purchased by the most worthy deserts of *Amilcar* in saving his Country from imminent ruine, inlarging the Dominion thereof, and inriching it with treasures and great revenues; so was it retained, by the same good Arts, among his friends and followers. *Hanno* therefore, and his Partisans, being neither able to tax the vertue of their enemies, that was unreprovable: nor to perform the like services unto the Common-weal; had nothing left whereby to value themselves, excepting the general reprehension of War, and cautelous advice of not provoking the *Romans*. This they seasoned other-whiles with detraction; saying, that the *Barchine* faction went about to oppress the liberty of the City. But their malicious words were unregarded; and if it were factious, to bear ill-will to *Rome*, then were all the Citizens (very few excepted) no less *Barchine*, than *Hannibal* himself. For it was long since apparent, that the oath of the *Romans*, to the articles of peace, afforded no security to *Carthage*, were she never so quiet, and officious; unless she would yield to become their subject. Since therefore the peace was like to hold no longer, than until the *Romans* could find some good advantage, to renew the war: it was rather desired by the *Carthaginians*, that whilst their own estate was in good case, the war should begin; than that in some unhappy time of famine or pestilence, or after some great loss of Army or Fleet, they should be driven to yield unto the impudent demands of their enemies; and to give away basely their lands and treasures, as they had lately done; or miserably fight, upon terms of disadvantage.

This disposition of his Country-men, *Hannibal* well understood. Neither was he ignorant (for his father, and other friends, had long time devised of this business) that in making war with the *Romans*, it was no small advantage to get the start of them. If once he could bring an Army into *Italy*, without molestation; there was good hope that he should find friends and assistance, even of those people, that helped to increase the *Roman* Armies in forein wars. But this could never be effected, if the matter were openly disputed at *Carthage*. For it was to be doubted, that the *Carthaginians*, how glad soever they would be, to hear that he had set the war on foot, would nevertheless be slow and timorous, as commonly men are in the beginning of great enterprises, if the matter were referred to their deliberation. Which if it should happen, then were the *Romans* like to be made acquainted, not only with the generalities of his purpose, but with such particulars as must be discoursed of, in procuring allowance to his design. This might suffice to disorder the whole Project. Wherefore, he resolved to lay siege unto *Saguntum*, which might seem not greatly to concern the *Romans*, and would highly please the *Carthaginians*, that had fresh in mind the indignity of that *Spanish* Towns alliance with her half friends. So should he assay both the patience of his enemies, and the disposition of his own Citizens.

Having

Having thus concluded, he neverthelefs went fair and orderly to work : and beginning with thofe that lay next in his way, approaching unto *Saguntum* by degrees. This he did (faith *Livie*) to give fome colour to his proceedings : as if he had not principally intended the war againft *Saguntum*, but had been drawn thither by courfe of bufinefs. Yet reafon teacheth plainly, that without regard of fuch formalities, it was needful to finifh the conqueft of the reft, before he did any thing that fhould provoke the *Romans*. Firft therefore he entred upon the Territory of the * *Olcades*; and having befieged *Althæa* (*Livie* calleth it *Carteia*) their chief City, he became, in a few daies, Mafter not only thereof, but of all the other Towns of their Country. This Nation which he firft undertook, being fubdued, and the winter at hand, he refted his Army in new *Carthage*, or *Carthagena*; and imparted liberally to the Souldiers, the fpoils he had gotten in his late Conqueft.

In the Spring following, he purfued the war againft the (*a*) *Vaccæi*; and without any great difficulty, wan firft *Salmantica*, now called *Salamanca*; and after it, (*b*) *Arbucala*, by affault : though not without a long fiege, and great difficulty. But in his return, he was put to the height, both of his courage, and of his Martial judgment. For all fuch of the *Vaccæi*, as were able to bear arms, being made defperate by the fpoil of their Country, with thofe of *Salamanca*, and of the *Olcades*, that had efcaped in the late overthrow, joyning themfelves with the *Toletans*; compounded an Army of a hundred thoufand able men : and ftayed *Hannibal* on the banks of the River *Tagus*, which runneth to the Sea by *Lisborn* in *Portugal*. Thefe four Nations, having had experience of *Hannibals* invincible courage, and that he never faw enemy, upon whom he durft not give charge; were throughly refolved, that his natural valour would at this time no lefs neglect the cold advice of difcretion, than at other times it had feemed to do, when the like great occafion perfwaded him to ufe it. But he that makes himfelf a body of Cryftall, that all men may look thorow him, and difcern all the parts of his difpofition, makes himfelf (withall) an Afs : and thereby teacheth others, either how to ride, or drive him. Wife men, though they have fingle hearts in all that is juft and vertuous; yet they are like Coffers with double bottoms : which when others look into, being opened, they fee not all that they hold, on the fudden, and at once. It is true, that this fubtle *Carthaginian*, when he ferved under *Afdrubal*, was, of all the men of mark in the Army, the moft adventrous, but that which may befeem a Captain, or inferiour Commander, doth not alwayes become a Chief; though it hath fometime fucceeded well with fuch great ones, as have been found more fortunate than wife. At this time, our great Man of war knew as well how to diffemble his courage, as at other times to make it good. For he with-drew himfelf from the River-fide, as if fearful to foord it; thereby to draw over that great multitude from their banks of advantage. The *Spaniards*, apprehending this in fuch fort, as *Hannibal* defired that they fhould; thruft themfelves in fury and diforder, into the fwift ftream, with a purpofe to charge the *Carthaginians*, abandoning (as they thought for fear) the defences on the contrary fide. But when *Hannibal* faw them in their way, and well-near over; he turned back his Elephants to entertain them at their landing : and thruft his Horfe-men, both above and beneath them, into the River. Thefe carrying a kind of *Lance de Gay*, fharp at both ends, which they held in the midft of the ftaff; had fuch an advantage over the foot, that were in the River, under their ftrokes, clattered together, and unable to move or fhift their bodies, as on firm ground, that they flew all thofe (in a manner) without refiftance, which were already entred into the water; and purfued the reft, that fled like men amazed, with fo great a flaughter, as from that day forward, there was not any *Spaniard*, on that fide the River of *Iberus*, (the *Saguntines* excepted) that had the daring to lift up their hands againft the *Carthaginians*.

* A people (faith *Stephanus*) near the River of *Ebro*. But in the old defcription of *Spain*, in *Ortelius*, they are found near *Tagus*, and by *Toledo*, not far from New *Carthage*.

*a* A people of *Caftile* the Old.

(*b*) *Arbucala*, or *Albucela*, an in land City of the *Vaccæi* in *Aragon*.

The *Saguntines* perceiving the danger towards them, cryed before they were hurt. They fent Embaffadours to *Rome*, and bemoaned themfelves, as likely to fuffer that, which afterwards they fuffered indeed; only becaufe of their alliance and friendfhip with this honourable City, which the *Carthaginians* hated. This tale moved the Senate, but much more a report, that *Saguntum* was already befieged. Hereupon fome cry out, that War fhould be proclaimed by Land and Sea; as alfo that the two Confuls fhould be fent with Armies, the one into *Spain*, the other into *Africk*. But others went more *Roman*-like to work, and carried it. So it was only concluded; that Embaffadours fhould be fent into *Spain*, to view the ftate of their confederates : which were indeed none other than the *Saguntines*. For if *Hannibal* intended war againft *Rome*, it was likely that he would give them, ere it were long,



long, a more plaufible occafion to take Arms againft him : if he had no fuch purpofe, yet would it be in their power to determine what they lifted themfelves, upon the report of thefe Embaffadours; and this their gravity, in being not too rafh at firft, would ferve to countenance their following Decree. Of thefe Embaffadours *Livie* reports, that they found *Hannibal* before *Saguntum*, but could not get audience of him, and therefore went to *Carthage*, where alfo they were not regarded, nor heard. But *Polybius* an Hiftorian of fincerity lefs queftionable, tells, that they found him at *Carthagena*, and had conference with him, though fuch as left them doubtful. This is more agreeable to the reft of *Hannibal* his whole courfe. And furely we might wonder, why the *Carthaginians* fhould afterwards admit a more peremptory Embaffage (as *Livie* confeffeth) and fall to difputation about the covenants of Peace; if they had rejected that which was fent, upon none other pretence than prevention of war.

Whilft the Embaffadours paffed to and fro, *Hannibal* prepared not only his forces, but fome *Roman* pretences, againft *Saguntum*. He found out *Mamertines*, or people that fhould do as the *Mamertines* in *Sicil* had done for the *Romans*; and implore his help againft the *Saguntines*. Thefe were the *Turdetani*, a Nation adjoyning to *Saguntum*, and having many quarrels with them : (as happens commonly among neighbours) of which, *Hannibal* himfelf hatched fome. Finding therefore fuch an occafion, whatfoever it was, as made him able to fay, that the *Saguntines* had firft provoked him, ere he medled with them; he made no more ado, but fate down with his whole power before their Town. He was now more fecure, than he had formerly been of his own Citizens : for that they had not entertained the *Roman* Embaffadors, with any trembling reverence, as of late years they had been wont. Neverthelefs, he was glad of any handfome colour, to fhadow his actions : not only becaufe the War, which he fo much defired, was not proclaimed; but that he might not be checked in his courfe, as an open enemy, before he could fet foot in *Italy*. The *Romans* had the like, though contrary defire. They were glad of the quarrel; as hoping that *Carthage*, with all thereto belonging, fhould thereby in fhort fpace become their own. Yet were they not hafty to threaten, before they were ready to ftrike; but meant to temporize, until they had an Army in readinefs to to be fent into *Spain*, where they thought to make *Saguntum*, the feat of the War.

In the mean while, *Demetrius Pharius*, whom the *Romans* had made King over a great part of *Illyria*, rebelled againft them : either for that he found himfelf overftraightly tyed up by them, with hard conditions; or rather becaufe he was of an unthankful difpofition. The commotion of the *Gauls*, and afterward the fame of the *Carthaginian* war, emboldened him to defpife his Benefactors and Patrons : whom he ought to have defended and aided, in all perils, even with the hazard of his whole eftate, which he had received of their gift. But he was a Traitor to his own Queen; and therefore dealt, according to his kind, with thofe that had rewarded him for being fuch. Firft, he built fhips, and fpoiled the Ifles of *Greece*; againft the covenants to which he was bound. Then he adventured further, and feifed upon fome places, that the *Romans* kept in their own hands. If he had begun fooner, or rather if he had ftayed fomewhat longer, he might have fped better. For the bufinefs with the *Gauls* was ended; with *Hannibal*, not throughly begun, when he declared himfelf by his doings, an enemy, and was vanquifhed. The *Roman* Conful, *Æmilius*, was fent againft him : who in feven daies wan the ftrong Town of *Dimalum*; and thereby brought fuch terrour upon the Country round about, that Embaffadours were fent from all places, to yield themfelves, without putting him to further pains. Only the City of *Pharus*, in which *Demetrius* lay, prepared to refift : which he might have done long, if the hot-headed Rebel had not been too foolifh. *Æmilius* landed a great part of his Army in the Ifle of *Pharus*, by night; and beftowed them in covert, prefenting himfelf the next morning with twenty fhips before the Town, and offering to force the Haven. *Demetrius* with all his power iffued out againft the Conful, and was foon intercluded from the Town, by thofe that lay in ambufh. Wherefore he fled away through by-paths to a Creek, where he had fhipping ready for him, and imbarqued himfelf : leaving all his eftate unto them, of whofe liberality he firft had it.

This bufinefs, though it were foon difpatched, yet prevented it not the fiege of *Saguntum*; before which *Hannibal* fate down, ere *Æmilius* was landed in *Illyria*. In the beginning of the fiege, the *Carthaginians* were much difcouraged, by reafon of the brave fallies made by the *Saguntines*; in one of which, their general received a dangerous wound in the thigh, that caufed him to lye many dayes unable to move. Neverthelefs, he was not unmindful of his work in the mean

mean while; but gave order to raise certain movable Towers, that might equal those which were built on the walls of the City; and to prepare to batter the curtains, and make a breach. These being finished and applied, had soon wrought their effect. A great and large breach was made, by the fall of divers Towers, and a great length of wall; whereat an hot assault was given: but it was so well sustained by the *Saguntines*, as the *Carthaginians* were not only beaten from the breach, and out of some ground within the Town, which upon the first fury they had won; but they were pursued even to their own trenches and camp. Never theless the *Carthaginian* Army, wherein were about an hundred and fifty thousand men, did so weary the Towns-men with continual travel, that at length it got within the walls; and was only hindred from taking full possession of the City, by some counter-works of the *Saguntines*, that were also ready to be won. In this extremity, there was one *Alcon* a *Saguntine*, that conveyed himself out of the Town, to treat with *Hannibal* for some accord. But the conditions which the *Carthaginian* offered were so severe, and without all compass of honour, as *Alcon* durst not return to propound them to his Country-men. For *Hannibal* demanded all that they had, gold, silver, plate, and other riches within the City: yea, the City it self to be abandoned by the Citizens; promising, that that he would assign some other place for their habitation: not allowing them to carry out with them any other thing, wherewith to sustain themselves, than the cloaths on their backs; or other arms, to defend them, than their nails and teeth. Yet might they far better have submitted themselves unto this miserable appointment, (seeing thereby they might have injoyed their lives, and saved the honour of their wives and daughters) than to have rested at the discretion of the Conquerour, as soon after they did: by whom their wives and daughters were deflowred before their own faces; and all put to sword, that were above fourteen years of age. For it was a poor comfort, which a great number of them took; when not daring to fight, and sell their blood at the dearest rate, they shut themselves up like most wretched creatures in their own houses, and therein burnt themselves with all that they had: so dying unrevenged. The treasures found in *Saguntum*, which were very great, *Hannibal* kept wherewith to pay his Army: the slaves, and other booty, he divided among his Souldiers, reserving some things of choice, wherewith to present his friends at *Carthage*, and to animate them unto the War.

These tydings exceedingly vexed the *Romans*, who had good cause to be angry at their own slowness, in forbearing to lend help unto the *Saguntines*, that held out eight months, looking still for succour, but in vain. Wherefore they determined to repair their honour, by taking sharp revenge. To this end they sent Embassadours again to *Carthage*: demanding only, *Whether it were by general consent and allowance of the Carthaginians, that* Hannibal *had made war upon* Saguntum: which if they granted (as it seemed they would) then to give them defiance. Hereunto answer was made, in the Senate of *Carthage*, to this effect; That this their second Embassage, howsoever qualified with mild words, was indeed more insolent than the former. For in that, they only required justice against *Hannibal*; but in this, the very State and Common-wealth of *Carthage*, was urged to plead guilty, or not guilty. But (said the *Carthaginian* speaker) whether the general of our Army in *Spain*, in besieging *Saguntum*, have only followed his own counsel; or whether he did it, by direction from us: it is not the question which the *Romans* ought to ask us. That which is indeed worthy examination or dispute, is; *Whether it were lawful or unlawful for* Hannibal *to do as he hath done.* For it belongs to us, to call our own Commanders in question, and to punish them according to their faults and errours; to you, to challenge us, if we have done any thing contrary to our late League and contract. It is true, that in our negotiation with *Lutatius* the Consul, the Allies of both Nations were comprehended: but the *Saguntines* were not then of your Allies, and therefore no parties to the peace then made; for of your Allies in the future, or of ours, there was no dispute. As touching the last agreement between you and *Asdrubal*, wherein you will say, that the *Saguntines* were comprehended by name; it is you that have taught us how to answer that particular. For whatsoever you found in the Treaty between us and *Lutatius*, to your own disadvantage, you cast it upon your Consuls presumption as promising those things, for which he had no warrant from the Senate and people of *Rome*. If then it be lawful for the *Romans*, to disavow the actions of their Consuls and Commanders, concluding any thing without punctual and precise warrant; the same liberty may we also assume, and hold our selves no way bound in honour to perform those bargains which *Asdrubal* hath made for us, without our commandment and consent.



This was an impertinent answer, and little better than a meer cavil. For *Lutatius* the Consul, in his Treaty of Peace with the *Carthaginians*, had expresly referred the allowance thereof to the people of *Rome*. It had been therefore much better to have dealt plainly, and to have alledged, That after this League was made and confirmed on both parts, it was broken by the *Romans*, in robbing the *Carthaginians* of the Isle of *Sardinia*, and withall of twelve hundred talents: which perjury the State of *Carthage*, being now grown able, would revenge with open War. As for the *Saguntines*, it little skilled that the *Romans* had admitted them into confederacy, and forthwith inserted their names into the Treaty of Peace with *Asdrubal*: seeing that the Treaty with *Asdrubal*, and all other business between *Rome* and *Carthage*, following the violence and breach of Peace, in taking away *Sardinia*, were no better than *Roman* injuries, as implying this commination, *Do whatsoever we require; else will we make War, without regard of our oath, which we have already broken.*

But this the *Carthaginians* did not alledge, forgetting, in heat of contention (as *Polybius* takes it) the best of their Plea. Yet since *Livie* himself doth remember and acknowledge, that the taking of *Sardinia* from the *Carthaginians*, did inflame the spirit of *Amilcar* with desire of revenge: we may reasonably think, that the mention of this injury was omitted, not so much upon forgetfulness, as for that it was not thought convenient, by ripping up such ancient matter of quarrel, to shew that the war, now towards, had long been thought upon, and like to be made with extraordinary force, in other manner than heretofore. In conclusion, the *Carthaginian* Senate moved the *Roman* Embassadours, to deliver unto them in plain terms the purposes of those that sent them, and the worst of that, which they had long determined against them: as for the *Saguntines*, and the confining of their Armies within *Iberus*; those were but their pretences. Whereupon Q. *Fabius* gathering up the skirt of his gown, as if somewhat had been laid in the hollow thereof, made this short reply: I have here (quoth he) in my Gown-skirt both Peace and War: make you (my Masters of the Senate) election of these two, which of them you like best, and purpose to imbrace. Hereat all cryed out at once; Even which of them you your self have a fancy to offer us. Marry then (quoth *Fabius*) take the War, and share it among you: Which the assembly willingly accepted.

This was plain dealing. To wrangle about pretences, when each part had resolved to make War, it was meerly frivolous. For all these disputes of breach of Peace, have ever been maintained by the party unwilling, or unable to sustain the War. The rusty sword, and the empty purse, do alwaies plead performance of covenants. There have been few Kings or States in the World, that have otherwise understood the obligation of a Treaty, than with the condition of their own advantage: and commonly (seeing Peace between ambitious Princes and States, is but a kind of breathing) the best advised have rather begun with the sword, than with the trumpet. So dealt the *Arragonois* with the *French* in *Naples*; *Henry* the second of *France*, with the Imperials, when he wrote to *Brisac*, to surprise as many places as he could, ere the War brake out; *Don John*, with the Netherlands; and *Philip* the second of *Spain*, with the *English*, when in the great *Imbarge* he took all our ships and goods in his Ports.

But *Hannibal*, besides the present strength of *Carthage*, and the common feeling of injuries received from these enemies, had another private and hereditary desire, that violently carried him against the *Romans*. His Father *Amilcar*, at what time he did sacrifice, being ready to take his journey into *Spain*, had solemnly bound him by oath, to pursue them with immortal hatred, and to work them all possible mischief, as soon as he should be a man, and able. *Hannibal* was then about nine years old, when his Father caused him to lay his hand upon the Altar, and make this vow: so that it was no marvel, if the impression were strong in him.

That it is inhumane to bequeath hatred in this sort, as it were by Legacy, it cannot be denied. Yet for mine own part, I do not much doubt, but that some of those Kings, with whom we are now in peace, have received the like charge of their Predecessors, that as soon as their coffers shall be full, they shall declare themselves enemies to the people of *England*.

## §. II.

### Hannibal *takes order for the defence of* Spain, *and* Africk. *His Journey into* Italy.

WArr being thus proclaimed, *Hannibal* resolved not to put up his sword which he had drawn against the *Saguntines*,

until he had therewith opened his paſſage unto the gates of *Rome*. So began the ſecond Punick War; ſecond to none that ever the Senate and people of *Rome* ſuſtained. *Hannibal* wintred at *Carthagena*; where he licenſed his *Spaniſh* Souldiers to viſit their friends, and refreſh themſelves againſt the Spring. In the mean while he gave inſtructions to his Brother *Aſdrubal* for the Government of *Spain* in his abſence. He alſo took order, to ſend a great many troops of *Spaniards* into *Africk*, to equal the number of *Africans* formerly drawn thence into *Spain*; to the end, that ſo the one Nation might remain as pledges and gages for the other. Of the *Spaniards*, he tranſported into *Africk* thirteen thouſand, eight hundred and fifty foot, and twelve hundred horſe; alſo eight hundred ſlingers of the * *Baleares*. Beſides theſe, he ſelected four thouſand foot, all young men, and of quality, out of the beſt Cities of *Spain*; which he appointed to be garriſoned in *Carthage* it ſelf, not ſo much in regard of their forces, as that they might ſerve for hoſtages: for among thoſe four thouſand, the beſt of the *Spaniſh* Citizens, and thoſe that ſwayed moſt in their ſeveral States, had their Sons or Kinſmen. He alſo left with his Brother, to guard the Coaſts and Ports, fifty and ſeven Gallies; whereof thirty ſeven were preſently armed, and appointed for the war. Of *Africans* and other Nations, ſtrangers, he left with him above twelve thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, beſides one and twenty Elephants.

* Majores, & Minores.

Having in this ſort taken order for the defence of *Spain* and *Africk*; he ſent diſcoverers before him, to view the Paſſages of the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, and of the *Alps*. He alſo ſent Embaſſadours to the Mountainers of the *Pyrenes*, and to the *Gauls*, to obtain a quiet paſſage: that he might bring his Army entire into *Italy*, and not be compelled to diminiſh his force, by any War in the way, till he came to encounter the *Romans*. His Embaſſadours and Diſcoverers being returned with good ſatisfaction; in the beginning of the Spring, he paſt over the River of *Iberus*, with an Army conſiſting of fourſcore and ten thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe. All thoſe parts of *Spain*, into which he had not entred before, he now ſubdued: and appointed *Hanno* (not that old enemy of his houſe, who ſate ſtill at *Carthage*) to govern *Spain* on the Eaſt ſide of *Iberus*; to whom he left an Army of ten thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe. Being arrived at the borders of *Spain*, ſome of his *Spaniſh* Souldiers returned home, without aſking leave: which that others might not alſo do, or attempt, he courteouſly diſmiſſed many more that ſeemed willing to be gone. Hereby it came to paſs, that the Journey ſeemed the leſs tedious unto thoſe that accompanied him, as being not enforced by compulſion. With the reſt of his Army, conſiſting now but of fifty thouſand foot, and nine thouſand horſe, he paſt the *Pyrenes*, and entred into *Gaul*. He found the *Gauls* that bordered upon *Spain*, ready in Arms to forbid his entrance into their Country: but won them with gentle ſpeech, and rich preſents that he beſtowed upon their Leaders, to favour his Expedition. So without any moleſtation, he came to the bank of *Rhodanus*; where dwelt, on each ſide of the River, a people called *Volcæ*. Theſe were unacquainted with the cauſe of his coming; and therefore ſought to keep him from paſſing over the water. But he was greatly aſſiſted by ſome of thoſe *Gauls*, that inhabited on the Weſt ſide of *Rhodanus*, to wit, by thoſe of *Vvaretz* and *Lyonnois*. For although many of them had tranſported themſelves and their goods, into the Country of *Dauphine*, thinking to defend the further bank againſt him: yet ſuch as remained, being very deſirous to free their Country of ſo many ill gueſts, were better pleaſed to have their Country-men well beaten, which had abandoned them, than to have their own ſtore of corn and cattel waſted, by the long ſtay of ſo great an Army, as lay upon them. For which reaſon, they helped him to make boats; informed him of another more eaſie paſſage, higher up the River; and lent him guides. When the Veſſels for tranſportation of his Army were in readineſs; he ſent *Hanno*, the Son of *Bomilcar*, up the River: himſelf in the mean while making countenance to enter the Foord below. The end of this labour, was, that *Hanno* charging the *Gauls* unawares upon their own ſide, and *Hannibal*, at the ſame time, paſſing the River in their faces, the further bank was won, though with ſome difficulty; and the enemies diſperſed. Yet was he greatly troubled in conveying over his Elephants; who marvellouſly feared the water. He was therefore driven to make raffs of trees, and cover them with Earth and Turf; whereof he faſtned one to each bank, that might ſerve as a bridge, to and from another of the ſame ſort, but looſe upon which the beaſts were towed over.

Having paſt this firſt brunt, and overcome both the rage of the River, and of thoſe that defended it, he was viſited by the Princes of the *Gauls Ciſalpines*, that inhabited *Piemont* and *Milan*, who lately had revolted from the *Romans*. Theſe informed him of the paſſages of the *Alps*; that they were not ſo difficult, as common report made them; and from theſe he received guides, with many other encouragements. All which notwithſtanding, he found himſelf extremely incombred by the *Savoyans*; and loſt, both of his carriages, and of his *Carthaginians*, more than willingly he would, or had formerly thought that he ſhould. For he was twice mainly aſſailed by them, before he could recover the plain Countreys on the other ſide. And whereas his Journey over the Mountains coſt him fifteen dayes travel, he was every day, more or leſs, not only charged by thoſe Mountainers, but withall extremely beaten with grievous weather and ſnow: it being the beginning of Winter, when he began, and overcame this paſſage. But the fair and fertile Plains, which were now ready to receive them; with the aſſiſtance and conduct of the *Ciſalpine Gauls*, who by their proper forces had ſo often invaded the *Roman* Territory; gave them great comfort and encouragement to go on: having nothing elſe of difficulty remaining, but that which from the beginning they made account to overcome, by their proper valour and reſolution; namely, the *Roman* Armies, and reſiſtance.



## §. III.

*How the* Romans *in vain ſolicited the* Spaniards *and* Gauls *to take their part. The rebellion of the* Ciſalpine-Gauls *againſt the* Romans.

THE Countries of *Spain* and *Gaul*, through which the *Carthaginians* marched thus far, had been ſolicited before, by the ſame *Roman* Embaſſadours, who had denounced the war at *Carthage*. Theſe, as they were inſtructed by the Senate, took *Spain* in their way home-ward from *Carthage*, with a purpoſe to draw into the *Roman* Alliance, as many of the Cities and Princes as they could; at leaſt to diſſwade them from contracting any friendſhip with the *Carthaginians*. The firſt which they attempted were the *Volcians*, a people in *Spain*, from whom, in open aſſembly, they received by one that ſpake for the reſt, this uncomfortable anſwer: With what face (ſaith he) can ye *Romans* perſwade us to value your Alliance, or to prefer it before the friendſhip of the *Carthaginians*; ſeeing we are taught by the example of the *Saguntines*, to be more wiſe than ſo? For they, relying on your faith and promiſed aſſiſtance, have been utterly rooted out, and deſtroyed by the *Carthaginians*; whom they might elſe have held their aſſured friends, and good neighbours, as we, and other the people of *Spain* have found them. Ye may therefore be gone, with this reſolution from us, That for our parts (and ſo I think, I may anſwer for the reſt of our Country-men) the *Romans* henceforth are not to expect any kindneſs at our hands; who are reſolved, never to make account of their protection, nor amity. From the *Volcians*, the Embaſſadours took their way towards the *Gauls*; uſing their beſt arguments to perſwade them not to ſuffer the *Carthaginians* to paſs into *Italy*, thorow their Territory: and withall greatly glorifying themſelves, their ſtrength, and large Dominion. But the *Gauls* laught them to ſcorn, and had hardly the patience to hear them ſpeak. For ſhall we (ſaid one of their Princes) by reſiſting *Hannibals* paſſage into *Italy*, entertain a war which is not meant to be made againſt us? Shall we hold the war among our ſelves, and in our own Territory, by force which marcheth with a ſpeedy pace from us, toward our ancient enemies? Have the *Romans* deſerved ſo well of us, and the *Carthaginians* ſo ill, that we ſhould ſet fire on our own houſes, to ſave theirs from burning? No, we know it well, that the *Romans* have already forced ſome Nations of ours, out of their proper Territory and inheritance: and conſtrained others, as free as themſelves, to pay them tribute. We will not therefore make the *Carthaginians*, our enemies, who have no way as yet offended us, nor we them.

With this unpleaſing anſwer the Embaſſadours returned home, carrying no good news, of friends likely to help them; but rather ſome aſſurance from the people of *Maſſilia*, which were confederates with *Rome*, that the *Gauls* were determined to take part with their enemy. Of this inclination, the *Ciſalpine Gauls* gave haſty proof. For when the news was brought into *Italy*, that the *Carthaginians* had paſſed *Iberus*, and were on the way towards *Rome*; this alone ſufficed to ſtir up the *Boji*, and *Inſubrians*, againſt the *Romans*. Theſe people were lately offended at the plantation of new *Roman* Colonies, at *Cremona*, and *Placentia*, within their Territories. Relying therefore upon the *Carthaginian* ſuccour, which they ſuppoſed to be now at hand; they laid aſide all regard of thoſe hoſtages, which they had given to the *Romans*, and fell upon the new Colonies. The Towns it ſeems they could not win; for *Hannibal* ſhortly after failed to get them. But they forced the *Roman* Commiſſioners

Commissioners, (who belike were abroad in the Country) to flye to *Modena*: where they besieged them. The siege of *Modena* had continued some small time; when the *Gaules*, having little skill in assaulting Cities, waxed weary, and seemed desirous to have peace, and to come to some good accord with the *Romans*. This they did of purpose, to draw on some meeting; that they might therein lay hand upon the *Roman* Deputies, thereby to redeem their Hostages in way of exchange. And it fell out, in part, according to their wish. For the *Romans* sent out Embassadours to treat with them, and to conclude a Peace; whom they detained. *Manlius* the Prætor, who lay in these quarters with an Army, hearing this outrage; marched in all haste to the relief of the besieged. But the *Gaules*, having laid a strong ambush in a wood joyning to the way, fell upon the Prætor so opportunely, as he was utterly overthrown, and all his followers left dead in the place, a few accepted, that recovered, by fast running to a little village, but defensible; upon the River of *Po*. When this was heard at *Rome*, *C. Atilius*, another of the Prætors, was hastily sent to relieve the besieged with a Legion, and five thousand of the *Roman* associates: which forces were taken out of the Consuls Army, and supplied by a new levy.

As the *Gaules* were too rash and hasty; so were the *Romans* too slow, and indeed too ill-advised, in the beginning of this war. They were not perswaded that *Carthage*, which had almost servilely endured so many indignities in time of the late peace; would be so brave and couragious on the sudden, as to attempt the conquest of *Italy* it self. Wherefore they appointed one of their Consuls to make war in *Spain*, the other in *Africk*: resting secure of all danger at home. *Titus Sempronius* took his way toward *Africk*, with an hundred and sixty *Quinqueremes*, or Gallies of five to an Oar, which preparation may seem to threaten even the City of *Carthage*, to which it shall not come near. *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the other Consul, made all possible haste, by the way of *Genoa*, into *Provence*; and used such diligence, having the wind also favourable, as in five dayes he recovered *Massilia*. There he was advertised of *Hannibal* his having passed the River of *Rhodanus*, whom he thought to have found busie yet a while in *Spain*. *Hannibal* had also news of the Consuls arrival: whereof he was neither glad, nor sorry, as not meaning to have to do with him. Each of them sent forth Scouts to discover the others number and doings: *Hannibal*, about five hundred *Numidians*; *Scipio*, three hundred of his better appointed *Roman* horse. These met and fought, and the *Numidians* were beaten: yet could not the *Romans* greatly brag, having slain only two hundred, and lost of their own, one hundred and forty. But when *Scipio* drew near, to have met with the *Carthaginians*; he found, that they were gone three daies before; and that (as he then found assuredly true) with an intent to look upon the walls of *Rome*. This interrupted his intended Voyage into *Spain*. Nevertheless he sent away thither his Brother *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, with the greatest part of his Fleet and Army, to try what might be done against *Asdrubal*, and the other *Carthaginian* Lieutenants in the Country. He himself, taking with him a few choise bands, returned by Sea to *Pisa*; and so passing thorow *Tuscane* into *Lumbardie*, drew together the broken troops of *Manlius* and *Atilius* that lately had been beaten by the *Gaules*: with which forces he made head against the enemy, thinking to find him over-laboured, with travel of his painful Journey.

## §. IV.

Scipio *the* Roman *Consul overcome by* Hannibal *at* Ticinum. *Both of the* Roman *Consuls beaten by* Hannibal, *in a great battel at* Trebia.

FIve Months *Hannibal* had spent in his tedious Journey from *Carthagena*; what great muster he could make, when he had passed the *Alpes*, it is not easily found. Some reckon his foot at an hundred thousand, and his horse at twenty thousand; others report them to have been only twenty thousand foot, and six hundred horse. *Hannibal* himself in his monument which he raised, in the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, agreeth with the latter summ. Yet the *Gaules*, *Ligurians*, and others that joyned with him, are likely to have mightily increased his Army, in short space. But when he marched Eastward from the banks of *Rhodanus*, he had with him eight and thirty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse; of which, all save those remembred by himself in the Inscription of his Altar in *Juno's* Temple, are like to have perished by diseases, enemies, Rivers and Mountains; which mischiefs had devoured, each their several shares.

Having newly passed the *Alpes*, and scarce refreshed his wearied Army in the Country of *Piemont*; he sought to win the friendship of

(a) These dwelt about Turin, a goodly City, now chief unto the Duke of Savoy: which took them the name of *Taurini*.



(a) of the *Taurini*, who lay next in his way. But the *Taurini* held war at that time with the *Insubrians*, which were his good friends; and refused (perhaps for the same cause) his amity. Wherefore he assaulted their Town; and won it by force in three daies. Their spoil served well to hearten his Army; and their calamity, to terrifie the Neighbour places. So the *Gauls*, without more ado, fell unto his side: many for fear, many also for good-will, according to their former inclination. This disposition ran thorow the whole Country: which joyned, or was all in readiness to joyn with the *Carthaginians*; when the news of *Scipio* the Consul his arrival, made some to be more advised than the rest. The name of the *Romans* was terrible in those quarters; what was in the *Carthaginians*, experience had not yet laid open. Since therefore the *Roman* Consul was already gotten thorow the most defensible passages, ere any speech had been heard of his approach: many fate still for very fear, who else would fain have concluded a League with these new-come friends; and some, for greater fear, offered their service against the *Carthaginians*, whom nevertheless they had wished well to speed.

This wavering affection of the Province, whereinto they were entred, made the two Generals hasten to the tryal of a battail. Their meeting was at *Ticinum*, now called *Pavia*; where each of them wondred at the others expedition: *Hannibal* thinking it strange that the Consul, whom he had left behind him on the other side of the *Alpes*, could meet him in the face, before he had well warmed himself in the Plains; *Scipio* admiring the strange adventure of passing those Mountains, and the great spirit of his Enemy. Neither were the Senate at *Rome* little amazed at *Hannibals* success, and sudden arrival. Wherefore they dispatched a Messenger in all haste unto *Sempronius*, the other Consul, that was then in *Sicilia*, giving him to understand hereof: and letting him further know, that whereas he had been directed to make the war in *Africa*, it was now their pleasure that he should forbear to prosecute any such attempt, but that he should return the Army under his charge, with all possible speed, to save *Italy* it self. According to this order, *Sempronius* sent off his Fleet from *Lilybæum*; with direction to land the Army at *Ariminum*, a Port Town not far from *Ravenna*: quite another way from *Carthage*, whither he was making haste. In the mean while, *Scipio* and *Hannibal* were come so near, that fight they must, ere they could part asunder. Hereupon both of them prepared the minds of their Souldiers, by the best arguments they had: unto which *Hannibal* added the Rhetorick of a present example, that he shewed upon certain prisoners of the *Savoians*, which he brought along with him, fitted for the purpose, into *Italy*. For these, having been no less miserably fettered and chained, than sparingly fed; and withall so often scourged on their naked bodies, as nothing was more in their desire, than to be delivered from their miseries by any kind of present death, were brought into the middle of the Army: where it was openly demanded, which of them would fight hand to hand with some other of his Companions, till the one of them were slain, with condition, being the Victor, to receive his liberty, and some small reward. This was no sooner propounded, than all of them together accepted the offer. Then did *Hannibal* cause lots to be cast, which of them should enter the List, with such weapons, as the Chieftains of the *Gauls* were wont to use in single combats. Every one of these unhappy men wished, that his own lot might speed; whereby it should at least be his good fortune, to end his miseries by death, if not to get a reward by victory. That couple, whose good hap it was to be chosen, fought resolvedly: as rather desiring, than fearing death; and having none other hope, than in vanquishing. Thus were some few couples matched, it skilled not how equally: for all these poor creatures were willing, upon whatsoever uneven terms, to rid themselves out of slavery. The same affection that was in these Combatants, and in their fellows which beheld them, wrought also upon the *Carthaginians*, for whom the spectacle was ordained. For they deemed happy, not only him, that by winning the victory had gotten his liberty, together with an horse and armour: but even him also, who being slain in fight, had escaped that miserable condition, unto which his Companions were returned. Their General perceiving what impression this dumb shew had wrought in them, began to admonish them of their own condition, speaking to this effect: That he had laid before them an example of their own estates: seeing the time was at hand, wherein they were all to run the same fortune, that these slaves had done; all to live victorious and rich; or all to die, or (which these prisoners esteemed far more grievous) to live in a perpetual slavery: That none of them all, in whom was common sense, could promise to himself any hope of life by flight; since the Mountains, the Rivers, the great distance

ſtance from their own Countries, and the purſuit of merciles Enemies, muſt needs retrench all ſuch impotent imaginations. He therefore prayed them to remember, that they, who had even now praiſed the fortune both of the Victor, and of the vanquiſhed, would make it their own caſe; ſeeing that there was never any in the world, appointed with ſuch a reſolution, that had ever been broken, or beaten by their enemies. On the contrary, he told them that the *Romans*, who were to fight upon their own ſoil, and in view of their own Towns; who knew as many wayes to ſave themſelves by flight, as they had bodies of men to fight withall, could no way entertain ſuch a reſolution as theirs: ſeeing the ſame Neceſſity, (to which nothing ſeems impoſſible) did no way preſs them, or conſtrain them. In this ſort did *Hannibal*, with one ſubſtantial argument, *That there was no mean between Victory and Death*, encourage his Companions. For, (ſaith a great Captain of *France*) *La commodite de la retraitte advance la fuite; The commodity of a retrait, doth greatly advance a flat running away.*

*Scipio* on the other ſide, after that he had given order for the laying of a bridge over the River of *Ticinus*, did not neglect to uſe the beſt arguments and reaſons he could, to encourage the Army he led: putting them in mind of the great conqueſts and victories of their Anceſtors; againſt how many Nations they had prevailed; and over how many Princes, their Enemies, they had triumphed. As for this Army commanded by *Hannibal*, although it were enough to tell them, that it was no better than of *Carthaginians*, whom in their late war they had ſo often beaten, by Land and Sea; yet he prayed them withall to conſider, that at this time it was not only ſo diminiſhed in numbers, as it rather ſeemed a troup of Brigants and Theeves, than an Army likely to encounter the *Romans*, but ſo weather-beaten, and ſtarved, as neither the men, nor horſes, had ſtrength or courage to ſuſtain the firſt charge that ſhould be given upon them. Nay (ſaid he) ye your ſelves may make judgment what daring they have now remaining, after ſo many travails and miſeries; ſeeing when they were in their beſt ſtrength, after they had paſt the *Roan*, their horſe-men were not only beaten by ours, and driven back to the very Trenches of their Camp, but *Hannibal* himſelf, fearing our approach, ran head-long towards the *Alps*: thinking it a leſs diſhonour, to die there by froſt, famine, and precipitation, then by the ſharp ſwords of the *Romans*, which had ſo often cut down his people, both in *Africa*, and in *Sicil*. It was not long after this, ere the two Generals met: each being far advanced before the groſs of his Army, with his Horſe; and the *Roman* having alſo with him ſome light-armed foot, to view the ground, and the enemies countenance. When they diſcovered the approach one of the other; *Scipio* ſent before him his horſemen of the *Gauls*, to begin the fight, and beſtowing his Darters in the void ground between their troups, to aſſiſt them: himſelf with his *Roman* men at arms, followed ſoftly in good order. The *Gauls* (whether deſirous to try the metal of the *Carthaginians*, or hoping thereby to get favour of the *Romans*) behaved themſelves couragiouſly, and were as couragiouſly oppoſed. Yet their foot that ſhould have aided them, ſhrank at the firſt brunt, or rather fled cowardly away, without caſting a Dart; for fear of being troden down by the enemies horſe. This notwithſtanding, the *Gauls* maintained the fight, and did more hurt than they received; as preſuming that they were well backt. Neither was the Conſul unmindful to relieve them: their hardineſs deſerving his aid; and the haſty flight of thoſe that ſhould have ſtood by them, admoniſhing him that it was needful. Wherefore he adventured himſelf ſo far, that he received a dangerous wound; and had been left in the place, if his ſon (afterward ſurnamed *Africanus*) had not brought him off: though others give the honour of this reſcue to a *Ligurian* ſlave. Whilſt the *Romans* were buſied in helping their Conſul; an unexpected ſtorm came driving at their backs, and made them look about how to help themſelves. *Hannibal* had appointed his *Numidian* light-horſe, to give upon the *Romans* in flank; and to compaſs them about, whilſt he with his men at Arms ſuſtained their charge, and met them in the face. The *Numidians* performed this very well: cutting in pieces the ſcattered foot, that ran away at the firſt encounter; and then falling on the backs of thoſe, whoſe looks were faſtned upon *Hannibal* and *Scipio*. By this impreſſion, the *Romans* were ſhuffled together, and routed: ſo that they all betook them to their ſpeed, and left unto their enemies the honour of the day.

When *Scipio* ſaw his horſemen thus beaten, and the reſt of his Army thereby greatly diſcouraged; he thought it a point of wiſdom, having loſt ſo many of his Fleet upon the firſt puff of the wind, to take Port with the reſt, before the extremeſt of the tempeſt overtook him. For he ſaw by the lowring morning what manner of day it was like to



to prove. Therefore his battail of foot being yet unbroken, he in a manner ſtole the retrait; and recovered the bridge over *Ticinus*, which he had formerly built. But notwithſtanding all the haſte that he made, he left ſix hundred of his Rear behinde him: who were the laſt that ſhould have paſſed, and ſtaid to break the bridge. Herein he followed this rule of a good man of war, *Si certamen quandoque dubium videatur, tacitam miles arripiat fugam: fuga enim aliquando laudanda:* which muſt be underſtood in this ſort: *If a General of an Army, by ſome unproſperous beginnings doubt the ſucceſs; or find his Army fearful or wavering, it is more profitable to ſteal a ſafe retrait, than to abide the uncertain event of battail.*

It was two dayes after, ere *Hannibal* could paſs the River; *Scipio* the whilſt refreſhing his men, and eaſing himſelf of his wound in *Placentia*. But as ſoon as *Hannibal* preſented his Army before the Town, offering battail to the *Romans*, who durſt not accept it, nor iſſue forth of their Camp; the *Gauls*, that hitherto had followed *Scipio* for fear, gathered out of his fear, courage to forſake him. They thought that now the long-deſired time was come, in which better Chieftains and Souldiers, than *Aneroeſtus*, *Britomarus*, and *Geſſates*, were come to help them: if they had the hearts to help themſelves. Wherefore the ſame night they fell upon the *Roman* Camp; wounded and ſlew many; eſpecially of thoſe guards that kept watch at the gate; with whoſe heads in their hands, they fled over to the *Carthaginians*, and preſented their ſervice. *Hannibal* received them exceeding courteouſly, and diſmiſt them to their own places: as men likely to be of more uſe to him, in perſwading the reſt of their Nation to become his Confederates, than in any other ſervice at the preſent.

About the fourth watch of the night following, the Conſul ſtole a retrait, as he had done before; but not with the like eaſe and ſecurity. *Hannibal* had a good eye upon him, and ere he could get far, ſent the *Numidians* after him: following himſelf with all his Army. That night the *Romans* had received a great blow, if the *Numidians*, greedy of ſpoil, had not ſtaid to ranſack their camp: and thereby given time to all (ſave ſome few in Rear, that were ſlain or taken) to paſs the River of *Trebia*, and ſave themſelves. *Scipio*, being both unable to travel by reaſon of his wound, and withall, finding it expedient to attend the coming of his fellow-Conſul; incamps himſelf ſtrongly upon the banks of *Trebia*. Neceſſity required that he ſhould ſo do; yet this diminiſhed his reputation. For every day more and more of the *Gauls* fell to the *Carthaginian* ſide; among whom came in the *Boji*, that brought with them the *Roman* Commiſſioners, which they had taken in the late Inſurrection. They had hitherto kept them as pledges, to redeem their own hoſtages: but now they deliver them up to *Hannibal*, as tokens and pledges of their affections towards him; by whoſe help they conceived better hope of recovering their own men and lands. In the mean while, *Hannibal*, being in great ſcarcity of victuals, attempted the taking of *Claſtidium*, a Town wherein the *Romans* had laid up all their ſtore and munition. But there needed no force; a *Brunduſian*, whom the *Romans* had truſted with keeping it, ſold it for a little money.

The news of theſe diſaſters, brought to *Rome*, filled the Senate and People, rather with a deſire of haſty revenge, than any great ſorrow for their loſs received; ſeeing that in a manner, all their Foot, wherein their ſtrength and hope conſiſted, were as yet entire. They therefore haſted away *Sempronius*, that was newly arrived, towards *Arimi-num*, where the Army, by him ſent out of *Sicil*, awaited his coming. He therefore haſted thither; and from thence he marched ſpeedily towards his Colleague: who attended him upon the banks of *Trebia*. Both the Armies being joyned in one, the Conſuls deviſed about that which remained to be done: *Sempronius* received from *Scipio* the relation of what had paſſed ſince *Hannibals* arrival; the fortune of the late fight; and by what errour or miſadventure the *Romans* were therein foiled: which *Scipio* chiefly laid on the revolt and treaſon of the *Gauls*.

*Sempronius*, having received from *Scipio* the ſtate of the affairs in thoſe parts; ſought by all means to try his fortune with *Hannibal*, before *Scipio* were recovered of his wounds, that thereby he might purchaſe to himſelf the ſole glory of the victory, which he had already, in his imagination, certainly obtained. He alſo feared the election of the new Conſuls: his own time being well-near expired. But *Scipio* perſwaded the contrary; objecting the unſkilfulneſs of the new-come Souldiers: and withall, gave him good reaſon, to aſſure him that the *Gauls*, naturally unconſtant, were upon terms of abandoning the party of the *Carthaginians*; thoſe of them inhabiting between the rivers of *Trebia* and *Po*, being already revolted. *Sempronius* knew all this as well as *Scipio*: but being both guided and blinded by his ambition, he made haſte to find out the diſhono-

which he might otherwise easily have avoided. This resolution of *Sempronius* was exceeding pleasing to *Hannibal*: who feared nothing so much as delay and loss of time. For the strength of his Army, consisting in strangers, to wit, in *Spaniards* and *Gauls*; he no less feared the change of affection in the one, than the impatience of the other: who being far from their own home, had many passions moving them to turn their faces towards it. To further the desire of *Sempronius*, it fell out so, that about the same time, the *Gauls*, inhabiting near unto *Trebia*, complained of injuries done by the *Carthaginians*. They did not supply *Hannibal* with necessaries, as he supposed that they might have done; although he daily reprehended their negligence, telling them, that for their sakes, and to set them at liberty, he had undertaken this Expedition. Seeing therefore how little they regarded his words, he was bold to be his own Carver; and took from them by force, as much as he needed of that which they had. Hereupon they fly to the *Romans* for help: and, to make their tale the better, say that this wrong is done them, because they refused to joyn with *Hannibal*. *Scipio* cared not much for this: he suspected their falshood, and was assured of their mutability. But *Sempronius* affirmed, that it stood with the honour of *Rome*, to preserve their Confederates from suffering injury: and that hereby might be won the friendship of all the *Gauls*. Therefore he sent out a thousand horse: which coming unlooked for upon *Hannibal* his forragers, and finding them heavy loaden, cut many of them in pieces, and chased the rest even into their own camp. This indignity made the *Carthaginians* sally out against them: who caused them to retire faster than they came. *Sempronius* was ready to back his own men; and repelled the enemies. *Hannibal* did the like. So that at length all the *Roman* Army was drawn forth; and a battel ready to be fought, if the *Carthaginian* had not refused it.

This victory (for so the Consul would have it called) made the *Romans* in general desirous to try the main chance in open field: all the perswasions of *Scipio* to the contrary notwithstanding. Of this disposition *Hannibal* was advertised by the *Gauls*, his Spies, that were in the *Roman* Camp. Therefore he bethought himself how to help forward the victory by adding some stratagem to his forces: he found in the hollow of a watercourse, over-grown with high reed, a fit trench to cover an ambush. Therein he cast his brother *Mago* with a thousand choise horse, and as many foot. The rest of his Army, after they had well warmed, and well fed themselves in their camp, he led into the field, and marched towards the Consul. Early in the morning, he had sent over *Trebia* some companies of *Numidian* light-horse, to brave the enemy, and draw him forth to a bad dinner, ere he had broken his fast. *Sempronius* was ready to take any opportunity to fight: and therefore not only issued out of his Camp, but foorded the River of *Trebia*, in a most cold and miserable day; his foot being wet almost to the arm-holes: which, together with the want of food, did so enfeeble and cool their courages, as they wanted force to handle the arms they bare. Strong they were in foot, as well of their own Nation, as of the *Latines*: having of the one sixteen, of the other twenty thousand. The mass of these they ranged in a gross Battalion, guarded on the flanks with three thousand horse; thrusting their Light-armed, and Darters, in loose troups in the head of the rest, in the nature of a Vantguard. The *Carthaginian* numbers of foot were in a manner equal to their enemies: in horse they had by far the better, both in number and goodness. When therefore the *Roman* horse, ranged on the flanks of their foot, were broken by the *Numidians*; when their foot were charged both in front and flank, by the *Spaniards*, *Gauls* and Elephants; when finally the whole Army was unawares prest in the Rear, by *Mago* and his two thousand, that rose out of their place of ambush; then fell the *Romans*, by heaps, under the enemies swords: and being beaten down, as well fighting in disorder, as flying towards the River, by the horsemen that pursued them, there escaped no more of six and thirty thousand, than ten thousand of all sorts, Horse and Foot.

Three great errours *Sempronius* committed, of which every one deserved to be recompensed with the loss that followed. The first was, that he fought with *Hannibal* in a Champain, being by far inferiour in horse, and withall, thereby subject to the *African* Elephants, which in inclosed or un-even grounds & wood-lands, would have been of no use. His second errour was, that he made no discovery of the place upon which he fought; whereby he was grossly over-reacht, and insnared, by the ambush which *Hannibal* had laid for him. The third was, that he drencht his footmen with empty stomacks, in the River of *Trebia*, even in a most cold and frosty day, whereby, in effect, they lost the use of their limbs. For, as one saith well, *There is nothing more inconvenient & perilous, than to present an Army tyred with travel, to an enemy fresh and fed; since where the strength of body faileth, the generosity of mind is but as an unprofitable vapour.*

The broken remainder of the *Roman* Army, was collected by *Scipio*, who got therewith into *Placentia*; stealing away the same night, which was exceeding rainy, from the *Carthaginians*, who either perceived him not, because of the showres; or would not perceive him, because they were over-wearied. *Sempronius* escaped with extreme danger, flying through the Country that was over-run by the enemies horse. He was attended by more than were requisite in a secret flight; yet by fewer than could have made resistance, if the enemy had met with him. Nevertheless he got away, and came to *Rome*, where he did his office in chusing new Consuls for the year following: and then returned into his Province, with a fresh supply against *Hannibal*.

## §. V.

*The departure of* Hannibal *from the* Cisalpine Gauls *into* Hetruria. Flaminius *the* Roman *Consul slain, and his Army destroyed by the* Carthaginians, *at the Lake of* Thrasymene.

THE Winter growing on apace, was very sharp, and unfit for service: to the great contentment of the *Romans*, who, being not able to keep the field, lay warm in *Placentia*, and *Cremona*. Yet *Hannibal* did not suffer them to rest very quiet; but vexed them with continual Alarms: assayled divers places, and taking some; beating the *Gauls* their adherents, and winning the *Ligurians* to his party, who presented him, in token of their faithful love, with two *Roman* Questors, or Treasurers, two Colonels, and five Gentlemen, the Sons of Senators, which they had intercepted. These, and in general all such prisoners as he had of the *Romans*, he held in straight places, loaden with Irons, and miserably fed: those of their followers he not only well intreated, but sent them to their Countries without ransome; with this protestation, That he therefore undertook the War in *Italy*, to free them from the oppression of the *Romans*. By these means he hoped, and not in vain, to draw many of them to his party and assistance. But the *Gauls* were not capable of such perswasions. They stood in fear, lest he should make their Country the seat of War, and perhaps take it from them. They were also more grieved than reason willed them, at his feeding upon them, and wasting their territory. Wherefore some of them conspired against his life; others admonished him of the danger: and these that gave him the advice, were ready soon after to practice against him; but were in like sort detected. He was therefore glad to use Periwigs of hair, and false beards of divers colours; to the end that he might not be deseryed, nor known, to those that should undertake to make him away. Fain he would have passed the *Appenines*, upon the first appearance of Spring; but was compelled by the violence of weather, to tarry among the *Gauls*, till he had seen more swallows than one. At length, when the year was somewhat better opened, he resolved to take his leave of these giddy companions, and bring the war nearer to the gate of *Rome*. So away he went, having his Army greatly increased with *Ligurians* and *Gauls*; more serviceable friends abroad, than in their own Country. That the passage of the *Appenine* Mountains was troublesome, I hold it needless to make any doubt. Yet since the *Roman* Armies found no memorable impediment, in their marches that way: the great vexation which fell upon *Hannibal*, when he was travelling thorow and over them, ought in reason to be imputed rather to the extremity of Winter, that makes all wayes foul, than to any intolerable difficulty in that journey. Nevertheless, to avoid the length of war, together with the resistance and fortifications which may not improbably be thought to have been erected upon the ordinary passages towards *Rome*: he chose at this time, though it were with much trouble, to travel thorow the Fens and rotten grounds of *Tuscane*. In those Marishes and begs, he lost all his Elephants, save one, together with the use of one of his eyes; by the moistness of the air, and by lodging on the cold ground, and wading thorow deep mire and water. In brief, after he had, with much ado, recovered the firm and fertile Plains, he lodged about *Arretium*; where he somewhat refreshed his wearied followers, and heard news of the *Roman* Consuls.

*C. Flaminius*, and *Cn. Servilius* had of late been chosen Consuls for this year: *Servilius* a tractable man, and wholly governed by advice of the Senate; *Flaminius* an hot-headed popular Orator; who having once been robbed (as he thought) of his Consulship, by a device of the Senators, was afraid to be served so again, unless he quickly finished the war. This jealous Consul thought it not best for him to be at *Rome*, when he entred into his Office, lest his adversaries, by feigning some religious impediment, should detain

detain him within the City, or find other buſineſs for him at home, to diſappoint him of the honour that he hoped to get in the war. Wherefore he departed ſecretly out of the Town, and meant to take poſſeſſion of his Office, when the day came at *Ariminum*. The Fathers (ſo the Senators were called) highly diſpleaſed with this, revoked him by Embaſſadors: but he neglected their injunction; and haſtning to meet with the *Carthaginians*, took his way to *Arretium*, where he ſhortly found them.

The fiery diſpoſition of this Conſul, promiſed unto *Hannibal* great aſſurance of victory. Therefore he provoked, with many indignities, the vehement nature of the *Roman*; hoping thereby to draw him unto fight, ere *Servilius* came with the reſt of the Army. All the Country between *Feſulæ* and *Arretium* he put to fire and ſword, even under the Conſuls noſe; which was enough to make him ſtir, that would not have ſitten ſtill, though *Hannibal* had been quiet. It is true that a great Captain of *France* hath ſaid; *Pays gaſté n'eſt pas perdu*; *A waſted Country is not thereby loſt*. But by this waſte of the Country, *Flaminius* thought his own honour to be much impaired; and therefore advanced towards the Enemy. Many adviſed him (which had indeed been beſt) to have patience a while, and ſtay for his Colleague. But of this he could not abide to hear; ſaying, that he came not to defend *Arretium*, whilſt the *Carthaginians* went burning down all *Italy* before them, to the gates of *Rome*. Therefore he took horſe, and commanded the Army to march. It is reported as ominous, that one of their Enſigns ſtuck ſo faſt in the ground, as it could not be plucked up by the Enſign-bearer. Of this tale, whether true or falſe, *Tully* makes a jeſt; ſaying, That the cowardly knave did faintly pull at it (as going now to fight) having hardly pitched it into the earth. Neither was the anſwer of *Flaminius* (if it were true) diſagreeable hereto: for he commanded that it ſhould be digged up, if fear had made the hands too weak to lift it: aſking withall, whether letters were not come from the Senate, to hinder his proceedings. Of this their jealouſie, both he and the Senate that did give him cauſe, are likely to repent.

All the Territory of *Cortona*, as far as to the Lake of *Thraſymene*, was on a light fire; which whilſt the Conſul thought to quench with his enemies blood, he purſued *Hannibal* ſo unadviſedly, that he fell with his whole Army into an ambuſh cunningly laid for him, between the Mountains of *Cortona* and the Lake. There was he charged unawares, on all ſides, (ſave only where that great Lake of *Peruſia* permitted neither his enemies to come at him, nor him to flye from them) knowing not which way to turn, or make reſiſtance. So was he ſlain in the place, accompanied with fifteen thouſand dead carkaſſes of his Country-men. About ſix thouſand of his men, that had the Vant-guard, took courage, as for the moſt part it happens, out of deſperation; and breaking thorow the enemies, that ſtood in their way, recovered the tops of the Mountains. If theſe had returned, and given charge upon the *Carthaginians* backs, it was thought that they might have greatly amended, if not wholly altered the fortune of the day. But that violence of their fear, which, kindled by neceſſity, had wrought the effects of hardineſs, was well aſſwaged, when they ceaſed to deſpair of ſaving their lives by flight. They ſtood ſtill, in a cold ſweat, upon the Hill-top, hearing under them a terrible noiſe, but not any way diſcovering how things went, becauſe of the great fogg that held all that morning. When it grew toward noon, the Air was cleared, and they might plainly diſcern the lamentable ſlaughter of their fellows. But they ſtaid not to lament it; for it was high time, they thought, to be gone ere they were deſcryed and attatched by the enemies horſe. This they ſhould have thought upon ſooner, ſince they had no mind to return into the fight. For, deſcryed they were, and *Maharbal* ſent after them, who overtook them by night in a Village, which he ſurrounded with his horſe: and ſo they yielded the next day, rendring up their arms, upon his promiſe of their lives and liberties.

This accord *Hannibal* refuſed to confirm; ſaying, That it was made by *Maharbal* without ſufficient warrant, as wanting his authority to make it good. Herein he taught them (yet little to his own honour) what it was to keep no faith: and fitted them with a trick of their own. For if it were lawful unto the *Romans*, to alter covenants, or add unto them what they liſted; if the *Carthaginians* muſt be fain to pay certain hundreds, and yet more hundreds of talents, beſides their firſt bargain; as alſo to renounce their intereſt in *Sardinia*, and be limited in their *Spaniſh* Conqueſts, according to the good pleaſure of the *Romans*, whoſe preſent advantage is more ample, than the conditions of the late concluded Peace: then can *Hannibal* be as *Roman*, as themſelves; and make them know, that perfidiouſneſs gaineth no more in proſperity, than it loſeth in the change of fortune. Fifteen thouſand *Italian* priſoners, or thereabout, he had in his hands: of which, all that were not *Romans*, he ſet free without ranſome; proteſting, as he had done before, that it was for their ſakes, and to free them and others from the *Roman* tyranny, that he had undertaken this war. But the *Romans* he kept in ſtraight priſon, and in fetters, making them learn to eat hard meat. This was a good way to breed in the people of *Italy*, if not a love of *Carthage*, yet a contempt of *Rome*: as if this war had not concerned the general ſafety, but only the preſerving of her own neck from the yoke of ſlavery, which her over-ſtrong enemies would thruſt upon her in revenge of her oppreſſions. But an ancient reputation, confirmed by ſucceſs of many ages, is not loſt in one or two battels. Wherefore more is to be done, ere the *Carthaginians* can get any *Italian* Partiſans.



Preſently after the battel of *Thraſymene*, *C. Centronius*, with four thouſand *Roman* horſe, drew near unto the Camp of *Hannibal*. He was ſent from *Ariminum* by *Servilius* the other Conſul, to increaſe the ſtrength of *Flaminius*: but, coming too late, he increaſed only the miſadventure. *Maharbal* was employed by *Hannibal*, to intercept this company; who finding them amazed with report which they had newly heard of the great overthrow, charged them, and brake them: and killing almoſt half of them, drave the reſt unto a high piece of ground, whence they came down, and ſimply yielded to mercy the next day. *Servilius* himſelf was in the mean while ſkirmiſhing with the *Gauls*; againſt whom he had wrought no matter of importance, when the news was brought him of his Colleagues overthrow and death in *Hetruria*; that made him haſten back to the defence of *Rome*.

In theſe paſſages, it is eaſie to diſcern the fruits of popular jealouſie, which perſwaded the *Romans* to the yearly change of their Commanders in the wars; which greatly endangered, and retarded the growth of that Empire. Certain it is, that all men are far better taught by their own errours, than by the examples of their foregoers. *Flaminius* had heard in what a trap *Sempronius* had been taken up but the year before, by this ſubtle *Carthaginian*; yet ſuffered he himſelf to be caught ſoon after in the ſame manner. He had alſo belike forgotten how *Sempronius*, fearing to be prevented by a new Conſul, and ambitious of the ſole honour of beating *Hannibal* in battel, without help of his companion *Scipio*, had been rewarded with ſhame and loſs; elſe would he not, contrary to all good advice, have been ſo haſty to fight, before the arrival of *Servilius*. If *Sempronius* had been continued in his charge, it is probable that he would have taken his companion with him the ſecond time, and have ſearched all ſuſpected places, proper to have ſhadowed an ambuſh: both which this new Conſul *Flaminius* neglected. We may boldly avow it, that by being continued in his Government of *France* ten years, *Cæſar* brought that mighty Nation, together with the *Helvetians* and many of the *Germans*, under the *Roman* yoke; into which parts had there been every year a new Lieutenant ſent, they would hardly, if ever, have been ſubdued. For it is more than the beſt wit in the World can do, to inform it ſelf, within one years compaſs, of the nature of a great Nation, of the Factions, of the Places, Rivers, and of all good helps, whereby to proſecute a War to the beſt effect. Our Princes have commonly left their Deputies in *Ireland* three years; whence by reaſon of the ſhortneſs of that their time, many of them have returned as wiſe as they went out; others have profited more, & yet when they began but to know the firſt rudiments of War, and Government, ſitting the Country, they have been called home, and new Apprentices ſent in their places, to the great prejudice both of this and that Eſtate. But it hath ever been the courſe of the World rather to follow old errours, than to examine them: and of Princes and Governours to uphold their ſlothful ignorance, by the old examples and policy of other ages and people; though neither likeneſs of time, of occaſion, or of any other circumſtance, have perſwaded the imitation.

## §. VI.

*How* Q. Fabius *the* Roman *Dictator ſought to conſume the force of* Hannibal, *by lingring War.* Minutius *the Maſter of the Horſe, honoured and advanced by the People, for bold and ſucceſsful attempting; adventures raſhly upon* Hannibal, *and is like to periſh with his Army, but reſcued by* Fabius.

GReatly were the *Romans* amazed at this their ill ſucceſs, and at the danger apparent; which threatned them in more terrible manner, than ever did war ſince *Rome* it ſelf was taken. They were good Souldiers, and ſo little accuſtomed to receive an overthrow, that when *Pyrrhus* had beaten them, once and again, in open field, all *Italy* was ſtrangely affected with his ſucceſs, and held him in admiration, as one that could

could work wonders. But *Pyrrhus* his quarrel was not grounded upon hate: he only sought honour, and fought (as it were) upon a bravery; demeaning himself like a courteous enemy. This *Carthaginian* detested the whole *Roman* name; against which he burned with desire of revenge. *Ticinum*, *Trebia*, and *Thrasymene*, witnessed his purpose, and his ability; which to withstand, they fled unto a remedy that had long been out of use, and created a Dictator. The Dictators power was greater than the Consuls, and scarcely subject unto controll of the whole City. Wherefore this Officer was seldom chosen, but upon some extremity, and for no longer time than six months. He was to be named by one of the Consuls, at the appointment of the Senate: though it were so, that the Consul (if he stood upon his prerogative) might name whom he pleased. At this time the one Consul being dead, and the other too far off, the people took upon them, as having supreme authority, to give the Dignity by their election, to Q. *Fabius Maximus*; the best reputed man of war in the City. *Novum factum novum consilium expetit, Contrary winds, contrary courses.* Q. *Fabius* chose *M. Minutius Rufus* Master of the horse: which Officer was customarily as the Dictators Lieutenant; though this *Minutius* grew afterwards famous, by taking more upon him.

The first act of *Fabius*, was the reformation of somewhat amiss in matter of Religion: a good beginning, and commendable, had the Religion been also good. But if it were true (as *Livie* reports it) that the Books of *Sybil* were consulted, and gave direction in this business of devotion; then must we believe that those books of *Sybil*, preserved in *Rome*, were dictated by an evil spirit. For it was ordained, that some Vow, made in the beginning of this war to *Mars*, should be made anew, and amplified, as having not been rightly made before: also that great Plays should be vowed unto *Jupiter*, and a Temple to *Venus*; with such other trumpery. This vehemency of superstition, proceeds always from vehemency of fear. And surely this was a time, when *Rome* was exceedingly distempered with passion; whereof that memorable accident, of two women that suddenly died, when they saw their Sons return alive from *Thrasymene*, may serve to bear witness, though it be more properly an example of motherly love. The Walls and Towers of the City were now repaired and fortified; the Bridges upon Rivers were broken down, and all care taken for defence of *Rome* it self. In this tumult, when the Dictator was newly set forth against *Hannibal*, word was brought that the *Carthaginian* Fleet had intercepted all the supply, that was going to *Cn. Scipio* in *Spain*. Against these *Carthaginians*, *Fabius* commanded *Servilius* the Consul to put to Sea; and taking up all the ships about *Rome* and *Ostia*, to pursue them: whilst he, with the Legions, attended upon *Hannibal*. Four Legions he had levied in haste: and from *Ariminum* he received the Army which *Servilius* the Consul had conducted thither.

*Liv. lib. 22.*

With these forthwith he followed apace after *Hannibal*; not to fight, but to affront him. And knowing well, what advantage the *Numidian* horse had over the *Romans*, he always lodged himself on high grounds, and of hard access. *Hannibal* in the mean while, pursuing his victory, had ranged over all the Country, and used all manner of cruelty towards the inhabitants; especially to those of the *Roman* Nation, of whom he did put to the sword all that were able to bear arms. Passing by *Spoletum* and *Ancona*, he incamped upon the *Adriatick* shores; refreshed his diseased, and over-travelled Companies, armed his *Africans* after the manner of the *Romans*, and made his dispatches for *Carthage*; presenting his friends, which were in effect all the Citizens, with part of the spoils that he had gotten. Having refreshed his army, fed his horses, cured his wounded Souldiers, and (as *Polybius* hath it) healed his horse heels of the scratches, by washing their pasterns in old wine: he followed the coast of the *Adriatick* Sea towards *Apulia*, a Northern Province of the Kingdom of *Naples*; spoiling the *Marrucini*, and all other Nations lying in his way. In all this ground that he over-ran, he had not taken any one City: only he had assayled *Spoletum*, a Colony of the *Romans*; and finding it well defended, presently gave it over. The malice of a great Army is broken, and the force of it spent in a great siege. This the *Protestant* Army found true at *Poitiers*, a little before the battel of *Moncountour*; and their victorious enemies, anon after, at S. *Jean d' Angely*. But *Hannibal* was more wise. He would not engage himself in any such enterprise, as should detain him, and give the *Romans* leave to take breath. All his care was to weaken them in force and reputation: knowing, that when once he was absolute Master of the field, it would not be long ere the walled Cities would open their gates, without expecting any engine of battery. To this end he presented *Fabius* with battel, as soon as he saw him; and provoked him with all manner of bravadoes. But *Fabius*



*Fabius* would not bite. He well knew the differences between souldiers bred up, ever since they were boyes, in war and in blood, trained and hardned in *Spain*, made proud and adventurous by many victories there, and of late by some notable acts against the *Romans*; and such, as had no oftner seen the enemy, than been vanquished by him. Therefore he attended the *Carthaginian* so neer, as he kept him from stragling too far; and preserved the countrey from utter spoil. He inured his men by little and little, and made them acquainted with dangers by degrees, and he brought them first to look on the Lyon afar off, that in the end he might sit on his tail.

Now *Minutius* had a contrary disposition, and was as fiery as *Flaminius*: taxing *Fabius* with cowardize and fear. But all stirred not this well-advised Commander. For wise men are no more moved with such noise, than with wind bruised out of a bladder. There is nothing of more indiscretion and danger, than to pursue misfortune: it wasteth it self sooner by sufferance, than by opposition. It is the invading Army that desires battel: and this of *Hannibal*, was both the invading and victorious. *Fabius* therefore suffered *Hannibal* to cross the *Appenines*, and to fall upon the most rich and pleasant Territory of *Campania*; neither could he by any arguments be perswaded, to adventure the *Roman* Army in battel: but being far too weak in horse, he always kept the Hills and fast grounds. When *Hannibal* saw he could by no means draw this wary Dictator to fight, that the Winter came on, and that the Towns stood firm for the *Romans*, whose Legions were in sight, though afar off; he resolved to rest his Army, that was loaden with spoil, in some plentiful and assured place, till the following spring. But ere this can be done he must pass along by the Dictators camp, that hung over his head upon the hills of *Collicula*, and *Casilinum*: for other way there was none, by which he might issue out of that goodly garden-countrey, which he had already wasted, into places more abundant of provision for his wintering. It was by meer errour of his guide, that he first entred within these straights. For he would have been directed unto *Cassinum*, whence he might both assay the fair City of *Capua*, which had made him friendly promises under-hand, and hinder the *Romans* from coming near it to prevent him. But his guide mis-understood the *Carthaginian* pronuntiation, and conducted him awry another way, from *Cassinum* to *Casilinum*, whence *Fabius* hoped that he should not easily escape. Now began the wisdom of *Fabius* to grow into credit; as if he had taken the *Carthaginians* in a trap, and won the victory without blows. But *Hannibal* reformed this opinion, and freed himself, by a sleight invention, yet serving the turn as well as a better. In driving the countrey, he had gotten about two thousand Kine, whose hornes he dressed with dry faggots, and setting fire to them in the dark night, caused them to be driven up the hils. The spectacle was strange, and therefore terrible; especially to those that knew it to be a work of a terrible enemy. What it should mean, *Fabius* could not tell; but thought it a device to circumvent him, and therefore kept within his Trenches. They that kept the hill tops were horribly affraid, when some of these fiery Monsters were gotten beyond them; and ran therefore hastily away, thinking the enemies were behind their backs; and fell among the light-armed *Carthaginians*, that were no less afraid of them. So *Hannibal*, with his whole Army recovered sure ground without molestation: where he staid till the next morning, and then brought off his light footmen, with some slaughter of the *Romans*, that began to hold them in skirmish. After this, *Hannibal* made semblance of taking his journey towards *Rome*: and the Dictator coasted him in the wonted manner; keeping still on high grounds, between him and the City, whilest the *Carthaginian* wasted all the Plains. The *Carthaginian* took *Geryon*, an old ruinous Town in *Apulia*, forsaken by the Inhabitants, which he turned into Barns and Store-houses for winter, and incamped under the broken wall. Other matter of importance he did none: but the time passed idly, till the Dictator was called away to *Rome*, about some business of Religion, and left the Army in charge with *Minutius* the Master of the horse.

*Minutius* was glad of this good occasion to shew his own sufficiency. He was fully perswaded, that his *Romans*, in plain field would be too hard for the *Africans* and *Spaniards*: by whom if they had been foiled already twice or thrice, it was not by open force, but by subtilty and ambush, which he thought himself wise enough to prevent. All the Army was of his opinion; and that so earnestly, as he was preferred, by judgement of the Souldiers, in worthiness to command, before the cold and wary *Fabius*. In this jollity of conceit, he determined to fight. Yet had he been peremptorily forbidden so to do, by the Dictator; the breach of whose command was extreme peril of death.

death. But the honour of the victory, which he held undoubtedly his own; and the love of the Army, and the friends that he had at home bearing office in *Rome*, were enough to save him from the Dictators rods and axes, took he the matter never so hainously. *Hannibal* on the other side was no less glad, that he should play with a more adventurous gamester. Therefore he drew near, and to provoke the *Romans*, sent forth a third part of his Army to waste the Countrey. This was boldly done, seeing that *Minutius* incamped hard by him: but it seems, that he now despised those whom he had so often vanquished. There was a piece of high ground between the two Camps; which because it would be commodious to him that could occupy it, the *Carthaginians* seized upon by night with two thousand of their light armed. But *Minutius*, by plain force, wan it from them the next day; and intrenching himself thereupon, became their neerer neighbour.

The main business of *Hannibal* at this time was, to provide abundantly, not only for his men, but for his horses, which he knew to be the chief of his strength: that he might keep them in good heart against the next summer: if besides this he could give the *Romans* another blow, it would increase his reputation, incourage his own men, terrifie his enemies, and give him leave to forrage the Countrey at will. Since therefore *Minutius* did not in many dayes issue forth of his Camp, the *Carthaginian* sent out (as before) a great number of his men, to fetch in harvest. This advantage *Minutius* wisely espied, and took. For he led forth his Army, and setting it in order, presented battel to *Hannibal*, that was not in case to accept it, even at his own Trenches. His horses, and all his light Armature, divided into many companies, he sent abroad against the forragers; who being dispersed over all the fields, and loaden with booty, could make no resistance. This angred *Hannibal*, that was not able to help them; but worse did it anger him, when the *Romans* took heart to assail his Trenches. They perceived that it was meer weakness, which held him within his Camp, and therefore were bold to despise his great name, that could not resist their present strength. But in the heat of the business, *Asdrubal* came from *Geryon* with four thousand men, being informed of the danger, by those that had escaped the *Roman* horse. This imboldned *Hannibal* to issue forth against the *Romans*; to whom nevertheless he did not such hurt, as he had received.

For this piece of service *Minutius* was highly esteemed by the Army, and more highly by the people at *Rome*, to whom he sent the news, with somewhat greater boast than truth. It seemed no small matter, that the *Roman* Army had recovered spirit, so far forth that it dared to set upon *Hannibal* in his own camp; and that in so doing, it came off with the better. Every man therefore praised the Master of the Horse, that had wrought this great alteration; and consequently, they grew as far out of liking with *Fabius* and his timerous proceedings, thinking that he had not done any thing wisely, in all his Dictatorship: saving that he chose such a worthy Lieutenant; whereas indeed in no other thing he had so greatly erred. But the Dictator was not so joyful of a little good luck, as angry with the breach of discipline; and fearful of greater danger, thereon likely to ensue. He said that he knew his own place, and what was to be done: that he would teach the Master of the horse to do so likewise; and make him give account of what he had done, if he were Dictator: speaking it openly, That good success issuing from bad counsel, was more to be feared, than calamity; for as much as the one bred a foolish confidence, the other taught men to be wary. Against these Sermons every one cryed out, especially *Metellus*, a Tribune of the people: which office warranted him to speak, and do what he list, without fear of the Dictator. Is it not enough (said he) that this our only Man, chosen to be General, and Lord of the Town, in our greatest necessity, hath done no manner of good, but suffered all *Italy* to be wasted before his eyes, to the utter shame of our State; unless he also hinder others, from doing better than himself can, or dares? It were good to consider what he means by this. Into the place of *C. Flaminius* he hath not chosen any new Consul all this while; *Servilius* is sent away to Sea, I know not why; *Hannibal* and he, have as it were taken Truce; *Hannibal* sparing the Dictators grounds: (for *Hannibal* had indeed forborn to spoil some grounds of *Fabius*, that so he might bring him into envy and suspicion) and the Dictator giving him leave to spoil all others, without impeachment. Surely his drift is even this: he would have the war to last long, that he himself might be long in office, and have the sole Government both of our City and Armies. But this must not be so. It were better, that the Commonalty of *Rome*, which gave him this authority, should again take it from him and conferr it upon one more worthy. But lest, in moving the people



people hereto, I should seem to do him injury; thus far forth I will regard his honour: I will only propound, That the Master of the Horse may be joyned in equal authority with the Dictator; a thing not more new, nor less necessary, than was the election of this Dictator, by the People.

Though all men, even the Senators, were ill perswaded of the course which *Fabius* had taken against *Hannibal*, as being neither plausible, nor seeming beneficial at the present; yet was there none so injurious, as to think that his general intent, and care of the Weal-publique, was less than very honourable. Whereas therefore it was the manner, in passing of any act, that some man of credit and authority, besides the propounder, should stand up, and formally deliver his approbation; not one of the principal Citizens was found so impudent, as to offer that open disgrace, both unto a worthy Personage, and (therewithal) unto that dignity, whose great power had freed the State at several times, from the greatest dangers. Only *C. Terentius Varro*, who the year before had been Prætor, was glad of such an opportunity, to win the favour of the Multitude. This fellow was the son of a Butcher, afterwards became a Shop-keeper; and being of a contentious spirit, grew by often brabling, to take upon him as a Pleader, dealing in poor mens causes. Thus by little and little he got into Office; and rose by degrees, being advanced by those, who in hatred of the Nobility favoured his very baseness. And now he thought the time was come, for him to give a hard push at the Consulship; by doing that, which none of the great men, fearing or favouring one another, either durst or would. So he made an hot invective, not only against *Fabius*, but against all the Nobility; saying, That it grieved them to see the people do well, and take upon them what belonged unto them, in matter of Government; That they sought to humble the Commons by poverty, and to impoverish them by War; especially by war at their own doors, which would soon consume every poor mans living, and find him other work to think upon, than matter of State. Therefore he bade them to be wise; and since they had found one (this worthy Master of the Horse) that was better affected unto them and his Countrey, to reward him according to his good deserts; and give him authority, according as was propounded by the Tribune, that so he might be encouraged and enabled to proceed as he had begun. So the Act passed.

Before this busie day of contention, *Fabius* had dispatched the election of new Consull, which was *M. Atilius Regulus*, in the room of *C. Flaminius*: and, having finished all requisite business, went out of Town, perceiving well, that he should not be able to withstand the multitude in hindering the decree. The news of *Minutius* his advancement, was at the camp as soon as *Fabius*: so that his old Lieutenant, and new Colleague, began to treat with him as a Companion; asking him at the first, in what sort he thought it best to divide their authority: whether that one, one day; and the other, the next; or each of them successively, for some longer time, should command in chief. *Fabius* briefly told him, That it was the pleasure of the Citizens, to make the Master of the horse equal to the Dictator, but that he should never be his superior: He would therefore divide the Legions with him by lot, according to the custom. *Minutius* was not herewith greatly pleased; for that with half of the Army he could not work such wonders as otherwise he hoped to accomplish. Nevertheless he meant to do his best, and so taking his part of the Army, incamped about a mile, and a half from the Dictator. Needful it was (though *Livy* seems to tax him for it) that he should so do. For where two several Commanders are not subordinate one unto another, nor joyned in Commission, but have each intire and absolute charge of his own followers, there are the forces (though belonging to one Prince or State) not one, but two distinct Armies: in which regard, one Camp shall not hold them both without great inconvenience. *Polybius* neither finds fault with this distinction, nor yet reports, that *Fabius* was unwilling to command in chief successively (as the two Consuls used) with *Minutius*, by turns. He saith that *Minutius* was very refractory, and so proud of his advancement, that continually he opposed the Dictator: who thereupon referred it to his choice, either to divide the forces between them, as is said before, or else to have command over all by course. This is likely to be true. For Natures impatient of subjection, when once they have broken loose from the rigour of authority, love nothing more, than to contest with it; as if herein consisted the proof and assurance of their liberty.

It behoved the Master of the horse to make good the opinion which had thus advanced him. Therefore he was no less careful of getting occasion to fight, than was *Fabius* of avoiding the necessity. That which *Minutius* & *Hannibal* equally desired, could

not long be wanting. The countrey lying between them was open and bare, yet as fit for ambush, as could be wished: for that the sides of a naked valley adjoyning, had many and spacious caves; able some one of them, to hide two or three hundred men. In these lurking places *Hannibal* bestowed five hundred horse, and five thousand foot; thrusting them so close together, that they could not be discovered. But lest by any misadventure they should be found out, & buried in their holes; he made offer betimes in the morning, to seize upon a piece of ground that lay on the other hand: whereby he drew the eyes and the thoughts of the *Romans*, from their more needful care, to business little concerning them. Like unto this was the occasion, which not long before had provoked *Minutius* to adventure upon the *Carthaginians*. Hoping therefore to increase his honour, in like sort as he got it; he sent first his light armature, then his horse, and at length (seeing that *Hannibal* seconded his own troops with fresh companies) he followed in person with the Legions. He was soon caught, and so hotly charged on all sides, that he knew neither how to make resistance, nor any safe retrait. In this dangerous case, whilest the *Romans* defended themselves losing many, and those of their best men: *Fabius* drew near, in very good order to relieve them. For this old Captain, perceiving afar off, into what extremity his new Colleague had rashly thrown himself & his followers, did the office of a good Citizen; and regarding more the benefit of his Countrey, than the disgrace which he had wrongfully sustained, sought rather to approve himself by hasting to do good, than by suffering his enemy to feel the reward of doing ill. Upon *Fabius* his approach, *Hannibal* retired: fearing to be well wetted with a showre, from the cloud (as he termed the Dictator) that had hung so long on the Hill-tops. *Minutius* forthwith submitted himself to *Fabius*; by whose benefit he confessed his life to have been saved. So from this time forwards the war proceeded coldly, as the Dictator would have it; both whilest his Office lasted which was not long, and likewise afterwards, when he delivered up his charge unto the Consuls, that followed his instructions.

*Servilius* the Consul had pursued in vain a *Carthaginian* fleet, to which he came never within kenning. He ran along all the coast of *Italy*; took hostages of the *Sardinians* and *Corsicans*; passed over into *Africk*; and there negligently falling to spoil the countrey, was shamefully beaten aboord his ships, with the loss of 1000. men. Weighing anchor therefore in all haste, he returned home by *Sicil*; and (being so required by the Dictators letters) repaired to the camp, with his fellow-Consul, where they took charge of the Army.

## §. VII.

*The* Roman *people, desirous to finish the war quickly, choose a rash and unworthy Consul. Great forces levied against* Hannibal. Hannibal *taketh the* Romans *provisions in the Castle of* Cannæ. *The new Consuls set forth against* Hannibal.

With little pleasure did they of the poorer sort in *Rome* hear the great commendations that were given to *Fabius* by the principal Citizens. He had indeed preserved them from receiving a great overthrow; but had neither finished the war, nor done any thing in appearance thereto tending. Rather it might seem that the reputation of this his one worthy act, was likely to countenance the slow proceedings or perhaps the cowardize (if it were no worse) of those that followed him, in protracting the work to a great length. Else, what meant the Consuls to sit idle the whole winter, contrary to all former custome; since it was never heard before, that any *Roman* General had willingly suffered the time of his command to run away without any performance: as if it were honourable to do just nothing? Thus they suspected they knew not what; and were ready every man to discharge the grief and anger of his own private loss, upon the ill administration of the publick.

This affection of the people, was very helpful to *C. Terentius Varro*, in his suit for the Consulship. It behoved him to strike, whilest the Iron was hot: his own worth being little or none; and his credit over-weak, to make way into that high Dignity. But the Commonalty were then in such a mood, as abundantly supplyed all his defects. Wherein to help, he had a kinsman, *Bibius Herennius*, then Tribune of the People; who spared not to use the liberty of his place, in saying what he listed, without all regard of truth, or modesty. This bold Orator stuck not to affirm, that *Hannibal* was drawn into *Italy*, and suffered therein to range at his pleasure, by the Noblemen; That *Minutius* indeed with his two Legions, was likely to have been overthrown, and was rescued by *Fabius* with the other two: but, had all been joyned together, what they might have done, it was apparent, by the victory of *Minutius* when he commanded over all as Master of the horse; That without a *Plebeian* Consul,



Consul, the war would never be brought to an end; That such of the *Plebeians* as had long since been advanced to honour by the people, were grown as proud as the old Nobility, and contemned the meaner sort, ever since themselves were freed from contempt of the more mighty; That therefore it was needful to choose a Consul, who should be altogether a *Plebeian*, a meer new man, one that could boast of nothing but the Peoples love, nor could wish more, than to keep it, by well deserving of them. By such perswasions the Multitude was won, to be wholly for *Terentius*: to the great vexation of the Nobles, who could not endure to see a man raised for none other vertue, than his detracting from their honour; and therefore opposed him with all their might. To hinder the desire of the People, it fell out, or at least was alledged, that neither of the two present Consuls could well be spared from attending upon *Hannibal*, to hold the Election. Wherefore a Dictator was named for that purpose; and he again deposed: either (as was pretended) for some religious impediment, or because the Fathers desired an *Inter-regnum*, wherein they might better hope to prevail in choice of the new Consuls. This *Interregnum* took name and being in *Rome*, at the death of *Romulus*: and was in use at the death of other Kings. The order of it was this. All the Fathers, or Senators, who at the first were an hundred parted themselves into *Tens* or *Decuries*; and governed successively, by the space of five dayes, one *Decurie* after another in order: yet so, that the *Lictors*, or *Virgers*, carrying the *Fasces*, or bundles of rods and axes, waited only upon the chief of them with those Ensigns of power. This custome was retained in times of the Consuls; and put in use, when by death, or any casualty, there wanted ordinary Magistrates of the old year, to substitute new for the year following. The advantage of the Fathers herein was, that if the election were not like to go as they would have it, there needed no more, than to slip five dayes, and then was all to begin a new: by which interruption, the heat of the multitude was commonly well asswaged. Upon such change of those, that were Presidents of the election, it was also lawful unto new Petitioners, to sue for the Magistracies that lay void: which otherwise was not allowed; but a time limited, wherein they should publickly declare themselves to seek those offices. But no device would serve against the general favour born unto *Terentius*. One *Inter-regnum* passed over, and the malice of the Fathers, against the vertue (as it was beleived) of this mean, but worthy man, seemed so manifest, that when the People had urged the business to dispatch, only *Terrentius* was chosen Consul: in whose hand it was left, to hold the election of his Colleague. Hereupon all the former Petitioners gave over. For whereas men of ordinary mark had stood for the place before, it was now thought meet, that, both to supply the defect, and to bridle the violence of this unexpert, and hot-headed man, one of great sufficiency and reputation, should be joyned with him, as both Companion and Opposite. So *L. Æmilius Paulus*, he who a few years since had overcome the *Illyrians*, & chased *Demetrius Pharius* out of his Kingdome, was urged by the Nobility to stand for the place; which he easily obtained, having no Competitor. It was not the desire of this honourable man, to trouble himself any more in such great business of the Common-wealth. For, notwithstanding his late good service, He, and *M. Livius* that had been his companion in office, were afterwards injuriously vexed by the people, and called unto judgement: wherein *Livius* was condemned, and *Æmilius* hardly escaped. But of this injustice they shall put the *Romans* well in mind each of them in his second Consulship wherein they shall honourably approve their worth; the one of them nobly dying, in the most grievous loss; the other bravely winning, in the most happy victory that ever befell that Common-wealth.

These new Consuls, *Varro* and *Paulus* omitted no part of their diligence in preparing for the war; wherein though *Varro* made the greater noise, by telling what wonders he would work, and that he would ask no more, than once to have a fight of *Hannibal*, whom he promised to vanquish the very first day: yet the providence and care of *Paulus* travelled more earnestly toward the accomplishment of that, whereof his fellow vainly boasted. He wrote unto the two old Consuls *Servilius* and *Atilius*, desiring them to abstain from hazard of the main chance; but nevertheless, to ply the *Carthaginians* with daily skirmish, and weaken them by degrees: that when he and his Colleague should take the field, with the great Army which they were now levying, they might find the four old Legions well accustomed to the enemy, and the enemy well weakned to their hands. He was also very strict in his Musters; wherein the whole Senate assist him so carefully, as if in this Action they meant to refute the slanders, with which *Terentius* and his adherents had burdened them. What number of men they raised, it is

uncertain. Fourſcore thouſand foot, at the leaſt, and ſix thouſand horſe, they were ſtrong in the field, when the day came, which *Varro* had ſo greatly deſired, of looking upon *Hannibal*.

*Hiero* the old King of *Syracuſe*, as he had relieved the *Carthaginians*, when they were diſtreſſed by their own Mercenaries; ſo did he now ſend help to *Rome*, a thouſand Archers, and Slingers, with great quantity of Wheat, Barly, and other proviſions: fearing nothing more, than that one of theſe two mighty Cities ſhould deſtroy the other, whereby his own eſtate would fall to ruine, that ſtood upright, by having them ſomewhat evenly ballanced. He gave them alſo counſel, to ſend forces into *Africa*; if (perhaps) by that means they might divert the war from home. His gifts, and good advice were lovingly accepted; and inſtructions were given to *Titus Otacilius* the Prætor, which was to go into *Sicil*, that he ſhould accordingly paſs over into *Africk*, if he found it expedient.

The great Levies which the *Romans* made at this time, do much more ſerve to declare their puiſſance, than any, though larger account by Poll, of ſuch as were not eaſily drawn into the field, and fitted for ſervice. For, beſides theſe Armies of the Conſuls, and that which went into *Sicil*, twenty five thouſand, with *L. Poſthumius Albinus*, another of the Prætors, went againſt the *Gauls*, to reclaim that Province, which the paſſage of *Hannibal* through it, had taken from them. The contemplation of this their preſent ſtrength might well embolden them to do as they did. They ſent Embaſſadors to *Philip*, the ſon of *Demetrius*, King of *Macedon*, requiring him to deliver into their hands *Demetrius Pharius*: who, having been their ſubject, and rebell, was fled into his Kingdom. They alſo ſent to the *Illyrians*, to demand their tribute; whereof the day of payment was already paſt. What anſwer they received, it is not known: only this is known, that *Demetrius Pharius* was not ſent unto them; and that *Philip* henceforth began to have an eye upon them, little to their good. As for the *Illyrian* money, by the ſhifts that they were driven ſoon after to make, it will appear, that the one half of it (how little ſoever) would have been welcome to *Rome*, and accepted, without any cavil about forfeiture for *non-payment* of the whole.

Whilſt the City was buſied in theſe cares, the old Conſuls lay as near unto *Hannibal* as poſſibly they could without incurring the neceſſity of a battel. Many ſkirmiſhes they had with him; wherein their ſucceſs, for the moſt part, was rather good than great. Yet one miſchance not only blemiſhed the honour of their other ſervices, but was indeed the occaſion to draw on the miſery following. *Hannibal* for the moſt part of that time, made his abode at *Geryon*; where lay all his ſtore for the Winter. The *Romans* to be near him, lodged about *Cannuſium*; and, that they might not be driven to turn aſide for all neceſſaries, to the loſs of good opportunities, they beſtowed much of their proviſions in the Caſtle of *Cannæ*: for the Town was razed the year before. This place *Hannibal* wan, and thereby not only furniſhed himſelf, but compelled his enemies to want many needful things, unleſs they would be troubled with far carriage. Beſides this, and more to his advantage, he enabled himſelf to abide in that open Country, fit for the ſervice of his horſe, longer than the *Romans*, having ſo many mouths to feed, could well endure to tarry; without offering battel, which he moſt deſired. Of this miſhap when *Servilius* had informed the Senate, letting them underſtand how this Piece taken by *Hannibal*, would ſerve him to command no ſmall part of the Country adjacent; it then ſeemed needful, even unto the Fathers themſelves, to adventure a battel with the *Carthaginian*, rather than ſuffer him thus to take root in the ground of *Italy*. Nevertheleſs anſwer was returned unto *Servilius*, that he ſhould have patience yet awhile: for that the Conſuls would ſhortly be there, with a Power ſufficient to do as need required.

When all things were ready in the City, and the ſeaſon of the year commodious to take the field, the two Conſuls, with their Army, ſet forth againſt *Hannibal*. This was always done with great ſolemnity: eſpecially, whenſoever they went forth to war againſt any noble or redoubted Enemy. For Sacrifices, and ſolemn Vows, were made unto *Jupiter*, and the reſt of their gods, for good ſucceſs and Victory: which being performed, the Generals in warlike attire, with an honourable traia of the principal men, (not only ſuch as were of their kindred and alliance, or followed them to the war, as Voluntaries for love, but a great number of others that meant to abide at home,) were accompanied on their way, and diſmiſſed with friendly leave-taking, and good wiſhes. At this time, all the Fathers, and the whole Nobility, waited upon *Æmilius Paulus*, as the only Man, whom they thought either worthy of this honour, or likely to do his Country remarkable ſervice. *Terentius* his Attendants were the whole multitude of the poorer Citizens; a troup no leſs in greatneſs, than the other was in dignity. At the parting, *Fabius* the late Dictator, is ſaid to have exhorted the Conſul *Paulus*, with many grave words, to ſhew his magnanimity, not only in dealing with the *Carthaginians*, but (which he thought harder) in bridling the outragious folly of his fellow-Conſul. The anſwer of *Paulus*, was, That he meant not again to run into danger of condemnation by offending the multitude; that he would do his beſt for his Country, but if he ſaw his beſt were likely to be ill taken, he would think it leſs raſhneſs to adventure upon the Enemies ſword, than upon the malice of his own Citizens.



## §. VIII.

*Diſſenſion between the two* Roman *Conſuls. Whether it be likely, that* Hannibal *was upon point of flying out of* Italy, *when the* Romans *preſſed him to fight. The great battail of* Cannæ.

THeſe new Generals, arriving at the Camp, diſmiſſed *M. Atilius*, one of the laſt years Conſuls, requeſting it becauſe of his age and weakneſs: *Servilius* they retained with them, as their Aſſiſtant. The firſt thing that *Æmilius* thought neceſſary, was, to hearten his Souldiers with good words; who out of their bad ſucceſs hitherto, had gathered more cauſe of fear, than of courage. He willed them to conſider not only now, their victories in time paſt againſt the *Carthaginians*, and other more warlike Nations than were the *Carthaginians*, but even their own great numbers: which were no leſs than all that *Rome* at the preſent was able to ſet forth. He told them in what danger their Country ſtood; how the ſtate and ſafety thereof reſted upon their hands; uſing ſome ſuch other common matter of perſwaſion. But the moſt effectual part of this Oration, was, That *Hannibal* with this his terrible Army, had not yet obtained one victory by plain force and valour: but that only by deceit and ambuſh he had ſtoln the honour, which he had gotten at *Trebia* and *Thraſymene*. Herewithall he taxed the inconſiderate raſhneſs of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*; of whom the one ſaw not his enemies, untill he was ſurrounded by them; the other ſcarce ſaw them, when they ſtruck off his head, by reaſon of the thick miſt, through the darkneſs whereof he went groping (as it were blinde-fold) into their ſnares. Finally declaring what advantages they had againſt the Enemy; and how deſtitute the Enemy was of thoſe helps, by which he had hitherto prevailed againſt them; he exhorted them to play the men, and do their beſt. They were eaſily perſwaded: for the contemplation of their own multitude, and confidence of the *Roman* vertue in matter of Armes, gave them cauſe to think, that under a Captain ſo well experienced, and every way ſufficient, as *Æmilius* was known to be, they ſhould eaſily prevail againſt the *Carthaginians*, that came ſhort of them in all things elſe, ſave craft; which would not alwayes thrive. But in one thing they miſtook the meaning of their General. It was his deſire that they ſhould have heart to fight; not that they ſhould loſe the patience of awaiting a convenient ſeaſon. But they, having preconceived a victory, thought all delayes to be impediments: and thereby ſought to rob themſelves of their beſt help; which was, Good conduct. They remembred what talk they had heard at *Rome*: and were themſelves affected with the vulgar deſire, of ending the war quickly; wherein ſince *Æmilius* had acknowledged, that the advantage was theirs, why did he make them forbear to uſe it: Thus thought the common Souldier: and thus alſo thought the Conſul *Terentius*; who was no leſs popular in the Camp, than he had been in the City. Expectation is alwayes tedious; and never more, than when the Event is of moſt importance. All men longed, both at *Rome*, and in the Army, to be freed from the doubtful paſſions of Hope and Fear: therefore *Terentius*, who haſtened their deſire to effect, was likely to win more thanks, than ſhould his Colleague, though greater in performance.

Thus while the *Romans* think themſelves to have the better of their enemies, they fall into an inconvenience, than which few are more dangerous; *Diſſenſion* of their chief Commanders. *Varro* would fight: *Æmilius* would ſo too, but ſaid that it was not yet time; why? becauſe the enemy muſt ſhortly diſlodge, and remove hence, into places leſs fit for his horſe. But ſhall the *Romans* wait, till *Hannibal*, having eaten up his laſt years proviſions, return into *Campania* to gather a ſecond Harveſt? This would (ſaid *Varro*) favour too much of *Q. Fabius*: And your haſte (ſaid *Paulus*) doth favour no leſs of *C. Flaminius*. Their deeds were like their words: for they commanded by turns interchangeably every day. *Æmilius* lodged ſix miles from *Hannibal*, where the

the ground was somewhat uneven. Thither if the *Carthaginians* would take pains to come, he doubted not to send them away in such haste, as they should not leave running till they were out of *Italy*. But they came not. *Terentius* therefore the next day descended into the Plains; his Colleague holding him, and beseeching him to stay. Nevertheless, he sate down close by *Hannibal*; who, as an unbidden guest, gave him but a rude welcome and entertainment. The *Carthaginian* Horse, and light armature, fell upon the *Roman* Vant-courrers; and put the whole Army in tumult, whilst it was yet in march: but they were beaten off, not without loss, for that the *Romans* had among their *Velites*, some troops weightily armed, whereas the *Carthaginians* had none. The day following, *Æmilius*, who could not handsomely withdraw the Army out of that level ground, incamped upon the River *Aufidus*; sending a third part of his forces over the water, to lye upon the Eastern bank, where they entrenched themselves. He never was more unwilling to fight than at this present; because the ground served wholly for the advantage of his enemy; with whom he meant to deal, when occasion should draw him to more equal terms. Therefore he stirred not out of his Trenches, but fortified himself, expecting when *Hannibal* should dis-lodge, and remove towards *Geryon*, *Cannæ*, or some other place, where his store lay, for want of necessaries: whereof an Army forraging the Country, was not likely to carry about with it sufficient quantity, for any long time.

Here it would not be passed over with silence, That *Livie* differeth much in his Relation from *Polybius*; telling many strange tales, of the misery into which *Hannibal* had been driven; and of base courses that he devised to take, if the *Romans* could have retained their patience a little longer. He had (saith *Livie*) but ten dayes provision of meat. He had not mony to pay his souldiers. They were an unruly Rabble, gathered out of several Nations, so that he knew not how to keep them in order; but that from murmuring, they fell to flat exclamations, first, about their Pay, and Provant, and afterwards for very famine. Especially the *Spaniards* were ready to forsake him, and run over to the *Romans* side. Yea *Hannibal* himself was once upon the point, to have stoln away into *Gaul* with all his horse, and left his foot unto their miserable destinies. At length for lack of all other counsel, he resolved to get him as far as he could from the *Romans*, into the Southermost parts of *Apulia*; to the end, that both his unfaithful Souldiers might find the more difficulty in running from him; and that his hunger might be relieved with the more early harvest. But whilst he was about to put this device in execution, the *Romans* prest him so hard, that they even forced him to that, which he most desired, even to fight a battel upon open Champain ground: wherein he was victorious. It was not uncommendable in *Livie*, to speak the best of his own Citizens; and, where they did ill, to say, That, without their own great folly, they had done passing well. Further also he may be excused; as writing only by report. For thus he saith, *Hannibal de fuga in Galliam (dicitur) agitasse*; Hannibal (*is said*) *to have bethought himself of flying into Gaul*: where he makes it no more than a matter of hearsay; as perhaps was all the rest of this Relation. As for the process it self, it is very incredible. For if *Hannibal*, coming out of *Gaul*, thorow the *Marishes* and *Bogs* of *Hetruria*, could find victuals enough, and all things needful unto his Army, the Summer foregoing: what should hinder him to do the like this year; especially seeing he had plaid the careful Husband in making a great harvest; since he had long been Master of the open field; and besides, had gotten, by surprise, no small part of the *Romans* provisions? Sutable hereunto is all the rest. If *Hannibal* had taken nothing but corn and cattel, his Souldiers might perhaps have fallen into mutiny for pay. But he brought gold with him into *Italy*: and had so well increased his stock, since he came into that Country, that he had armed his *African* Souldiers, all *Roman*-like, and loaded his followers with spoil: having left wherewith to redeem as many of his own, as were taken by the enemy; when the *Romans* were not willing, as finding it not easie to do the like. In this point therefore, we are to attend the general agreement of Historians; who give it as a principal commendation unto *Hannibal*, That he always kept his Army free from sedition, though it were composed of sundry Nations, no less different in Manners, Religion, and almost in Nature, than they were in languages: and well might he so do, having not only pronounced, That which of his men soever fought bravely with an enemy, was thereby a *Carthaginian*; but solemnly protested and swore, (besides other rewards) to make as many of them as should deserve and seek it, free Citizens of *Carthage*. The running away into *Gaul*, was a senseless device. *Hannibal*, being there with his whole Army, took so little



little pleasure in the Country and People, that he made all haste to get him out of it. And what should he now do there with his horse? or could he be trusted, either there, or else where? yea, how could he desire to live, having betrayed all his Army, and relinquished his miserable foot to the butchery of their enemies? This tale therefore *Plutarch* omitteth, who in writing the life of *Hannibal*, takes in a manner all his directions from *Livie*. But of this and the like it is enough to say, That all Historians love to extol their own Country-men; and where a loss cannot be dissembled, nor the honour of the victory taken from the enemy, and given unto blind Fortune, there to lay all the blame on some strange mis-government of their own forces: as if they might easily have won all, but lost all through such folly, as no Enemy can hope to finde in them another time.

Now let us return back to the two Armies, where they lye encamped on the River *Aufidus*. *Varro* was perswaded, that it concerned him in honour to make good his word unto the people of *Rome*: and since he had thus long waited in vain to get the consent of *Paulus*, now at length to use his own authority; and, without any more disputing of the matter, to fight when his own day came. When therefore it was his turn to command; at the first break of the day he began to pass the River, without staying to bid his Colleague good morrow. But *Paulus* came to him, and sought, as in former times, to have dissuaded him from putting the estate of his Country to a needless hazard. Against whose words and substantial arguments, *Terentius* could alledge none other than *point of Honour*. *Hannibal* had presented them battel at their Trenches: should they endure this Bravado? He had sent his *Numidians* over the River but even the day before, who fell upon the *Romans* that were fetching water to the lesser Camp; and drave them shamefully to run within their defences, which also they made offer to assail: Must this also be suffered? He would not endure it: for it could not but weaken the spirit of the *Roman* Souldier; which as yet was lively, and full of such courage, as promised assured victory. When *Æmilius* perceived that he could not hinder the obstinate resolution of his Companion, he took all care, that what he saw must be done, might be done well. Ten thousand *Roman* foot he caused to be left behind, in the greater Camp opposite unto the *Carthaginian*, to the intent, that either *Hannibal* might be compelled to leave behind him some answerable number, for defence of his Trenches (which out of his paucity he was less able to spare from the battel, than were the *Romans*) or that these ten thousand, falling upon the *Carthaginian* Camp, when the fight began, and taking it with all the wealth therein, might thereby (as commonly do such accidents) terrifie and distract the enemies in the heat of fight. This done, the two Consuls went over the water with their Army to the lesser Camp, whence also they drew forth their men, and ranged them in order of battel: the ground on the East part of the River, seeming perhaps more fit for marshalling of their Army. *Hannibal* was glad of this, as he had great cause; and without any delay, passed likewise over, somewhat higher up the stream, which ran from the South; leaving in his own Camp so many, as he thought would serve to defend it, and no more. To encourage his men; he bade them look about them, and view the ground well, upon which they were to fight. They did so. And could you (said he) pray for any greater fortune than to joyn battel with the *Romans* upon such a level ground, where the stronger in horse are sure to prevail? They all assented to him; and shewed by their countenances, that they were very glad of it. Well then (said he further) ye are first of all to thank the gods, that have brought them hither; and then Us, that have trained them along, and drawn them into necessity of playing for their lives, where they are sure to lose them. As for these *Romans*, I was fain to encourage you against them, when ye met them first: but now ye may even encourage your selves, by calling to mind that they are the men, whom ye have as often beaten as seen. Of one thing only I will put you in mind: That whereas hitherto you fought for other respects, as, to drive them before you out of *Gaul*; and to win the open Country, and fields of *Italy*; both of which ye have obtained: now are ye to fight for the Towns themselves, and all the riches within them; which this victory shall make yours. Therefore play the stout Souldiers: and ere many hours pass, ye shall be Lords of all that the *Romans* hold.

When he had said this; his Brother *Mago* came to him, whom he had sent to view the countenance of the enemy. *Hannibal* asked him, what news; and what work they were likely to have with these *Romans*? Work enough (answered *Mago*) for they are an horrible many. As horrible a many as they are (thus

(thus *Hannibal* replied) I tell thee, Brother, that among them all, search them never so diligently, thou shalt not find one man, whose name is *Mago*. With that he fell a laughing, and so did all that stood about him; which gladded the souldiers, who thought their General would not be so merry, without great assurance. Whether it were so, that *Hannibal*, in the pride of his victories already gotten, valued one *Mago* above many thousand *Romans*; or whether he intimated, that the *Romans* were no less troubled with thinking upon *Mago* and his Companions, than was *Mago* with beholding their huge multitude; or whether he meant only to correct the sad mood of his Brother with a jest, and shew himself merry unto the Souldiers: this his answer was more manly, than was the relation of his discoverer. But if *Hannibal* himself had been sent forth by *Mago*, to view the *Romans*, he could not have returned with a more gallant report in his mouth, than that which Captain *Gam*, before the battel of *Agincourt*, made unto our King *Henry* the fifth: saying, That of the *Frenchmen*, there were enow to be killed; enow to be taken prisoners; and enow to run away. Even such words as these, or such pleasant jests as this of *Hannibal*, are not without their moment; but serve many times, when battel is an hand, to work upon such passions, as must govern more of the business: especially, where other needful care is not wanting; without which they are but vain boasts.

In this great day, the *Carthaginian* excelled himself, expressing no less perfection of his military skill, than was greatness in his spirit and undertakings. For to omit the commodiousness of the place, into which he had long before conceived the means to draw his enemies to battel; he marshalled his Army in such convenient order, that all hands were brought to fight, where every one might do best service. His Darters, and Slingers of the *Baleares*, he sent off before him, to encounter with the *Roman Velites*. These were loose troops, answerable in a manner to those, which we call now by a *French* name, *Enfans Perdues*; but when we use our own terms, *the forlorn-hope*. The gross of his Army following them, he ordered thus. His *Africans*, armed after the *Roman* manner, with the spoils which they had gotten at *Trebia*, *Thrasymene*, or elsewhere; and well trained in the use of those weapons that were of more advantage, than those wherewith they had formerly served; made the two wings very deep in File. Between these he ranged his *Gauls*, and *Spaniards*, armed each after their own Country manner; their shields alike; but the *Gauls* using long broad swords, that were forcible in a down-right stroak; the *Spaniards*, short and well pointed blades, either to strike or thrust; the *Gauls*, naked from their navel upwards, as confident in their own fierceness: the *Spaniards*, wearing white Cassocks embroidered with Purple. This medley of two Nations, differing as well in habit and furniture, as in quality, made a gallant shew, and terrible, because strange. The *Gauls* were strong of body, and furious in giving charge, but soon wearied, as accustomed to spend their violence at the first brunt, which disposition all that come of them have inherited to this day. The *Spaniards* were less eager, but more wary; neither ashamed to give ground, when they were over-prested; nor afraid to return, and renew the fight, upon any small encouragement. As the roughness of the one, and patience of the other, served mutually to reduce each of them to a good and firm temper; so the place which they held in this battel, added confidence joyntly unto them both. For they saw themselves well and strongly flanked with *Carthaginians* and other *Africans*; whose name was grown terrible in *Spain*, by their Conquests, and in *Gaul*, by this their present war. Since therefore it could not be feared, that any great calamity should fall upon them, whilst the wings on either side stood fast: these *Barbarians* had no cause to shrink, or forbear to imploy the uttermost of their hardiness, as knowing that the enemy could not press far upon them, without further ingaging himself than discretion would allow. Hereunto may be added that great advantage, which the *Carthaginian* had in horse; by which he was able, if the worst had hapned, to make a good retrait. The effect of contraries is many times alike. Desperation begetteth courage; but no greater, nor so lively, as doth assured Confidence. *Hannibal* therefore caused the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* to advance, leaving void the place wherein they had stood, and into which they might fall back, when they should be over-hardly prested. So, casting them into the form of a *Crescent*, He made them as it were his Vantguard: the two points of this great half Moon, that looked toward the empty space from which he had drawn it, being narrow and thin, as serving only to guide it orderly back, when need should require; the foremost part of the Ring, swelling out toward the enemies, being well strengthned and thickned against all impression. The circle hereof

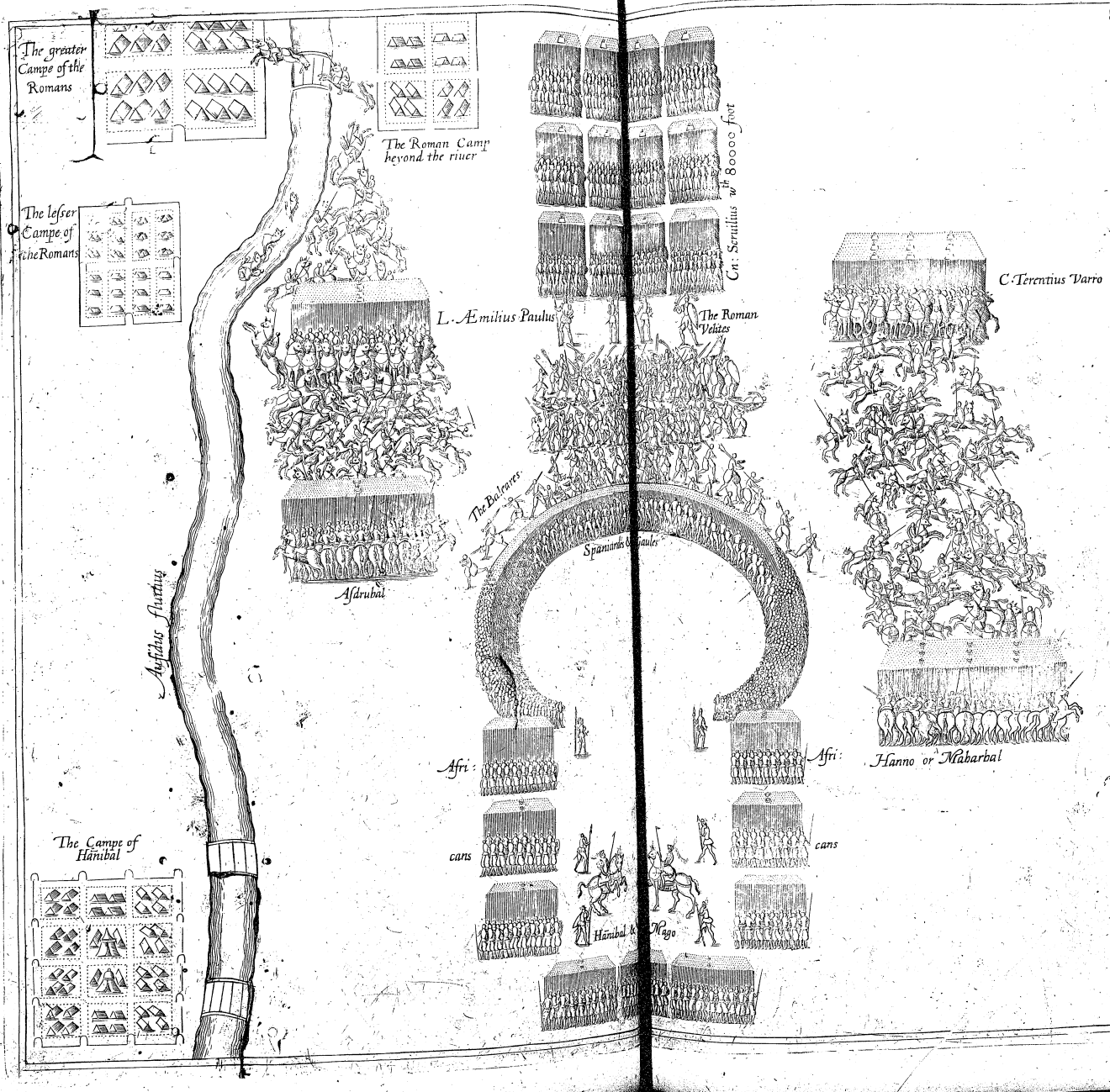


hereof seemeth to have been so great, that it shadowed the *Africans*, who stood behind it; though such figures, cut in brass, as I have seen of this Battel, present it more narrow; with little reason, as shall anon appear: as also in the same figures it is omitted, That any Companies of *Africans*, or others, were left in the Rear, to second the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, when they were driven to retrait; though it be manifest, that *Hannibal* in person stood between the last ranks of his long Battalions, and in the head of his Rear, doubtless well accompanied with the choice of his own Nation. Between the left Battalion and the River *Ausidus*, were the *Gauls* and *Spanish* horse, under the command of *Asdrubal*: On the right wing, toward the wide Plains, was *Hanno* (*Livie* saith *Maharbal*) with the *Numidian* light-horse. *Hannibal* himself, with his brother *Mago*, had the leading of the Rear. The whole sum of *Hannibals* Army in the field this day, was ten thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, his enemies having two to one against him in foot; and He, five to three against them in horse.

The *Roman* Army was marshalled in the usual form: but somewhat more narrow, and deep than was accustomed; perhaps, because this had been found convenient against the *Carthaginians*, in the former war. It was indeed no bad way of resistance against Elephants, to make the Ranks *thick and short*, but the Files long: as also to strengthen well the Rear, that it might stand fast compacted as a wall, under shelter whereof the disordered troups might re-ally themselves. Thus much it seems, that *Terentius* had learned of some old Souldiers; and therefore he now ordered his Battels accordingly, as meaning to shew more skill, than was in his understanding. But the *Carthaginians* had here no Elephants with them in the field: their advantage was in Horse; against which, this manner of imbattailing was very unprofitable, forasmuch as their charge is better sustained in front, than upon a long flank. As for *Æmilius*, it was not his day of command: He was but an Assistant; and in such cases it happens often, that wise men yield for very weariness unto the more contentious. Upon the right hand, and toward the River, were the *Roman* horse-men, under the Consul *Paulus*: On the left wing, was *C. Terentius Varro* the other Consul, with the rest of the horse, which were of the *Latines*, and other associates: *Cn. Servilius* the former years Consul, had the leading of the battel. The Sun was newly risen, and offended neither part; the *Carthaginians* having their faces Northward, the *Romans* toward the South.

After some light skirmish, between the *Roman Velites*, and *Hannibal* his Darters and Slingers of the Baleares; *Asdrubal* brake upon the Consul *Paulus*, and was roughly encountred: not after the manner of service on horse-back, used in those times, wheeling about *Alman-like*; but each giving on in a right line, Pouldron to Pouldron, as having the River on the one hand, and the shoulder of the foot on the other hand; so that there was no way left, but to pierce and break thorow. Wherefore they not only used their Lances and Swords; but rushing violently amongst the Enemies, grasped one another: and so their horses running from under them, fell many to the ground; where starting up again, they began to deal blows like footmen. In conclusion, the *Roman* horse were over-born, and driven by plain force to a staggering recoil. This the Consul *Paulus* could not remedy. For *Asdrubal*, with his boisterous *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, was not to be resisted by these *Roman* Gentlemen, unequal both in number, and in horsmanship. When the battels came to joyning, the *Roman* Legionaries found work enough, and somewhat more than enough, to break that great *Crescent*, upon which they first fell: so strongly for the while, did the *Gauls* and *Spanish* foot make resistance. Wherefore the two points of their battel drew towards the midst; by whose aid, these opposites were forced to disband, and fly back to their first place. This they did in great haste and fear: and were with no less haste, and folly pursued. Upon the *Africans* that stood behind them, they needed not to fall foul; both for that there was void room enough; and forasmuch as the Rear, or Horns of this Moon, pointed into the safe retrait, where *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians* was ready to re-enforce them, when time should require. In this hasty retrait, or flight of the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, it happened, as was necessary, that they who had stood in the limb or utter compass of the half Moon, made the innermost or concave surface thereof (disordered and broken though it were) when it was forced to turn the inside outward: the horns or points thereof, as yet, untouched, only turning round, and recoyling very little. So the *Romans*, in pursuing them, were inclosed in an half circle; which they should not have needed greatly to regard, (for that the sides of it were exceeding thin and broken; and the bottom of it, none other than a throng of men routed, and seeming unable to make resi-

ſtance) had all the enemies foot been caſt into this one great body, that was in a manner diſſolved. But whilſt the Legions, following their ſuppoſed victory, ruſhed on upon thoſe that ſtood before them, and thereby unwittingly engaged themſelves deeply within the principal ſtrength of the Enemies, hedging them in on both hands; the two *African* Battalions on either ſide advanced ſo far, that getting beyond the Rear of them, they encloſed them, in a manner, behind: and forward they could not paſs far, without removing *Hannibal* and *Mago*; which made that way the leaſt eaſie. Hereby it is apparent, That the great *Creſcent*, before ſpoken of, was of ſuch extent, as covered the *Africans*, who lay behind it undiſcerned, untill now. For it is agreed, that the *Romans* were thus empaled *unawares*; and that they behaved themſelves, as men that thought upon no other work, than what was found them by the *Gauls*. Neither is it credible, that they would have been ſo mad, as to run head-long, with the whole bulk of their Army, into the throat of ſlaughter; had they ſeen thoſe weapons bent againſt them at the firſt, which when they did ſee, they had little hope to eſcape. Much might be imputed to their heat of fight, and raſhneſs of inferiour Captains: but ſince the Conſul *Paulus*, a man ſo expert in war, being vanquiſhed in horſe, had put himſelf among the Legions; it cannot be ſuppoſed, that he and they did wilfully thus engage themſelves. *Aſdrubal*, having broken the troups of *Roman* horſe, that were led by the Conſul *Paulus*, followed upon them along the River ſide, beating down and killing, as many as he could, (which were almoſt all of them) without regard of taking priſoners. The Conſul himſelf was either driven upon his own Legions, or willingly did caſt himſelf among them; as hoping by them to make good the day, notwithſtanding the defeat of his horſe. But he failed of this his expectation. Nevertheleſs he cheared up his men as well as he could, both with comfortable words, and with the example of his own ſtout behaviour: beating down and killing many of the enemies with his own hand. The like did *Hannibal* among his *Carthaginians*, in the ſame part of the battel; and with better ſucceſs. For the Conſul received a blow from a ſling, that did him great hurt: and though a troup of *Roman* Gentlemen, riding about him, did their beſt to ſave him from further harm; yet was he ſo hardly laid at, that he was compelled, by wounds and weakneſs, to forſake his horſe. Hereupon all his company alighted, thinking that the Conſul had given order ſo to do: as in many battels, the *Roman* men at arms had left their horſes, to help their foot in diſtreſs. When *Hannibal* (for he was near at hand) perceived this, and underſtood that the Conſul had willed his horſe-men to diſmount; He was very glad of it, and pleaſantly ſaid, *I had rather he would have delivered them unto me, bound hand and foot:* meaning that he had them now almoſt as ſafe, as if they were ſo bound. All this while *C. Terentius Varro*, with the horſe of his aſſociates, in the left wing, was marvelloufly troubled by *Hanno* (or *Maharbal*) and the *Numidians*: who beating up and down about that great ſandy Plain, raiſed a foul duſt; which a ſtrong South wind, blowing there accuſtomarily, drave into the eyes and mouths of the *Romans*. Theſe, uſing their advantage both of number and of lightneſs, wearied the Conſul and his followers exceedingly: neither giving, nor ſuſtaining any charge, but continually making offers, and wheeling about. Yet at the firſt they ſeemed to promiſe him an happy day of it. For when the battails were even ready to joyn; five hundred of theſe *Numidians* came pricking away from their fellows, with their ſhields caſt behind their backs, (as was the manner of thoſe which yielded) and throwing down their arms, rendred themſelves. This was good luck to begin withall, if there had been good meaning. *Varro* had not leiſure to examine them; but cauſed them, unweaponed as they were, to get them behind the Army, where he bade them reſt quietly till all was done. Theſe crafty adventurers did as he bade them, for a while; till they found opportunity to put in execution the purpoſe, for which they had thus yielded. Under their Jackets they had ſhort ſwords and poniards; beſides which, they found other ſcattered weapons about the field of ſuch as were ſlain, and therewithal flew upon the hindmoſt of the *Romans*, whilſt all eyes and thoughts were bent another way: ſo that they did great miſchief, and raiſed yet a greater terror. Thus *Hannibal*, in a plain level ground, found means to lay an ambuſh at the back of his enemies. The laſt blow, that ended all fight and reſiſtance, was given by the ſame hand which gave the firſt. *Aſdrubal* (having in ſhort ſpace broken the *Roman* troups of horſe, and cut in pieces all, ſave the Company of *Æmilius* that ruſhed into the groſs of his foot, and a very few beſides, that recovered ſome narrow paſſage, between the River and their own Battalions) did not ſtay to charge upon the face of the Legions, but fell back


The greater Campe of the Romans
The Roman Camp beyond the riuer
The lesser Campe of the Romans
Cn: Seruilius wth 80000 foot
L. Æmilius Paulus
The Roman Velites
C. Terentius Varro
The Baleares
Spaniards & Gaules
Asdrubal
Aufidus fluctuus
Afri:
Afri:
Hanno or Maharbal
cans
cans
The Campe of Hānibal
Hānibal & Mago

back behind the Rear of his own, and fetching about, came up to the *Numidians*: with whom he joyned, and gave upon *Terentius*.

This fearful Cloud, as it shewed at the first appearance what weather it had left behind it, on the other side: so did it prognosticate a dismal storm unto those upon whom it was ready now to fall. Wherefore *Terentius* his followers, having wearied themselves much in doing little, and seeing more work toward, than they could hope to sustain; thought it the best way, to avoid the danger by present flight. The Consul was no less wise than they, in apprehending the greatness of his own peril; nor more desperate, in striving to work impossibilities: it being impossible, when so many shrank from him, to sustain the impression alone, which he could not have indured with their assistance. Now he found that it was one thing to talk of *Hannibal* at *Rome*, and another, to incounter him. But of this, or of ought else, excepting hasty flight, his present leisure would not serve him to consider. Close at the heels of him and his flying troups, followed the light *Numidians*, appointed by *Asdrubal* unto the pursuit, as fittest for that service. *Asdrubal* himself, with the *Gauls* and *Spanish* horse, compassing about, fell upon the backs of the *Romans*; that were ere this hardly distressed, and in a manner surrounded on all parts else: He brake them easily; who before made ill resistance, being incloſed, and laid at on every side, not knowing which way to turn. Here began a pittiful slaughter: the vanquished multitude thronging up and down, they knew not whither or which way, whilst every one sought to avoid those enemies, whom he saw neareſt. Some of the *Roman* Gentlemen that were about *Æmilius*, got up to horse, and saved themselves: which though it is hardly understood how they could do; yet I will rather believe it, than suppose that *Livie* so reporteth, to grace thereby his History with this following tale. *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, galloping along by a place where he saw the Consul sitting all bloodied upon a stone, intreated him to rise and save himself; offering him his assistance and horse. But* Paulus *refused it; willing* Lentulus *to shift for himself, and not to lose time: saying, That it was not his purpose to be brought again into judgement by the People, either as an accuser of his Colleague, or as guilty himself of that dayes loss. Further, he willed* Lentulus *to commend him to the Senate, and in particular to* Fabius: *willing them to fortifie* Rome, *as fast as well they could; and telling* Fabius, *that he lived and died mindful of his wholesome counsel.* These words (peradventure) or some to like purpose, the Consul uttered to *Lentulus*, either when against his will he was drawn to that battel, or when he beheld the first defeat of his horse; at what time he put himself in the head of his Legions. For I doubt not, but *Hannibal* knew what he said a good while before this; when he thought the Consul and his troup, in little better case than if they had been bound. The whole Gross of the *Romans*, was incloſed indeed as within a sack; whereof the *African* Battalions made the sides; the *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians*, the bottom; and *Asdrubal* with his horse, closed up the mouth: in which part, they first of all were shuffled together, and began the Rout, wherein all the rest followed. *Æmilius* therefore, who could not fit his horse, whilst the battel yet lasted, and whilst the spaces were somewhat open, by which he might have withdrawn himself; was now (had he never so well been mounted) unable to fly, having in his way so close a throng of his own miserable followers, and so many heaps of bodies, as fell apace in that great Carnage. It sufficeth unto his honour, That in the Battel he fought no less valiantly, than he had warily before, both abstained himself, and dissuaded his fellow-Consul, from fighting at all. If, when the day was utterly lost, it had lien in his power to save his own life unto the good of his Country, never more needing it: I should think, that he either too much disesteemed himself; or being too faintly minded, was weary of the World, and his unthankfull Citizens. But if such a resolution were praise-worthy in *Æmilius*, as proceeding out of *Roman* valour; then was the *English* vertue of the Lord *John Talbot*, Viscount *Lisle*, son to that famous Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who died in the Battel of *Chastillon*, more highly to be honoured. For *Æmilius* was old, grievously, if not mortally, wounded, and accomptable for the overthrow received: *Talbot* was in the flowre of his youth, unhurt, easily able to have escaped, and not answerable for that dayes misfortune, when he refused to forsake his Father; who foreseeing the loss of the battel, and not meaning to stain his actions past by flying in his old age, exhorted this his noble son to be gone and leave him.

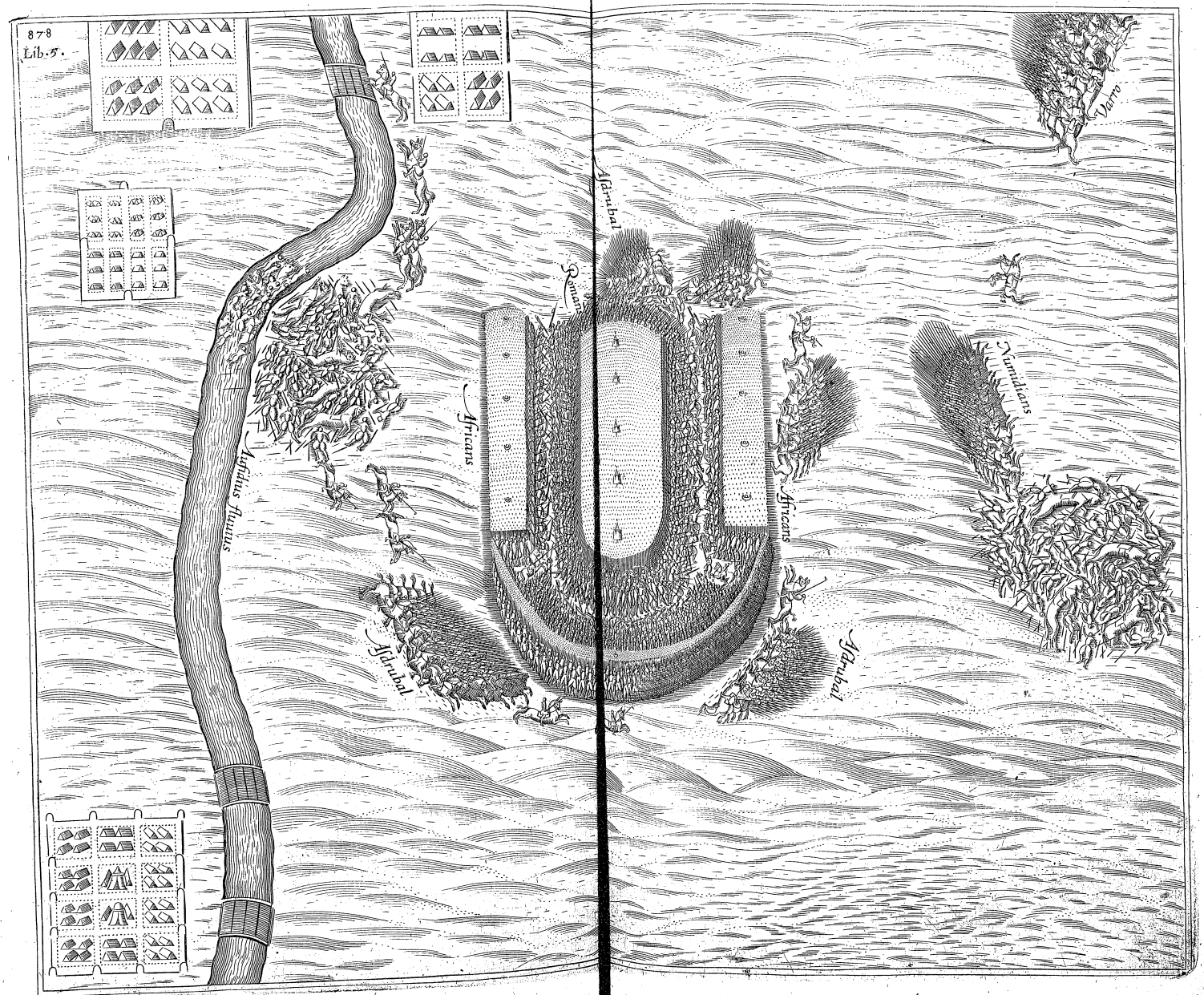
In this terrible overthrow died all the *Roman* foot, save two or three thousand, who (as *Livie* saith) escaped into the lesser Camp; whence the same night, about six hundred of them brake forth, and joyning with such

of those in the greater Camp, as were willing to try their fortune, conveyed themselves away ere morning, about four thousand foot, and two hundred horse, partly in whole troops, partly dispersed into *Cannusium*: the next day the *Roman* Camps, both less and greater, were yielded unto *Hannibal* by those that remained in them. *Polybius* hath no mention of this escape: only he reports, that the ten thousand, whom *Æmilius* had left on the West side of *Aufidus* (as was shewed before) to set upon the Camp of *Hannibal*, did as they were appointed; but ere they could effect their desire, which they had well-near done, the battel was lost: and *Hannibal*, coming over the water to them, drave them into their own Camp; which they quickly yielded, having lost two thousand of their number. Like enough it is, that at the first sight of *Hannibal*, coming upon them with his victorious Army, a greater number of these did flye, and thereby escaped, whilst their fellows, making defence in vain, retired into their Camp, and held the enemy busied. For about two Legions they were (perhaps not half full, but made up by addition of others, whose fault or fortune was like) that having served at *Cannæ*, were afterwards extremely disgraced by the State of *Rome*, for that they had abandoned their companions fighting. Of the *Roman* horse what numbers escaped, it is uncertain: but very few they were that saved themselves in the first charge, by getting behind the River; and *Terentius* the Consul recovered *Venusia*, with threescore and ten at the most in his company. That he was so ill attended, it is no marvel: for *Venusia* lay many miles off to the Southward; so that his nearest way thither, had been thorow the midst of *Hannibals* Army, if the passage had been open. Therefore it must needs be, that when once he got out of sight, he turned up some by-way; so disappointing the *Numidians* that hunted *contre*. Of such as could not hold pace with the Consul, but took other wayes, and were scattered over the fields; two thousand, or thereabout, were gathered up by the *Numidians*, and made prisoners: the rest were slain, all save three hundred, who dispersed themselves in flight, as chance led them, and got into sundry Towns. There died in this great Battel of *Cannæ*, besides *L. Æmilius Paulus* the Consul, two of the *Roman* Quæstors or Treasurers, and one and twenty Colonels or Tribunes of the Souldiers, fourscore Senators, or such as had born office, out of which they were to be chosen into the Senate. Many of these were of special mark, as having been *Ædiles*, Prætors or Consuls: among whom was *Cn. Servilius*, the last years Consul, and *Minutius*, late Master of the horse. The number of prisoners, taken in this battel, *Livie* makes no greater than three thousand foot, and three hundred horse: too few to have defended for the space of one half hour, both the *Roman* Camps, which yet the same *Livie* saith, to have been over-cowardly yielded up. We may therefore do better, to give credit unto one of the prisoners, whom the same Historian shortly after introduceth, speaking in the Senate, and saying, That they were no less than eight thousand. It may therefore be, that these three thousand were only such as the Enemy spared, when the fury of Execution was past: but to these must be added about five thousand more, who yielded in the greater Camp, when their company were either slain or fled. So the reckoning falls out right: which the *Romans*, especially the Consul *Varro*, had before cast up (as we say) without their Host; nothing so chargeable, as now they find it. On the side of *Hannibal* there died some four thousand *Gauls*, fifteen hundred *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and two hundred Horse, or thereabouts: a loss not sensible, in the joy of so great a victory; which if he had pursued, as *Maharbal* advised him, and forthwith marched away towards *Rome*; it is little doubted, but that the war had presently been at an end. But he believed not so far in his own prosperity; and was therefore told, That *he knew how to get, not how to use a victory.*

## §. IX.

### *Of things following the Battel at* Cannæ.

NOT without good cause doth *Polybius* reprehend those two Historians, *Fabius* the *Roman*, and *Philinus* the *Carthagian*; who, regarding more the pleasure of them unto whose honour they consecrated their travels, than the truth of things, and information of posterity, magnified indifferently, whether good or bad, all actions and proceedings, the one of his *Carthaginians*, the other of his *Roman* Quirites, and Fathers conscript. No man of sound judgment will condemn this liberty of censure, which *Polybius* hath used. For, to recompence his juniority (such as it was) he produceth substantial arguments, to justifie his own Relation; and confuteth the vanity of those former authors, out of their own writings, by conference of places ill cohering: which pains is to be suspected, that he would not have taken, had he been born in either


Varro
Asdrubal
Romans
Numidians
Africans
Africans
Asdrubal
Asdrubal
Aufidius fluuius

either of these two Cities, but have spared some part of his diligence, and been contented to have all men think better and more honourably than he deserved, of his own Country. The like disease it is to be feared, that we shall hereafter find in others; and shall have some cause to wish, that either they were somewhat less *Roman*, or else, that some works of their opposite Writers were extant, that so we might at least hear both sides speak: being henceforth destitute of *Polybius* his help, that was a man indifferent. But since this cannot be, we must be sometimes bold, to observe the coherence of things; and believe so much only to be true, as dependeth upon good reason, or (at least) fair probability. This attentive circumspection is needful at the present: such is the repugnancy, or forgetfulness, which we find in the best narration of things following the Battel of *Cannæ*. For it is said, that four thousand foot and horse gathered together about the Consul *Terentius* at *Venusia*; that others to the number of ten thousand got into *Cannusium*, chusing for their Captains, young *P. Scipio*, and *Ap. Claudius*; yet that the Consul *Terentius Varro*, joyning his company unto those of *Scipio* at *Cannusium*, wrote unto the Senate, that he had now well-near ten thousand men about him; that these letters of the Consul were brought to *Rome*, when the Senate was newly risen, that had been taking order for pacifying those tumults in the City, which grew upon the first bruit of the overthrow; and yet, that Embassadours from *Capua* (after some consultation, whether it were meet to send any, or without further circumstance, to side with *Hannibal*) were sent unto *Terentius*, and found him at *Venusia*, a pretty while before he wrote those letters, which overtook (in a manner) at *Rome* the first news of the overthrow. Among such incoherences, I hold it the best way, to omit so much as hath not some particular connexion with matter ensuing: mutual dependency in things of this nature, being no small argument of truth.

When *Hannibal* had sacked the *Roman* Camp, and trussed up the spoils, forthwith he dis-lodged, and marched away into *Samnium*; finding a disposition in the *Hirpines*, and many other people thereabout, to forsake the *Roman* party, and make alliance with *Carthage*. The first Town that opened the gates unto him, was *Cossa*, where he laid up his baggage: and leaving his Brother *Mago* to take in other places, he hasted into *Campania*. The general affection of the multitude, in all the Cities of *Italy*, was inclinable unto him; not only in regard of their grievous losses sustained abroad in the fields, which the *Romans* themselves, who could not hinder him from spoiling the Country, especially the poorer sort of them, did hardly indure; but in a loving respect unto that great courtesie (as it seemed) which he used unto such of them as became his prisoners. For as at other times, so now after this great victory at *Cannæ*, he had lovingly dismissed as many of the *Italian* Confederates of *Rome*, as fell into his hands; rebuking them gently for being so obstinate against him that had sought to deliver them from bondage. Neither spared he to win their love by gifts, pretending to admire their valour; but seeking indeed, by all wayes and means, to make them his, whilst all other motives were concurrent. At this time also he began to deal kindly (though against his nature) with the *Roman* prisoners; telling them, that he bore no mortal hatred unto their Estate; but being provoked by injuries, sought to right himself and his Country; and fought with them, to try which of these two Cities, *Rome* or *Carthage*, should bear soveraign Rule, not, which of them should be destroyed. So he gave them leave to chuse ten of their number, that should be sent home to treat with the Fathers about their ransome: and together with these he sent *Carthalo* a Noble man of *Carthage*, and General of his Horse, to feel the disposition of the Senate, whether it were bowed as yet by so much adversity, and could stoop unto desire of peace. But with the *Romans* these Arts prevailed not, as shall be shewed in due place. The people of *Italy*, all, or most of them, save the *Roman* Colonies, or the *Latines*, were not only weary of their losses past, but entertained a deceivable hope, of changing their old Society for a better. Wherefore not only the *Samnites*, *Lucans*, *Brutians*, and *Apulians*, ancient enemies of *Rome*, and not until the former Generation utterly subdued, began to re-assume their wonted spirits: but the *Campans*, a Nation of all in *Italy* most bound unto the State of *Rome*, and by many mutual affinities therewith as straightly conjoyned, as were any save the *Latines*, changed on a sudden their love into hatred, without any other cause found, than change of fortune.

*Campania* is the most goodly and fruitful Province of *Italy*, if not (as some then thought) of all the Earth: and the City of *Capua*, answerable unto the Country, whereof it was Head; so great, fair, and wealthy, that it seemed no less convenient a seat of the Empire, than was either *Rome* or *Carthage*.

But

But of all qualities, Bravery is the leaſt requiſite unto ſoveraign command. The *Campans* were luxurious, idle, and proud: and valuing themſelves like Jayes by their feathers, deſpiſed the unfortunate vertue of the *Romans* their Patrons and Benefactors. Yet were there ſome of the principal among them, as in other Cities, that bore eſpecial regard unto the Majeſty of *Rome*, and could not indure to hear of innovation. But the *Plebeian* faction had lately ſo prevailed within *Capua*, that all was governed by the pleaſure of the Multitude; which wholly followed the direction of *Pacuvius Calavius* an ambitious Noble-man, whoſe credit grew, and was up-held by furthering all popular deſires; whereof, the conjunction with *Hannibal* was not the leaſt. Some of the *Capuans* had offered their City to the *Carthaginians* ſhortly after the battel of *Thraſymene*: whereupon chiefly it was, that *Hannibal* made his journey into *Campania*: the Dictator *Fabius* waiting upon him. At that time, either the nearneſs of the *Roman* Army, or ſome other fear of the *Capuans*, hindred them from breaking into actual rebellion. They had indeed no leiſure to treat about any article of new Confederacy: or, had leiſure ſerved, yet were the multitude (whoſe inconſtant love *Hannibal* had won from the *Romans*, by gentle uſage, and free diſmiſſing of ſome priſoners in good account among them) unable to hold any ſuch negotiation, without advice of the Senate, which mainly impugned it. So they that had promiſed to yield up their Town to *Hannibal*, and meet him on the way, with ſome of their Nobility that ſhould aſſure him of all faithful meaning, were driven to ſit ſtill in a great perplexity: as having failed to let in this their new friend, yet ſufficiently diſcovered themſelves, to draw upon them the hatred of the *Romans*. In this caſe were no ſmall number of the Citizens; who thereupon grew the more incenſed againſt their Senate, on whom they caſt all the blame, eaſily pardoning their own cowardize. The people holding ſo tender a regard of liberty, that even the lawful government of Magiſtrates grieved them, with an imaginary oppreſſion; had now good cauſe to fear leſt the Senators would become their Lords indeed, and by help of the *Romans* bring them under a more ſtraight ſubjection, than ever they had endured. This fear being ready to break into ſome outrage, *Pacuvius* made uſe of, to ſerve his own ambition. He diſcourſed unto the Senate, as they ſate in Counſel, about thoſe motions troubling the City: and ſaid, That he himſelf had both married a *Roman* Lady, and given his Daughter in marriage to a *Roman*: but, that the danger of forſaking of the *Roman* party was not now the greateſt: for that the people were violently bent to murder all the Senate, and after to joyn themſelves with *Hannibal*, who ſhould countenance the fact, and ſave them harmleſs. This he ſpake, as a man well known to be beloved himſelf by the people, and privy unto their deſigns. Having throughly terrified the Senate, by laying open the danger hanging over them: He promiſed nevertheleſs to deliver them all, and to ſet things in quiet, if they would freely put themſelves into his hands; offering his oath, or any other aſſurance that they ſhould demand for his faithful meaning. They all agreed. Then ſhutting up the Court, and placing a guard of his own followers about it, that none might enter, nor iſſue forth, without his leave; he called the people to aſſembly: and ſpeaking as much ill of the Senate, as he knew they would be glad to hear, he told them, that theſe wicked Governours were ſurpriſed by his policy, and all faſt, ready to abide what ſentence they would lay upon them. Only thus much he adviſed them, as a thing which neceſſity required, That they ſhould chuſe a new Senate, before they ſatisfied their anger upon the old. So rehearſing unto them the names of one or two Senators; he aſked what their judgement was of thoſe. All cryed out, That they were worthy of death. Chuſe then (ſaid he) firſt of all ſome new ones into their places. Hereat the multitude, unprovided for ſuch an election, was ſilent, until at laſt ſome one or other adventured to name whom he thought fit. The men ſo nominated, were utterly diſliked by the whole Aſſembly; either for ſome known fault, baſeneſs and inſufficiency; or elſe even becauſe they were unknown, and therefore held unworthy. This difficulty in the new Election appearing more and more, whilſt more were to be choſen; (the fitteſt man to be ſubſtituted, having been named among the firſt, and not thought fit enough) *Pacuvius* intreated, and eaſily prevailed with the people, that the preſent Senate might for this time be ſpared, in hope of amends hereafter; which (doubtleſs) they would make, having thus obtained pardon of all offences paſt. Henceforth, not nonly the people, as in former times, honoured *Pacuvius*, and eſteemed him their Patron; but the Senators alſo were governed by him, to whom they acknowledged themſelves indebted, for ſaving all their lives. Neither did the Senate fail after this by all obſequiouſneſs, to court the people, giving the reines unto their lawleſs Will, who elſe were likely to caſt them down. All the City being thus of one mind; only fear of the *Romans* kept them from opening their gates to *Hannibal*. But after the Battel at *Cannæ*, this impediment was removed; and few there were that would open their mouths to ſpeak againſt the rebellion. Yet foraſmuch as three hundred principal Gentlemen of the *Campans*, did then ſerve the *Romans* in the Iſle of *Sicil*: the Parents and Kinſmen of theſe prevailed ſo far, that Embaſſadors were ſent unto *Terentius* the Conſul, to ſee his preſent caſe, and what it could miniſter of Hope or Fear. Theſe, whereſoever they found him, found him weakly attended, and as weak in ſpirit, as in followers. Yet they offered him formally the ſervice of their State; and deſired to know what he would command them. But he moſt baſely lamented unto them the greatneſs of the *Roman* misfortune: ſaying, That all was loſt; and that the *Campans* muſt now not help the *Romans*, who had nothing left wherewith to help themſelves, but make war in their defence againſt the *Carthaginians*; as the *Romans* had ſometimes done for the *Campans* againſt the *Samnites*. Hereunto he is ſaid to have added a fooliſh Invective againſt *Hannibal* and his *Carthaginians*: telling, how he had taught them to make bridges of ſlaughtered carkaſſes, and to feed upon mans fleſh, with ſuch other ſtuff, as only bewrayed his own fear. As for the *Campans* themſelves, he put them in mind of their preſent ſtrength: they having thirty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe; with money, and all proviſions, in abundance. Thus he diſmiſſed them prouder than they came, and filled them with conceit of getting a great Lordſhip; whereas before they were ſomewhat timorous in adventuring to ſeek their own liberty. Having reported this at *Capua*; the ſame Embaſſadours were diſpatched away to *Hannibal*, with whom they eaſily made alliance, upon theſe conditions; that the *Campans* ſhould be abſolutely free, and ruled by their own Laws; That no Citizens of theirs ſhould be ſubject unto any *Carthaginian* Magiſtrate, in what caſe ſoever, whether in War or Peace; and that *Hannibal* ſhould deliver unto the *Campans* three hundred *Roman* priſoners, ſuch as themſelves would chuſe, whom they might exchange for their Gentlemen which were in *Sicil*.

Againſt all this Negotiation, *Decius Magius*, an honourable Citizen, oppoſed himſelf earneſtly; uſing, in vain, many perſwaſions, to the wilful and head-ſtrong Multitude; whom he put in mind of *Pyrrhus* and the *Tarentines*, wiſhing them not to change old friends for new acquaintance. This did he, when they were ſending Embaſſadours unto *Hannibal*; and this alſo did he, when the new alliance was concluded; but moſt earneſtly, when a *Carthaginian* Garriſon was entring the Town: at which time he gave advice, either to keep it out, or to fall upon it, and to cut it in pieces, that by ſuch a notable piece of ſervice, they might make amends unto the *Romans*, whom they had forſaken.

Advertiſement hereof was given to *Hannibal*: who lying about *Naples* not far off, ſent for *Magius* to come ſpeak with him in the Camp. This *Magius* refuſed: alledging, that he was, by the late concluded Articles, free from ſubjection unto any *Carthaginian*; and therefore would not come. *Hannibal* thereupon haſted himſelf towards *Capua*; forbearing to attempt any further upon *Naples*, which he thought to have taken in his way by *Scalado*, but found the walls too high, and was not well provided to lay ſiege unto it. At *Capua* he was entertained with great ſolemnity and pomp: all the people iſſuing forth of the Town, to behold the great Commander, which had won ſo many noble victories. Having taken his pleaſure in the ſight of that goodly City, and paſſed over his firſt entertainments, he came into their Senate, where he commended their reſolution, in ſhaking off the *Roman* yoke; promiſing, that ere long all *Italy* and *Rome* it ſelf, ſhould be driven to acknowledge *Capua* as chief, and receive Law from thence. As for *Decius Magius*, who openly took part with the *Romans* their enemies; he prayed them, that they would not think him a *Campan*, but a Traitor to the State, and uſe him accordingly, giving ſentence out of hand upon him, as he deſerved. This was granted: and *Magius* delivered unto *Hannibal*; who unwilling to offend the *Capuans*, at his firſt coming, by putting ſo great a man to death, yet fearing that they might ſue for his liberty, if he kept him alive, thought it beſt to ſend him away to *Carthage*. Thus *Hannibal* ſetled his friendſhip with the *Campanes*: among whom, only this *Decius Magius* had openly dared to ſpeak againſt him; being aſſiſted by *Perolla* the Son of *Pacuvius*. This *Perolla* would have murdered *Hannibal*, whilſt he was at ſupper, the firſt night of his coming, had not his Fathers authority kept him from attempting any ſuch attempt. All the Town (beſides) were ſo earneſt in the love of their new Society, that they are ſaid to have murdered all the *Romans*, upon whom at the preſent

preſent they could lay hand; or (which is all one) to have ſmothered them to death in an hot Bath.

The ſame courſe of fortune, with thoſe of *Capua*, ran ſome other Towns thereabouts which depended on this, as their Mother-City. *Nola*, *Nuceria*, *Naples*, *Caſtline*, and *Acerræ*, were the Cities next adjoyning, that ſtood out for the *Romans*. Againſt theſe *Hanibal* went, thinking to find them weakly manned; as they were indeed, though ſtoutly defended.

The *Romans* at this time were not in caſe to put Garriſons into all their walled Towns; but were fain to leave all places, except a few of the moſt ſuſpected, unto the faith and courage of the inhabitants. *Rome* it ſelf was in extream fear of *Hannibals* coming, at the firſt report of the overthrow at *Cannæ*: and the grief of that loſs was ſo general, and immoderate, that it much diſturbed the proviſion againſt apparent danger. It was hard to judge, whether the loſs already received, or the fear of deſtruction preſently threatning, were the more terrible. All the Senators found work enough, to ſtint the noiſe and lamentable bewailings, whereof the ſtreets were full. Courriers were ſent forth, to bring aſſured tidings how all ſtood: but hereof when Letters from the Conſul *Varro* had throughly informed them, they were ſo amazed, that they ran into barbarous ſuperſtition; and taking direction (as was ſaid) from their fatal books, buried alive two men and women, *Gaules* and *Greeks*, in their Oxe-market. If the books of *Sibyl* gave them ſuch inſtructions; we may juſtly think that *Sibyl* her ſelf was inſtructed by the Divel. Yet is it not improbable, that extremity of fear cauſed them to hearken to wicked South-ſayers; whoſe deteſtable counſels they afterwards for their own honour (as aſhamed of ſuch Authors) imputed to the books of *Sibyl*. An Embaſſadour was ſent to *Delphi*, to conſult with the oracle of *Apollo*; and enquire with what prayers and ſupplications they might pacifie the gods, and obtain an end of theſe calamities. This is enough to diſcover the greatneſs of their fear; though not ſerving to give remedy. At that time came Letters out of *Sicil*, from the Prætor of *Cincilius*; whom the Senate had appointed, if he found it meet, to paſs over into *Africk*. In theſe were contained news of one *Carthaginian* fleet that waſted the kingdome of *Hieron* their good friend and confederate; and of another fleet, riding among the Iſles *Ægateis*, which was in readineſs to ſet upon *Lilybæum*, and the reſt of the *Roman* Province, if the Prætor ſtirred aſide to the reſcue of *Hieron*.

In the midſt of theſe extremities, it was thought needful to call home *Terentius* the Conſul, that he might name a Dictator, to take ſoveraign charge of the Weal-publick, with abſolute power, as neceſſity required. It muſt needs ſeem ſtrange, that all ſorts of people went forth to meet the Conſul, and bid him welcome home, giving him thanks *for that he had not deſpaired of the Weal-publick*. But this was done (as may ſeem) by order from the Senate: which therein (doubtleſs) provided wiſely for upholding the general reputation. If this coming into the City had renewed the lamentations and outcries of the people: what elſe would have followed, than a contempt of their wretchedneſs, among thoſe that were ſubject unto their Dominion? Now in finding this occaſion (though indeed he gave it not) of beſtowing upon him their welcome, and thanks; they noiſed abroad a fame, which came perhaps unto the ears of *Hannibal*, of their Magnanimity and Confidence: that might ſeem grounded on their remaining ſtrength. This therſore was wiſely done. But whereas *Livie* would have us think, that it was done generouſly, and out of great ſpirit; let me be pardoned, if I believe him not. It was done fearfully, and to cover their grief: had they dared to ſhew their indignation, they would have ſtruck off his head; as in few years after, *Cn. Fulvius* had his life brought into queſtion, and was baniſhed by them, being leſs blame-worthy, for a ſmaller offence. *M. Junius*, by appointment of the Senate, was nominated Dictator; and *T. Sempronius*, Maſter of the horſe. Theſe fell preſently to muſtering of Souldiers, of whom they raiſed four new Legions, and one thouſand horſe: though with much difficulty; as being fain to take up ſome that were very boyes. Theſe four Legions are elſewhere forgotten in account of the forces levied by this Dictator; and two Legions only ſet down, that had been enrolled in the beginning of the year for cuſtody of the City. So it may be, that theſe two Legions being drawn into the field; four new ones of *Prætextati*, or ſtriplings were left in their places. In ſuch raw Souldiers, and ſo few, little confidence was to be repoſed; for which reaſon they increaſed their number, by adding unto them eight thouſand ſturdy ſlaves, that were put in hope of liberty, if they ſhould deſerve it by manfull ſervice. This not ſufficing, the Dictator proclaimed, that whoſoever ought money and could not pay it, or had committed any capital offence,



offence, ſhould forthwith be diſcharged of his debt or puniſhment, if he would ſerve in the War. To arm theſe Companies, they were fain to take down out of their Temples and Porches, the ſpoils of their enemies that had been there ſet up: among which, were 6000. Armours of the *Gaules*, that had been carried in the Triumph of *C. Flaminius*, a little before the beginning of this War. To ſuch mockery had God brought the pride of the *Romans*, as a due reward of their inſolent oppreſſions, that they were fain to iſſue forth of their own gates, in the habit of ſtrangers, when *Hannibal* was ready to encounter them with his *Africans*, armed *Roman*-like.

About the ſame time it was that *Carthalo* with the Agents of the priſoners taken at *Cannæ*, came to *Rome*. *Carthalo* was not admitted into the City, but commanded, whilſt he was on the way, to be gone ere night out of the *Roman* Territory. To the meſſengers of the captives audience was given by the Senate. They made earneſt Petition to be ranſomed at the publick charge; not only the tears & lamentation of their poor kinſfolk but the great need, wherein the City then ſtood, of able Souldiers, commending their ſuit; which yet they obtained not. Beſides the general cuſtom of the *Romans* (held by long Tradition, and ſtrengthened by a notable Precedent, when *Regulus* was overthrown, and taken priſoner in the former War) not to be too tender of ſuch as had yielded to the enemy; much was alleaged againſt theſe who now craved ranſome: but the ſpecial point was, that they were wilfully loſt, ſince they might have ſaved themſelves, as others did. It ſufficed not unto theſe poor men, to ſay, that their offence was no greater than the Conſuls; they were told, that this was great preſumption. The truth was, the State wanted money; and therefore could not want excuſes, whereby to avoid the diſburſement: whether it were ſo, or not, that any ſuch Plea was held about this matter of redemption, as we find recorded. Neither muſt we regard it, that the ſlaves which were armed for the war, are ſaid to have coſt more, than the ſumm d d amount unto, that would have ranſomed theſe priſoners. For this is but a tale, deviſed to countenance the *Roman* proceedings, as if they had been ſevere; when as indeed they were ſuitable to the preſent fortune, poor and ſomewhat beggarly. Hereof it is no little proof, That *Hannibal* valued thoſe *Roman* ſlaves, whom he had taken in the Camp among their Maſters, at no more, than every one the third part of a commou Souldiers ranſome: and likely it is, that he offered them at the price, whereat he thought them current. But if we ſhould ſuppoſe, that by trading with *Hannibal*, a better bargain for ſlaves might have been made, than was by the State at home, in dealing with private men; yet muſt we withal conſider, that theſe private men did only lend theſe ſlaves for a while unto the Common-wealth, and were afterwards contented *to forbear the price of them* (when by order of the Senate they were enfranchiſed) untill the war ſhould be ended. If *Hannibal* would have given ſuch long day of payment, it is likely that the *Romans* would have been his Chapmen: but, ſeeing he dealt only for ready money, they choſe rather to ſay, We will not give, than, We cannot. The like auſterity, upon the ſame reaſon, but contrary pretence, was uſed toward the Souldiers that eſcaped from that great battel. Theſe were charged for having fled: as the priſoners were, for not flying, when they might have done ſo. True it is, that in ſuch caſes (if ever) that which they call *Raggione del Stato*, may ſerve for an excuſe: when the Common-wealth, being driven to a miſerable exigent, is fain to help it ſelf, by doing injuries to private men. And ſo dealt the *Romans* now: condemning all thoſe that had ſerved at *Cannæ*, to be tranſported into *Sicil*; and there to ſerve, not as others did, untill they had fulfilled twenty years in the Wars, or elſe were fifty years of age, but untill this War ſhould be ended, how long ſoever it laſted, and that without reward. The ſame thrifty cenſure was afterwards laid upon others, for their miſ-behaviour: but never upon any man of quality, ſave only (a good while after this, at better leiſure) upon *Cecilius Metellus*, and a few other hare-brain'd fools his companions; who, being frighted out of their wits, with the terrour of ſo great a loſs, were deviſing, after the battel, which way to run out of *Italy*, when *Hannibal* as yet had ſcarce one Town within it. The inequality of this rigour grew ſhortly diſtaſteful to the Commonalty: and was openly blamed by *a Tribune of the people*; nevertheleſs it was quietly digeſted, the excuſe being no leſs apparent than the fault.

*M. Junius* the Dictator, having diſpatched all needful buſineſs within the City, took the field with five and twenty thouſand men. What he did with this Army, I cannot find: nor more of him than this, That he ſpent the time about *Campania*; where (as may

may be presumed) he was not idle. To him therefore perhaps it may be ascribed, that *Hannibal* did no greater evil: for of any evil done to *Hannibal*, by the *Romans*, in this their weak estate, only *Marcellus* had the honour. *Marcellus*, being then one of the Prætors, lay at *Ostia*, with a Fleet ready to set sail for *Sicil*, having one Legion aboord his ships; and fifteen hundred other Souldiers newly taken up: with which forces he was to defend that Island, and do what harm he could in *Africk*. But hearing of the overthrow at *Cannæ*, he sent these of his new Levy to *Rome*, for defence of the City; and marched hastily with his Legion toward *Cannusium*: delivering the Fleet, empty of Souldiers, to *P. Furius* his Colleague. Thence was he called by the Magistrates, and chief Citizens of *Nola*, to help them: who were like to be forced by the multitude (affected, as were the rest of the *Campanes*) to let in the *Carthaginian*; and knew not how to avoid this otherwise, than by seeming to deliberate about the articles of this new confederacy. Wherefore he made great journeys thitherward; and arrived even time enough to prevent the Enemy. Many idle walks *Hannibal* made betwixt *Nola* and *Naples*: assaying by fair words and terrible threats the one and the other City. *Naples* was strong, and not infected with any the least touch of disloyalty: had also a sure Haven, whereby it stood in the less fear of sustaining much inconvenience, by spoil of the Lands and Villages abroad in the Countrey. But at *Nola* it was thought a valuable consideration, That *Hannibal* was Master of the field: which if he laid waste, all the poor people were utterly undone. So thought the Multitude: and such talk used some, that had little fear of their own private want or poverty, but a great desire to gratifie the *Carthaginian*. Of these, one *L. Bantius* was chief; a stout young Gentleman, and Souldier of especial mark, well beloved in the City, and one that had done good service to the *Romans*; but was found by *Hannibal* half dead at *Cannæ*; and after much gentle usage, good attendance, and cure of his wounds, friendly dismissed with liberal gifts. He therefore thought, that it concerned him in honour, to return the greatest thanks he could unto so courteous enemy. *Marcellus* perceiving this, wrought upon the same easie nature of the Gentleman: and taking notice of him, as if it had been by chance, seemed to wonder, why one that had so well deserved of the *Roman* state, had not repaired unto him the Prætor, who desired nothing more than such acquaintance. So with many commendations, gifts, and loving entertainment, being himself also a man highly reputed for his personal valour, he made this *Bantius* so far in love with him, that no thing could be attempted within *Nola*, against the *Romans*, whereof he had not presently advertisement. At the coming of *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* removed from about *Nola*; and assayed, as formerly he had done, the *Neapolitans*: but they had lately taken in a *Roman* Garrison; upon confidence whereof they gave him a peremptory answer, to his discontent. Thence went he to *Nuceria*, which he took by composition; and so returned back again to *Nola*. He was not ignorant, what good affection the common people of *Nola* bore unto him: who although they durst not stir in his quarrell, being over-awed by the *Roman* Garrison; yet if they saw *Marcellus* hardly bestead, and forced to turn his care from watching them within, to repelling the enemies assailing him without, like enough it seemed, that they would not be wanting unto the accomplishment of their own desires. He therefore brought his Army close to the Town, and skirmished often with *Marcellus*: not in hope thereby to do much good, but only to make shew of a meaning to force the Town; which he sought in the mean while to take by intelligence. In the night time there passed messages between him and the Citizens his pertakers: whereby it was concluded, That if once *Marcellus*, with all his forces, could be trained into the field, the multitude within the Town should presently rise; and seizing upon the gates, exclude him as an Enemy. Of this Negotiation *Marcellus* was advertised: and fearing lest the Conspirators would shortly adventure, even to find him busied within the City, whilest the *Carthaginians* should scale the wals; he thought it the surest way, to cut off the Enemies hope, and send him away betimes. Wherefore ordering his men in three companies, within three several gates, looking towards the enemy: he gave a straight command, that all the Citizens should keep their houses. Thus he lay close a good part of the day, to the enemies great wonder, against whom he had customarily issued forth before more early, every day, to skirmish. But when it was further noted, that the wals were bare, and not a man appearing on them;



them; then thought *Hannibal*, that surely all was discovered, and *Marcellus* now busied with the Citizens. Whereupon he bad his men bring ladders, and make ready for the assault: which was done in all haste. But when the *Carthaginians* were at the very wals, and thought nothing less, than that the *Romans* would meet them in the field: suddenly the middle gate was opened, whereat *Marcellus*, with the best and oldest of his Souldiers, brake forth upon them, with a great noise, to make his unexpected sally the more terrible. Whilest the *Carthaginians*, much out of order, were some of them flying before *Marcellus*, the rest making head against him: the other two gates opened, whereat in like sort issued they of the new levied Companies, upon the enemies backs. The sudden terrour was more available unto the *Romans*, than their force; yet the Execution was so great, that this was accounted as a victory, and reputed one of the bravest Acts performed in all that War, forasmuch as hereby it was first proved, that *Hannibal* might be overcome. After this, *Marcellus* being freed from his enemies that were departed, took a strict account of the Citizens of *Nola*; condemning above threescore and ten of high Treason, whose heads he struck off; and so leaving the Town in quiet obedience unto their Senate, went and incamped hard by about *Suessula*. *Hannibal* in the mean season was gone to *Acerræ*: where being excluded, he thought it no wisdom to lose time in perswasions, but laid siege unto it, and began on all sides to close it up. This terrified the People, who knew themselves unable to hold out. Therefore before his Works were finished, & they quite surrounded; they stole out by night, and left him the Town empty: which he sacked and burnt. Then hearing news of the Dictator, that he was about *Casiline*, thither went *Hannibal*; as being unwilling that an enemy so near should disquiet him at *Capua*; where he meant to Winter. It seems, or rather indeed it is plain, that the late victory of *Marcellus* had nothing abated the spirit of the *Carthaginian*: who durst with a small part of his Army seek out the Dictator, that had with him the heart of the *Roman* strength. Wherefore the joy of his Enemies, upon so slight an occasion as the death of some two thousand of his men, at the most, and those not slain in plain battel, but by a sudden eruption; witnesseth chiefly, in what great fear they stood of *Hannibal*, and how Crest-fallen they were: that having three years since demanded at *Carthage* the body of *Hannibal*, to be delivered unto their pleasure, by his own Citizens; could now please themselves, as with good news, to hear, That in a skirmish not far from *Rome*, he appeared to be a man, and not resistless. At *Casilinum* the Dictator was not: but many Companies of *Italians*, Confederates of *Rome*, were gotten into the Town, and held it. Five hundred of the *Prænestines* there were, and about four hundred of *Perusia*, with some of the *Latines*. All these had the good hap, to come too late to the battel at *Cannæ*, being sent by their several States to the Camp: whither whilest they were marching the tidings of that great misfortune encountred them, and sent them back sorrowful; for they loved well their Lords the *Romans*, under whose government they lived happily. So came they all, one after another, to *Casiline*, where they met and stayed. Neither had they stayed there long, ere they heard news from *Capua*, How that great City became the Ring-leader of all the *Campanes* into rebellion. The people of *Casiline* were affected as they of *Capua*: and therefore sought how to rid their hands of those *Prænestines* and their fellows; but the Souldiers were too hard for them, and after many trains laid one for another, at last they slew all the Townsmen in a night, and fortified the Western part of the Town (for it was divided by the River *Vulturnus*) against the Enemy. If they had run away with the goods, and pretended, that these of *Casiline* were as the rest of the *Campanes*, all Traitors; they themselves might have been reputed, as no better than the *Mamertines*. But their constancy in defence of the place witnesseth, upon what honest reasons they surprised it. *Hannibal* came thither, thinking to have encountred with greater forces: but these few found him more work than he expected. Divers assaults he gave, but was still repelled with loss: and many sallies they made, with variable event. The Enemy mined; and they countermined: opposing so much industry to his force, that he was driven to close them up, and seek to win them by famine. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, that was Master of the horse, lay with the *Roman* Army higher up the River: who fain would have relieved *Casiline*, but that the Dictator being gone to *Rome* about some matters of Religion, had given him an express charge not to fight till his return. *Marcellus* from *Suessula* could not come: his way being stopped by the overflowings of *Vulturnus*; the *Nolans* also beseeching him not to leave them, who were in danger of the *Campanes*, if he departed. Thus it is reported: but if the water

ſtayed his journey, ſuch intreaties were needleſs. Neither is it like that the Dictator tarried at *Rome* ſo long, as till extream famine had conſumed the Garriſon in *Caſtline*. Wherefore it may be thought, that the Town was loſt, becauſe the *Romans* durſt not adventure to raiſe the ſiege. Barrels of corn were ſent by night, floting down the River; and when ſome of theſe, being carried awry by an Eddie of water, ſtuck among the Willows on the bank, whereby this manner of relief was diſcovered and prevented; *Gracchus* caſt a great quantity of Nuts into the ſtream, which faintly ſuſtained the poor beſieged men. At length when all food was ſpent, and whatſoever grew green under the Walls was gathered for Sallets, the *Carthaginians* ploughed up the ground; whereon the beſieged preſently ſowed Rape-ſeed. *Hannibal* ſeeing this, admired their patience; and ſaid, That he meant not to ſtay at *Caſtline* untill the Rapes were grown. Wherefore though hitherto he had refuſed to hearken unto any Compoſition, as intending to make them an example to all others, by puniſhing their obſtinacy; yet now he was content, to grant them their lives at an indifferent ranſome; which when they had paid, he quietly diſmiſſed them, according to his promiſe. Seven hundred *Carthaginians* he placed in *Caſtline*, as a Garriſon for defence of the *Campanes*; unto whom he reſtored it. To the *Præneſtine* Souldiers great thanks were given, and loving rewards; among which they had offer, in regard of their vertue, to be made Citizens of *Rome*. But their preſent condition pleaſed them ſo well, that they choſe rather to continue, as they were in *Præneſte*: which is no weak proof, of the good eſtate wherein the Cities flouriſhed, that were ſubject to the *Roman* Government. This ſiege of *Caſtline* was not a little beneficial to the *Romans*; as having long detained *Hannibal*, and conſumed much of his time, that might otherwiſe have been better ſpent. For winter overtook him long before he could diſpatch the buſineſs: which how to quit with his honour he knew not, when he was once engaged. Therefore he wintered at *Capua*: where he refreſhed his Army, or rather corrupted it, as all Hiſtorians report, and made it effeminate; though effeminate as it was, He therewithal did often beat the *Romans* in following times, as ſhall appear hereafter.

## §. X.

*of the great ſupply that was decreed at* Carthage, *to be ſent to* Hannibal *into* Italy. *How by the malice of* Hanno, *and ſloth or parſimony of the* Carthaginians, *the ſupply was too long deferred. That the riches of the* Carthaginians *grew faſter, than of the* Romans. *Of* Fabius *and other old* Roman *Hiſtorians, how partial they were in their writings.*

WHen *Mago*, the ſon of *Amilcar* had ſpent ſome time about the taking in ſuch *Italians*, as fell from the *Romans* after the battel at *Cannæ*; his brother *Hannibal* ſent for him to *Capua*, and thence diſpatched him away to *Carthage*, with the joyful meſſage of Victory. He told the *Carthaginian* Senate with how many *Roman* Generals his brother had fought, what Conſuls he had chaſed, wounded or ſlain; how the ſtout *Romans*, that in the former war never ſhunned any occaſion of fight, were now grown ſo calm, that they thought their Dictator *Fabius* the only good Captain, becauſe he never durſt adventure to come to battel; That not without reaſon their ſpirits were thus abated, ſince *Hannibal* had ſlain of them above two hundred thouſand, and taken above fifty thouſand priſoners. He further told them of the *Brutians*, *Apulians*, *Sammites*, *Lucans*, and other people of *Italy*, that followed the fortune of thoſe great victories, had revolted unto the *Carthaginians*. Among the reſt he magnified *Capua*, as a goodly City, and fit to be not only (as already it was) Head of all the *Capuans*, but the chief ſeat of their Dominion in *Italy*: and there he informed them, how lovingly his brother had been entertained, where he meant to reſt that winter attending their ſupply. As for the war, He ſaid it was even at an end, if they would now purſue it cloſely, and not give the *Romans* any breathing time, wherein to re-collect themſelves, and repair their broken forces. He willed them to conſider, that the war far from home, in the Enemies Countrey: that ſo many battels had much diminiſhed his brothers Army: that the Souldiers, who had ſo well deſerved, ought to be conſidered with liberal rewards; and that it was not good to burden their new *Italian* friends, with exactions of money, corn, and other neceſſaries; but that theſe things muſt be ſent from *Carthage*; which the victory would requite with large amends. Finally, he cauſed the golden rings, taken from the fingers of the *Roman* Knights that were ſlain, to



to be poured out openly in the Court: which being meaſured, filled (as ſome ſay) three buſhels; or (as others would rather have it) no more than one; adding, that by this might appear the greatneſs of the *Roman* calamity, for as much as none but the principal of that order, were accuſtomed to wear that ornament.

* Thus *Livie* reports it; and credible it is, that while *Rome* was poor, the bravery of private men was not altogether ſo great, as the Law would have permitted, though otherwiſe *Jus Annuli*, *The wearing of the Ring*, was the general privilege of the *Roman Equites*.

Who ſo conſiders the former *Punick-war*, may eaſily find, that the State of *Carthage* never did receive, in all the durance thereof, any ſuch hopeful advertiſements from their Captains abroad. Wherefore it is no marvel, if the errand of *Mago* found extraordinary welcome. In the vehemency of this joy, *Himilco*, a Senator adverſe to the faction of *Hanno*, is ſaid to have demanded of that great perſwader unto peace with *Rome*, Whether he were ſtill of opinion, that *Hannibal* ſhould be yielded up unto the *Romans*; or whether he would forbid them to give thanks unto the gods, for this their good ſucceſs. Hereunto though it be not likely that *Hanno* made the ſame formal anſwer, which *Livie* puts into his mouth, calling the *Carthaginian* Senators *Patres Conſcripti*, by a term proper to the *Romans*; and putting them in mind of his own ſhameful overthrow received at the Iſlands *Ægateis*: yet the ſum of his ſpeech appears to have been no leſs malicious than is ſet down, foraſmuch as *Hannibal* himſelf, at his departure out of *Italy*, exclaimed againſt the wickedneſs of this *Hanno*; ſaying that his hatred againſt the *Barchines*, had oppreſſed their Family, when otherwiſe it could not, with the ruine of *Carthage*. Therefore it may well be, that he made ſuch a jeſt of theſe victories, as is reported; ſaying, It ill beſeemed him, who had vanquiſhed the *Romans* to call for more help as if he had been beaten; or him, that had taken their camp, filled forſooth with ſpoil, to make requeſt for meat and money. To theſe cavils, if anſwer were needful, it might be ſaid, That other booty than of horſes and ſlaves, little was to be found in the *Roman* camp: the beſt of the Souldiers carrying no other wealth into the field, than a few * ſilver ſtuds in the bridles and trappings of their horſes. If *Hannibal* had taken any main convoy of money and proviſions, going to ſupply all wants of a great army in ſome other Province, (as the two *Scipio's* are afterwards ſaid to have done, when they wan the camp of *Aſdrubal*, that carryed along with him all the wealth of *Spain*, in his journey towards *Italy*) then might ſuch an objection more juſtly have been made unto his demand of a ſupply. But the moſt likely part of *Hanno* his Oration, and wherein he beſt might hope to prevail, contained a perſwaſion to uſe their fortune with moderation; and now to ſeek peace, whilſt they had ſo much the better in war.

* Liv. l. 22.

What would have been the iſſue of this counſel, if it had been followed, it were not eaſie to ſay. For though it be likely, that the *Roman* pride would have brooked much indignity, in freeing *Italy* from the danger of war; yet it is not likely, that the faith, ſo often broken to the *Carthaginians* in former times, would have been kept entire, when any opinion of good advantage had called for revenge of ſo many ſhameful overthrows; ſince after this war ended, and a new league concluded, no ſubmiſſive behaviour could preſerve *Carthage* from ruine, longer, than untill ſuch time as *Rome* was at leiſure from all other wars. This counſel therefore of *Hanno*, though it might ſeem temperate, was indeed very peſtilent; and ſerved only to hinder the performance of a noble reſolution. For it was concluded by a main conſent of the Senate, that forty thouſand *Numidians*, forty Elephants, and great abundance of ſilver, ſhould be ſent over to *Hannibal*: and that, beſides theſe, twenty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, ſhould be levied in *Spain*; not only to ſupply, as need ſhould require, the Armies in their Province, but to be tranſported into *Italy*.

This great Aid, had it been as carefully ſent, as it was readily decreed; the *Roman* Hiſtorians would not have found cauſe, to tax the retchleſs improvidence of *Hannibal*, in forbearing to march directly from *Cannæ* to *Rome*, or in refreſhing his Army among the delights of *Capua*: the next years work would have finiſhed the buſineſs, with leſs dangerous adventure; and the pleaſures, which his men enjoyed among the *Campanes*, would have been commended, as rewards by him well thought upon, wherewith to animate both them and others, that were to be imployed in the following War. But either the too much careleſneſs of thoſe, that were loth to make haſte in laying out their money, before extreme neceſſity required it; or the crafty malice of *Hanno*, and his fellows, working upon the private humours of men, that had more feeling of their own commodity, than ſenſe of the publick need; utterly perverted, and made unprofitable in the performance, the order that had been ſo well ſet down. The * Elephants were ſent: and ſome money peradventure, uncertain

* Liv. l. 26.

uncertain it is how long after. But thoſe great forces of threeſcore thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, came not into *Italy*, till much was loſt of that which already had been gotten, and a great part of the old *Carthaginian* Army, was firſt conſumed by time, and ſundry accidents of war. Only ſome ſmall numbers, no way anſwering unto the proportion decreed, were ſent into *Spain*; and the journey of *Aſdrubal* thence through *France* into *Italy* muck talked of, but he not enabled thereunto, till many years were paſt, and the *Romans* had recovered their ſtrength.

Here we may note, what great riches the *Carthaginians* drew into their City, both by the Tributes received from their ſubjects, and by their wealthy Trade of Merchandize. For it is not long, ſince the War of the Mercenaries, and the perfidious tyranny of the *Romans*, extorting in time of greateſt neceſſity twelve hundred talents; had exceedingly impoveriſhed *Carthage*: which was before brought into great want, even by the expence of ſo much money, as was to be diſburſed for redeeming of peace, after the loſs of *Ægateis*. Yet we ſee, what great Armies of *Numidians*, and *Spaniards*, beſides thoſe already on foot, are appointed to the ſervice in *Italy*, and how little the *Carthaginians* fear the want of money in theſe chargeable undertakings: whereas the *Romans* on the other ſide, having three or four years together been forced to ſome extraordinary coſt, are fain to go upon credit; even for the price of thoſe ſlaves, which they bought of their own Citizens to arm for their defence. Such advantage in means to enrich their Treaſury, had the wealthy Merchants of *Carthage*, trading in all parts of the *Mediterran* Sea, even from *Tyrus* their Mother-City in the bottom of the ſtraights unto the great Ocean, above the *Romans*: who lived on the fruits of their ground, and received their Tributes from people following the ſame courſe of life. When the time therefore was come, that the hatred of *Rome* found leiſure to ſhew it ſelf, in the deſtruction of *Carthage*; the impudence of *Roman* falſhood, in ſeeking an honeſt colour wherewith to ſhadow the intended breach of Faith, diſcovered plainly whence the jealouſie was bred, that this mighty City would again rebel. For the *Carthaginians*, having given up hoſtages, even before the *Roman* Army did ſet forth, to perform whatſoever ſhould be enjoyned them, with condition, that their City might not be deſtroyed; and having accordingly, when they were ſo required, yielded up all their weapons, and engines of War; the *Romans* told them plainly, That the City of *Carthage*, which was the body of the Citizens, ſhould be friendly dealt withal, but the Town muſt needs be demoliſhed, and removed into ſome other place, that ſhould be twelve miles diſtant from the Sea. For (ſaid the *Romans*) This Trade of Merchandice, by which ye now live, is not ſo fit for peaceable men, ſuch as ye promiſe to become hereafter, as is the Trade of Huſbandry; an wholeſome kind of life, and enduing men with many laudable qualities which enable their bodies, and make them very apt for converſation. This villainous dealing of the *Romans*, though ſugred with gloſing words, plainly ſhews, what good obſervation the elder *Cato* had made of the haſty growth of *Carthage* in riches. For, when being demanded his opinion in the Senate about any matter whatſoever it were, he added ſtill this concluſion, *Thus I think*, and *that Carthage ſhould be deſtroyed*; He may ſeem, not only to have had regard unto that preſent wealth, which at his being there he had found in the City, but much more unto theſe times, and the great height whereunto it roſe, even ſuddenly as we ſee, out of many calamities, whilſt the *Romans* thought, that it had not been in caſe to dare ſo terrible a War.

But as the *Carthaginians*, in gathering wealth, were more induſtrious and ſkilfull than the *Romans*; ſo came they far ſhort of them in the honourable care of the publick good: having every one, or moſt of them, a more principal regard of his own private benefit. This made them (beſides the negligence commonly found in victors) when the firſt heat of their affection (wherein they concluded to purſue the war ſtrongly) was over-paſt, go more leiſurely to work, than had been requiſite in the execution. It was eaſie for *Hanno* to perſwade covetous men, that they ſhould firſt of all defend their own in *Spain*. This might be done with little charges. Afterwards, when that Province was ſecured, they might ſend an Army into *Italy*; ſo going to work orderly by degrees. For it were no wiſdom to commit all the ſtrength of the Common-wealth to one hazzard of fortune, againſt the enemies, or (which perhaps were worſe) to the government of an ambitious man, and his brethren; who having once (if they could ſo do) finiſhed the war, might eaſily make * *Hannibal* a King, and ſubdue *Carthage*, with the forces that they had given him to the conqueſt of *Rome*.

By ſuch malicious working of *Hanno*, and by their own ſlackneſs, incredulity, dulneſs,

* Of ſuch ambition *Hanno* directly accuſed *Hannibal*, ſaying, that he made war that ſo he might live compaſſed with Legions, as knowing no other way to make himſelf a King. *Liv. l.* 21.



neſs, or niggardize, the *Carthaginians* were perſwaded rather to make ſmall diſburſments in *Spain*, than to ſet up all their reſt at once in *Italy*. Yet was it indeed impoſſible to hold a Country of ſo large extent, and ſo open a coaſt as that of *Spain*, free from all incurſion of the Enemy: eſpecially the affection of the Naturals being (as in a new conqueſt) ill eſtabliſhed. A better way therefore it had been, to make a running War, by which the *Romans* might have been found occupied, even with the ordinary *Carthaginian* Garriſons or ſome little addition thereunto. For if it were thought meet, to defer the proſecution of their main intendment againſt *Rome* it ſelf, untill ſuch time as every little thorn were pulled out of the ſides of ſo great a Province, then muſt *Emporiæ* have been beſieged and forced: which, by reaſon of alliance with the *Maſſilians*, gave unto the *Romans*, at all times when they pleaſed, a ready and ſecure Harbour. But the Town of *Emporiæ*, was too ſtrong to be won in haſte: it had long defended it ſelf againſt the *Barbarians*; having not above four hundred paces of wall to the main Land, and exceedingly well fortified: a great *Spaniſh* Town of the ſame name, lying without it, that was three miles in compaſs, very ſtrong likewiſe, and friend unto the *Græcians*, though not over much truſted. Wherefore to force this Town of *Emporiæ*, that was, beſides the proper ſtrength, like to be ſo well aſſiſted by the *Maſſilians*, *Romans*, and ſome *Spaniards*, would have been a work of little leſs difficulty, then was the *Roman* war (in appearance) after the battel at *Cannæ*: yea, it had been in effect none other, than to alter the ſeat of the war; which *Hannibal* had already fixed, with better judgement, near unto the gates of *Rome*. The difficulty of this attempt, being ſuch as cauſed it altogether to be forborn; great folly it was to be much troubled about expelling the *Romans* utterly out of *Spain*: whom they might more eaſily have diverted thence, and drawn home to their own doors, by making ſtrong war upon their City. For even ſo the *Romans* afterwards removed *Hannibal* into *Africk*, by ſending an Army to *Carthage*; and by taking the like courſe, they now endeavoured to change the ſeat of the war transferring it out of *Italy* into *Spain*. But the private affections of men, regarding the common good no otherwiſe, than as it is acceſſary to their own purpoſes, did make them eaſily wink at opportunities, and hope that ſomewhat would fall out well of it ſelf, though they ſet not to their helping hands. *Hanno* was a malicious wretch: yet they that thought him ſo, were well enough contented to hearken unto his diſcourſes, as long as they were plauſible, and tended to keep the purſe full. In the mean while they ſuffered *Hannibal*, and all the noble houſe of *Amilcar*, to weary themſelvs in travel for the Common-wealth: which all *Carthage* in general highly commended, but weakly aſſiſted; as if the induſtry of theſe *Barchines* had been ſomwhat more than needful. Surely the *Carthaginians*, in general, were far leſs honourable than the people of *Rome*: not only in government of their ſubject Provinces, but in adminiſtration of their own eſtate; few of them preferring the reſpect of the Weal-publick above their private intereſt. But as they thrived little in the end, by their parſimony uſed toward their own Mercenaries, when the former *Roman* war was finiſhed: ſo the concluſion of this war preſent, will make them complain, with feeling ſighs, of their negligence in ſupplying *Hannibal*, after the victory at *Cannæ*; when gladly they would give all their Treaſures, to redeem the opportunity, that now they let paſs, as if it were coſt enough to ſend a few handfuls into *Spain*.

That both the *Spaniſh* buſineſs, and the ſtate of *Africk* it ſelf, depended wholly, or for the moſt part, upon ſucceſs of things in *Italy*, the courſe of actions following will make manifeſt. Particularly, how matters were ordered in *Spain* by the *Carthaginian* Governours, it is very hard and almoſt impoſſible to ſet down. For, though we muſt not reprehend, in that worthy Hiſtorian *Livy*, the tender love of his own Countrey, which made him give credit unto *Fabius* & others; yet muſt we not, for his ſake, believe thoſe lyes, which the unpartial judgement of *Polybius* hath condemned, in the Writers that gave them original. It were needleſs to reherſe all that may be found in *Polybius*, concerning the untruth of that *Roman* Hiſtorian *Fabius*. One example may ſuffice. He ſaith of *Amilcar* and his men at *Eryx*, in the former war, That, having clean ſpent their ſtrength, and being even broken with many miſeries, they were glad to ſubmit themſelvs unto the *Romans*. Contrary hereunto we find in *the life of Amilcar*, ſet down by *Æmilius Probus*, That *Eryx* was in ſuch ſort held by the *Carthaginians*, that it ſeemed to be in as good condition, as if in thoſe parts there had not been any war. Theſe words, being referred to the brave reſolution of the *Carthaginian* ſouldiers, and the ſingular vertue of their General, infuſing ſuch ſpirit into them may be taken as not over liberal. For in the treaty of peace between *Amilcar* and *Catulus* when *Pol. lib.* 1.

the

the *Roman* first of all required, that this Garrison of *Eryx* should lay down their arms and forsake *Sicil*, threatning, that otherwise he would not talk of any composition: *Amilcar* boldly bade him chuse, whether he would talk of it or no; for that the Arms which his Country had put into his hands to use against her enemies, it was not his purpose to yield up unto them. Now since the *Romans*, contrary to their custom upon like advantages, were content to let *Amilcar* have his will, & not to stand with him upon point of honour, whilst otherwise they might quietly rid their hands of him: plain enough it is, that they were far from thinking him a man consumed with miseries, as *Fabius* would have him seem. Hereunto agrees the relation of *Polybius*: who flatly, and by name, chargeth *Fabius* with untruth; saying, That howsoever *Amilcar* and his Souldiers had endured all extremity, yet they behaved themselves as men that had no sense thereof; and were as far from being either vanquished or tyred, as were their Enemies. Such being the difference between *Fabius* (as also perhaps between other old Writers of the *Roman* story) and those that had more regard of truth, than of flattering the mighty City of *Rome*: we must take it in good part, that howsoever *Livie* introduceth *Hanno*, in one place, joyning very foolishly his own shameful overthrow at the Islands * *Ægateis*, with the great services of *Amilcar* at *Eryx*, as if both of them had had a like event; yet † elsewhere he forbeareth not to put a more likely tale (though with as impudent a commemoration of his own unhappy conduct) into the same *Hanno* his mouth, making him say, That the affairs of *Carthage* went never better, than a little before the loss of their Fleet in that battel at Sea; wherein himself was General. Now, concerning the doings of the *Scipio*'s in *Spain*, there is cause to wish, that this *Fabius*, with *Val. Antias*, and others of the like stamp, had either written (if they could not write more temperately) nothing at all; or that the tender affection of *Livie* to his *Rome*, had not caused him to think too well of their relations; which are such as follow.

* *Egateis insulas Erycemque ante oculos proponite, &c.* Liv. l. 21.
† Liv. l. 23.

## §. XI.

*Strange reports of the* Roman *victories in* Spain, *before* Asdrubal *the Son of* Amilcar *followed thence his Brother* Hannibal *into* Italy.

IT hath been shewed already, how *P. Cornelius Scipio* the Consul returning from *Gaul* into *Italy*, to encounter with *Hannibal* at his descent from the *Alps*, sent before him his Brother *Cneus*, with part of his Fleet and Army, into *Spain*. Two *Roman* Legions, with fourteen thousand foot of the Confederates, and twelve hundred horse, had been allotted unto the Consul, therewith to make war in *Spain* against *Hannibal*; who, since he was marching into *Italy* with the strength of his Army, *P. Scipio* believed, that a good part of these his own forces might well be spared from the *Spanish* Expedition; and therefore made bold to carry some of the number back with him, sending on his Brother with the rest, as his Lieutenant. *Publius* himself remained in *Italy* all the time of his Consulship; which being expired, he was sent Proconsul into *Spain* by the Senate, with an Army of eight thousand men, and a Fleet of thirty Gallies.

The Acts of these two Brethren in their Province, were very great; and, as they are reported, somewhat marvellous. For they continually prevailed in *Spain*, against the *Carthaginians*; whom they vanquished in so many battels, and withdrew from their Alliance so many of the *Spaniards* their Confederates, that we have cause to wonder how the enemy could so often find means to repair his forces, and return strong into the field. But as the *Romans*, by pretending to deliver the Country from the tyranny of *Carthage*, might easily win unto their Confederacy, as many as were galled with the *African* yoke, and durst adventure to break it: so the ancient reputation of the first Conquerors might serve to arm the Naturals against these Invaders, and to reclaim those that had revolted unto the *Romans*, were it only by the memory of such ill successe, as the like rebellions in former times had found. Hereto may be added the *Carthaginian* Treasure; which easily raised Souldiers, among those valiant (but in that Age) poor, and gold-thirsty Nations. Neither was it of small importance, that so many of the *Spaniards* had their children, kinsmen, and friends, abroad with *Hannibal* in his *Italian* Wars; or serving the *Carthaginians* in *Africk*. And peradventure, if we durst be bold to say it, the victories of the *Scipio*'s were neither so many, nor so great as they are set out by *Livie*. This we may be bold to say, that the great Captain *Fabius*, or *Livie* in his person, maketh an objection unto *Scipio*, which neither *Scipio*, nor *Livie* for him, doth answer. That *if* Asdrubal *were vanquished, as* Scipio *would say by him in* Spain: *strange it was, and as little to his honour, as it had been extremely dangerous to* Rome, *that*



*that the same vanquished man should invade Italy.* And it is indeed an incredible narration, That *Asdrubal*, being enclosed on all sides, and not knowing how to escape out of battel, save only by the steep descent of Rocks, over a great River that lay at his back, ran away with all his mony, Elephants, & broken troops, over *Tagus*, directly towards the *Pyrenees*, and so toward *Italy*; upon which he fell with more than threescore thousand armed Souldiers. Neither do I see, how it hangs well together, That he chose a piece of ground very defensible, but most incommodious for his retrait, if he should happen to be vanquished; and yet, that he sent all his mony and Elephants away before him, as not intending to abide the enemy: Or how it could be true, that these his Elephants, being so sent before, could hinder the *Romans* (for so have they said to have done in the last battel between him and *Scipio*) from breaking into his Camp. Wherefore we can no more than be sorry, that all *Carthaginian* records of this War, and *Spanish*, (if there were any) being utterly lost, we can know no more thereof, than what it hath pleased the *Romans* to tell us; unto whom it were no wisdom to give too much credit. In this regard, I will summarily run over the doings of the *Scipio*'s in *Spain*, not greatly insisting on particulars, whereof there is no great certainty.

*Cn. Cornelius* landed at *Emporiæ*, an Haven Town, not far within the *Pyrenees*, retaining still the same name with little inflexion. That by the fame of his clemency he allured many Nations to become subject unto *Rome*, as the story begins of him, I could easily believe, if I understood by what occasion they had need to use his clemency, or he to give such famous example thereof, being a meer stranger, and having no jurisdiction in the Country. Yet it is certain, that he was a man very courteous, and one that could well insinuate himself into the love of the *Barbarians*, among whom, his dexterity in practice had the better success, for that he seemed to have none other errand than setting them at liberty. This pretext availed with some: others were to be hired with mony: and some he compelled to yield by force or fear; especially when he had won a battel against *Hanno*. Into all Treaties of Accord, made with these people, likely it is, that he remembred to insert this Article, which the *Romans* in their Alliances never forgat, unless in long times past, and when they dealt with the *Carthaginians*, or their Superiours; *Majestatem Pop. Rom. comiter conservent*, which is, as *Tully* interprets it, *That they should gently* (or *kindly*) *uphold the Majesty of the People of Rome.* This was in appearance nothing troublesome; yet implied it indeed an obscure covenant of subjection. And in this respect it may be true, That the *Spaniards* became *ditionis Romanæ, of the Roman jurisdiction*; though hereafter they will say, they had no such meaning. That part of the Country wherein *Scipio* landed, was newly subdued by *Hannibal* in his passage toward *Italy*; and therefore the more easily shaken out of obedience. particularly in the *Bargutians*; *Hannibal* had found at his coming among them such an apprehension of the *Roman* greatness, as made him suspect, that any light occasion would make them start from the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore he not only appointed *Hanno* Governour over them, as over the rest of the Province between *Iberus* and the *Pyrenees*, but made him also their *Lord*; that is, (as I conceive it; for I do not think he gave the Principality of their Country unto *Hanno* and his Heirs) he made him not only Lieutenant-general over them, in matters of War, and things concerning the holding them in obedience to *Carthage*; but took from them all inferiour Officers of their own, leaving them to be governed by *Hanno* at his discretion. These therefore had good cause to rejoyce at the coming of *Scipio*; with whom, others also (no doubt) found reasons to joyn; it being the custom of all conquered Nations in hatred of their present Lords, to throw themselves indiscreetly into the protection of others, that many times prove worse than the former. So were the *Neapolitans*, and *Milanois*, in the age of our Grand-fathers, weary by turns of the *Spaniards* and *French*; as more sensible still of the present evil which they felt, than regardful of the greater mischief, whereinto they ran by seeking to avoid it. This bad affection of this Province, would not suffer *Hanno* to temporize. Ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, *Hannibal* had left unto him: besides which, it is like, that some forces he was able to raise out of his Province. Therefore he adventured a battel with *Scipio*, wherein he was overthrown and taken. Following this victory, *Scipio* besieged *Stissum*, a Town hard by, and won it. But *Asdrubal* having passed *Iberus*, and coming too late to the relief of *Hanno*, with eight thousand foot, and a thousand horse, fell upon the *Roman* Sea-forces, that lay not far from *Tarracon*, whom he found careless, as after a victory, roaving abroad in the Country; and with great slaughter drave them aboard their ships. This done, he

Liv. lib. 21.

Pol. lib. 3.

Cæs. pro Cn. Balbo.

ran up into the Country, where he withdrew the *Ilergetes* from the *Roman* party, though they had given Hoſtages to *Scipio*. *Scipio* in the mean ſeaſon was gone to viſit and aid his Fleet; where having ſet things in order, he returned back, and made toward *Aſdrubal*; who durſt not abide his coming, but withdrew himſelf again over *Iberus*. So the *Ilergetes* were compelled by force, having loſt *Athanagia* their chief City, to pay a fine to the *Romans*, and increaſe the number of their Hoſtages. The *Auſetani* likewiſe, Confederates of the *Carthaginians*, were beſieged in their chief Town; which they defended thirty days; hoping, in vain, that the ſharp Winter, and great abundance of Snow that fell, would have made the *Romans* to diſlodge. But they were fain at length to yield; and for this their obſtinacy, they were amerced twenty talents of ſilver. During the ſiege, the *Lacetani* came to help their diſtreſſed neighbours; and were beaten home by *Scipio*, leaving twelve thouſand of their Company dead behind them. I cannot but wonder how theſe *Lacetani*, that are ſaid to be the firſt which embraced the friendſhip of *Scipio*, ſhould, without any cauſe remembred, become *Carthaginian* on the ſudden, in the next news that we hear of them. As alſo it is ſtrange, that all the Sea-coaſt Northward of *Iberus*, having lately become voluntarily *ditionis Romanæ, ſubject unto Rome*, ſhould, in continuance of the Story, after a few lines, hold war againſt *Scipio*, without any reſiſtance of the *Carthaginians*. Neither can I believe, that *Aſdrubal*, as it were by a charm, ſtirred up the *Ilergetes*, making them lay aſide all care of their Hoſtages, and take Arms in his quarrel; whilſt himſelf had not the daring to ſtand againſt *Scipio*, but ran away, and ſaved himſelf beyond *Iberus*. *Philinus* perhaps, or ſome *Carthaginian* Writer, would have told it thus: That *Scipio* adventuring too far into the Country, was beaten by *Aſdrubal* back to his ſhips, whence he durſt not ſtir until Winter came on: at what time the *Carthaginian* returned into the heart of his Province, leaving ſome few Garriſons to defend thoſe places, that after *Scipio* won, by returning upon them, unlooked for through a deep Snow. As for the *Lacetani*, *Ilergetes*, and the reſt, we may reaſonably think, that they ſought their own benefit; helping themſelves one while by the *Romans* againſt the *Carthaginians*; and contrariwiſe, upon ſenſe of injuries received, or apprehenſion of more grievous tyranny, under which they feared to be brought by theſe new Maſters, hearkning again unto the comfortable promiſes of thoſe that had ruled them before. For that it was their intent to live under their own Country Laws, and not under Governours ſent from *Rome* or *Carthage*, their demeanour in all Ages following may teſtifie: even from henceforth unto the daies of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, till when they were never thorowly conquered.

Liv. lib. 21.

The year following this, *Cn. Scipio* had a victory againſt the *Carthaginians* in fight at Sea; or rather came upon them unlooked for, while they rode at Anchor, moſt of their men being on ſhore. All their ſhips, that ran not too far on ground, he took; and thereby grew Maſter of the whole coaſt; landing at pleaſure, and doing great hurt in all places that were not well defenced. After this victory, above one hundred and twenty Nations, or petty Eſtates in *Spain*, are ſaid to have ſubmitted themſelves unto the *Romans*, or given Hoſtages; whereby *Aſdrubal* was compelled to flye into the uttermoſt corners of the Land, and hide himſelf in *Luſitania*. Yet it follows, that the *Ilergetes* did again rebel; that *Aſdrubal* hereupon came over *Iberus*; and that *Scipio* (though having eaſily vanquiſhed the *Ilergetes*) went not forth to meet him, but ſtirred up againſt him the *Celtiberians*, that lately were become his ſubjects, and had given him Hoſtages. Theſe took from the *Carthaginians* three Towns, and vanquiſhed him in two battels; wherein they ſlew fifteen thouſand of his men, and took four thouſand priſoners. Then arrived *P. Scipio*, with the ſupply before mentioned: and henceforward the two Brethren joyntly adminiſtred the buſineſs in *Spain*.

The *Carthaginians* being occupied in the *Celtiberian War*; the two *Scipio*'s did *haud cunctanter, without both fear or doubt*, paſs over *Iberus*, and beſieged *Saguntum*. Little cauſe of doubt had they, if *Cn.* had already ſubdued many Nations beyond it; and, among many other, the ſame *Celtiberians*, that with their proper forces were able to vanquiſh *Aſdrubal*. *Boſtar*, the Governor of *Saguntum*, a ſimple man, ſuffered himſelf to be perſwaded by one *Acedux* a *Spaniard*, that the only way to get the favour and hearty good will of the Country, was by freely reſtoring unto them their Hoſtages; as reſting without any pledge, aſſured of their faith. But the crafty *Spaniard*, being truſted with this meſſage and reſtitution of the Hoſtages, carried them all to the *Roman* General; perſwading them, as he had done *Boſtar*, to make the Liberality their own. Hereby the *Romans* purchaſed much love, if the



if the tale were true; and if it were not rather true, as afterward, and ere this we find that all the *Spaniſh* Hoſtages were left in new *Carthage*. I am weary of rehearſing ſo many particularities, whereof I can believe ſo few. But ſince we find no better certainties, we muſt content our ſelves with theſe.

The year following was like unto this: *Aſdrubal* muſt be beaten again. The two *Scipio*'s divide their forces: *Cn.* makes war by Land, *P.* by Sea. *Aſdrubal*, with much labour and entreaty, hath gotten four thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe out of *Africk*: He repairs his Fleet, and provides every way to make reſiſtance. But all his chief Sea-men, and Maſters of his Ships, revolt unto the *Romans*; becauſe they had been chidden the laſt year for their negligence, which had betrayed the Navy. The revolt of theſe ſhip-maſters animates to rebellion the *Carpetians*, or *Carpetani*, an Inland people about *Toledo*, in the very Center of *Spain*. Theſe do much miſchief, ſo that *Aſdrubal* is fain to make a journey to them. His ſudden coming cuts off ſome of them, that were found ſcattered abroad in the fields. But they, making a head, ſo valiantly aſſail him, that they drive him for very fear, to encamp himſelf ſtrongly on an high piece of ground; whence he dares not come forth to give them battel. So they take a Town by force, wherein he had laid up all his proviſions; and ſhortly make themſelves Maſters of the Country round about. This good ſucceſs breeds negligence; for which they dearly pay. *Aſdrubal* comes upon them, takes them unprepared, beats them, kills the moſt of them, and diſperſeth the reſt; ſo that the whole Nation yieldeth to him the next day. Then come directions from *Carthage*, that *Aſdrubal* ſhould lead his Army forth into *Italy*; which we may wonder why the *Carthaginians* would appoint him to do, if they had been informed by his letters in what hard caſe he was; and had ſo weakly ſupplyed him, as is ſhewed before. But thus we find it reported; and that upon the very rumour of this his journey, almoſt all *Spain* was ready to fall to the *Romans*. *Aſdrubal* therefore preſently ſends word to *Carthage*, That this muſt not be ſo: or, if they will needs have it ſo, that then they muſt ſend him a ſucceſſor, and well attended with a ſtrong Army, which to imploy they ſhould find work more than enough; ſuch notable men were the *Roman* Generals. But the Senate of *Carthage* is not much moved with this excuſe; *Aſdrubal* muſt needs be gone: *Himilco*, with ſuch forces as are thought expedient for that ſervice, both by Land and Sea, is ſent to take the charge of *Spain*. Wherefore *Aſdrubal* hath now no more to do, than to furniſh himſelf with ſtore of money, that he might have wherewithall to win the friendſhip of the *Gauls*; through whoſe Countries he muſt paſs, as *Hannibal* had done before him. The *Carthaginians* were greatly to blame, for not remembring to eaſe him of his care. But ſince it can be no better, he layes great Impoſitions upon all the *Spaniards* his ſubjects: and having gotten together as much treaſure as he could, onward he marcheth toward *Iberus*. The *Scipio*'s hearing theſe news, are careful how to arreſt him on the way. They beſiege *Iberæ* (ſo called of the Rivers name running by it) the richeſt Town in all thoſe quarters, that was confederate with *Aſdrubal*; who thereupon ſteps aſide to relieve it. The *Romans* meet him, and fight a battel with him; which they win the more eaſily, for that the *Spaniards*, his followers, had rather be vanquiſhed at home, than get the victory, and afterwards be haled into *Italy*. Great numbers are ſlain; and few ſhould have eſcaped, but that the *Spaniards* ran away ere the battels were fully joyned. Their Camp the *Romans* take and ſpoil; whereby (queſtionleſs) they are marvelloully enriched; all the mony that could be raked together in *Spain* being carried along in this *Italian* Expedition. This dayes event joyns all *Spain* to the *Romans*, if any part of the Country ſtood in doubt before; and puts *Aſdrubal* ſo far from all thought of travelling into *Italy*, that it leaves him ſmall hope of keeping himſelf ſafe in *Spain*. Of theſe exploits advertiſment is ſent to *Rome*, and Letters to the Senate, from *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, whereof the Contents are, That they have neither mony, apparel, nor bread; wherewith to ſuſtain their Army and Fleet; That all is wanting: ſo as unleſs they may be ſupplied from *Rome*, they can neither hold their forces together, nor tarry any longer in the Province. Theſe Letters come to *Rome* in an evil ſeaſon; the State being ſcarcely able, after the loſs at *Cannæ*, to help it ſelf at home. Yet relief is ſent; how hardly, and how much to the commendations of that love and care, which the private Citizens of *Rome* bare unto the Common-wealth, ſhall be inſerted elſewhere into the relation of things, whereof the truth is leſs queſtionable. At the coming of this ſupply, the two *Scipio*'s purſue *Aſdrubal*, and hunt him out of his lurking holes. What elſe can we think, that remember the laſt news of him, and how fearfully he miſtruſted his own ſafety? They find him, and *Mago* and *Amilcar* the Son of *Bomilcar*, with an

Liv. lib. 22.

Army of threescore thousand men, besieging *Illiturgi*: (which the learned *Ortelius*, and others probably conjecture to have stood, where *Carinnena* is now in the Kingdom of *Aragon*; for there was *Illiturgis*, afterwards called *Forum Julii*, quite another way) a Town of the *Illergetes* their nearest Neighbours, for having revolted unto the *Romans*. The Town is greatly distressed; but most of all, for want of victuals. The *Romans* therefore brake through between the Enemies Camps, with terrible slaughter of all that resisted them: & having victualled the place, incourage Townsmen to defend their wals as stoutly, as they should anon behold them fighting manfully with the besiegers, in their behalf. So they issue forth, about sixteen thousand against threescore thousand: and killing more of the enemies, than themselves were in num-
Livius. ber, drave all the three *Carthaginian* Commanders, every one out of his quarter; and took that day, besides prisoners and other booty, fifty and eight Ensignes.

The *Carthaginian* Army, being thus beaten from *Illiturgi*, fall upon *Incibili*, that stood a little Southward from the mouth of *Iberus*. The *Spaniards* are blamed, as too greedy of earning money by war, for thus re-inforcing the broken *Carthaginians*. But it may be wondred, whence the *Carthaginians* had money to pay them: since *Asdrubal* was lately driven to poll the Country, wanting money of his own; and being beaten in his journey, had lost his wealthy carriages when his Camp was taken after the battel by *Iberus*. Howsoever it happens, the *Carthaginians* (according to their custome) are beaten again at *Incibili*: where there were of them above thirteen thousand slain, and
Liv. ibid. above three thousand taken; besides two and forty Ensigns, and nine Elephants. After this, (in a manner) all the people of *Spain* fell from them unto the *Romans*. Thus could *Fabius*, *Valerius*, *Antius*, or some other Historian, to whom *Livy* gave credit, conquer all *Spain* twice in one year, by winning famous victories; whereof these good Captains, *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, perhaps were not aware.

The *Romans* notwithstanding this large access of Dominion, winter on their own side of *Iberus*. In the beginning of the next year, great Armies of the *Spaniards* rise against *Asdrubal*; and are overthrown by him. *P. Scipio*, to help these his friends, is forced to make great haste over the River. At *Castrum Altum*, a place in the mid-way between new *Carthage* and *Saguntum*, famous by the death of the great *Amilcar*, *Publius Scipio* incampeth: and stores the place with victuals, being strong and defensible; as intending to make it his seat for a while. But the Country round about is too full of Enemies: the *Carthaginian* horse have charged the *Romans* in their march, and are gone off clear; falling also upon some straglers, or such as lagged behind their fellows in march, they have cut off two thousand of them. Hereupon it is thought behoveful, to retire unto some place more assured. So *Publius* withdraws himself unto *Mons victoriæ*: that rising somewhat Eastward from *Incibili*, overlooketh the Southern Out-let of *Iberus*. Thither the *Carthaginians* pursue him: His brother *Cn.* repairs unto him; and *Asdrubal* the son of *Gesco*, with a full Army, arrives to help his Companions. As they lie thus near incamped together, *P. Scipio* with some light-armed, going closely to view the places thereabouts, is discovered by the enemies: who are like to take him, but that he withdraws himself to an high piece of ground; where they besiege him, until his brother *Cn.* fetcht him off. After this (but I know not why) *Castulo*, a great city of *Spain*, whence *Hannibal* had taken him a wife, joyneth with the *Romans*; though being far distant from them, and seated on the head of the River *Bætis*. Nevertheless the *Carthaginians* pass over *Iberus*, to besiege *Illiturgi* again, wherein lodgeth a *Roman* garrison; hoping to win it by famine. We may justly wonder, what should move them to neglect the rebellion of *Castulo*, yea and the *Roman* Army lying so close by them, and to seek adventures further off, in that very place, wherein they had been so grievously beaten the year before. But thither they go: and thither follows them *Cn. Scipio* with one Legion: who enters the Town by force, breaks out upon them the next day, and in two battels kills above twelve thousand, and takes more than a thousand of them prisoners, with six and thirty Ensigns. This victory (doubtless) is remarkable: considering that the greatest *Roman* Legion at this time, consisted of no more than five thousand men. The vanquished *Carthaginians* besiege *Bigarra*: but that siege is also raised by *Cn. Scipio*. Thence the *Carthaginians* remove to *Manda*; where the *Romans* are soon at their heels. There is a great battel fought, that lasteth four hours, wherein the *Romans* get a notable victory: and a more notable would have gotten, had not *Cn. Scipio* been wounded. Thirty nine Elephants are killed, and twelve thousand men; three thousand prisoners taken, and seven and fifty Ensigns. The *Carthaginians* flie to *Auringes*;



*Auringes*; and the *Romans* pursue them. *Cn. Scipio* in a Litter is carried into the field, and vanquished the *Carthaginians* again; but kils not half so many of them, as before; good cause why, for there are *fewer* of them left to fight. Notwithstanding all these over-
Livius. throws, the *Spaniards*, a people framed even by nature to set war on foot, quickly fill up the broken troops of *Asdrubal*, who having also hired some of the *Gauls*, adventures once more to try his fortune with the *Romans*. But he is beaten again: and loseth eight thousand of his men; besides Prisoners, Elephants, Ensigns, and other appurtenances. After so many victories, the *Romans* are even ashamed to leave *Saguntum* enthralled unto the *Carthaginians*; since, in behalf of that City, they had at first entred into this war. And well may we think it strange, that they had not recovered it long before, since we may remember, that long before this they had won all the Countrey once and again. But it must not be forgotten, that they had ere now besieged *Saguntum*; and were fain (as appears) to go their way without it: so as they need not to blush, for having so long forborn to do that, which ere now they had attempted, but were unable to perform. At the present they won *Saguntum*: and restored the possession thereof unto such of the poor dispersed Citizens as they can find out. They also waste and destroy the Countrey of the *Turdetani*, that had ministred unto *Hannibal* matter of quarrel against the *Saguntines*. This last action (questionless) was much to their honour; and wherein we may be assured, that the *Carthaginians* would have disturbed them if they had been able.

But overlooking now this long continuance of great victories, which the *Romans* have gotten in *Spain*, other print or token of all their brave exploits, we can perceive none, than this recovery of *Saguntum*: excepting the stopping of *Asdrubals* journey; which was indeed of greatest importance, but appertaining to their own defence. For they have landed at *Emporiæ*, an Haven Town, built and peopled by a Colony of the *Phocæans*, kin to the *Massilians*, friends to the *Romans*; They have easily won to their party, lost, recovered, and lost again, some petty bordering Nations of the *Spaniards*, that are carried one while by perswasion, other-whiles by force, & sometimes by their own unsettled passions; and now finally they have won a Town, whereof the *Carthaginians* held entire possession, who had rooted out the old inhabitants. Wherefore we may easily believe, that when they took *Saguntum* (if they took it not by surprise; which is to be suspected, since in this Action we find no particulars remembred, as when the same place was taken by *Hannibal*) they had gotten the better of their Enemies in some notable fight. In like sort also must we think, that all those battails lately remembred, after every one of which *Asdrubal* sate down before some place, that had rebelled, or seemed ready to rebel, were prosperous unto the *Carthaginians*. For it is not the custome of Armies vanquished, to carry the war from Town to Town, and beleaguer Cities of their Enemies; but to fortifie themselves within their own places of strength, and therein to attend the levy and arrival of new supplies. And surely, if the *Romans* had been absolute Masters of the field, when they won *Saguntum*, they would not have consumed a whole year following, in practising only with the *Celtiberians* the next adjoyning people. Yet made they this, little less than two years business. Of these *Celtiberians* we hear before, That they had yielded up themselves unto the *Romans*; for security of their faith, given Hostages to *Scipio*; and, at his appointment, made war against the *Carthaginians*, with their proper forces. Wherefore it is strange, that they are now thus hardly wrought; and not without express condition of a great summ, hired to serve in the *Roman* camp. How this may hold together I cannot perceive; unless perhaps in those days it were the *Roman* custome, or rather the custome of some bad Author whom *Livy* follows, to call every messenger, or straggler, that entred that camp, an Hostage of that people from whom he came.

The *Celtiberians* at length, hired with great rewards, send an Army of thirty thousand to help the *Romans*: out of which, 3000. of the fittest men are chosen, and carried into *Italy*, there to deal with their Countrey-men that follow *Hannibal* in his wars. But if any of these three hundred return back into *Spain*, it is to be feared, that he brings with him such news of the riches and welfare of *Hannibals* men, that all his fellows at home are the less unwilling to follow *Asdrubal*, when he shall next have a desire to lead them into *Italy*. Hereof we find more than probability, when these mercenary *Celtiberians* meet the *Carthaginian* Army in the field. The two *Scipio's*, presuming on this access of strength, divide their forces, and seek out the Enemies, who lie not far off with three Armies. *Asdrubal* the son of *Amilcar*, is nearest at hand; even among the *Celtiberians*, at *Anitorgis*:

With

With him *Cn. Scipio* doubts not to take good order: but the fear is, that this one part of the *Carthaginian* forces being destroyed; *Mago*, the Son of *Gesco*, hearing the news, will make use of their distance, which is five dayes march, and, by running into the furthest part of the Country save themselves from being overtaken. *Publius* therefore must make the more haste, and take with him the better Souldiers, that is, two parts of the old *Roman* Army, leaving the third part, and all the *Celtiberians*, to his Brother. He that hath the longer journey to make, comes somewhat the sooner to his lives end. *Mago* and *Asdrubal*, the Son of *Gesco*, are not studying how to run away: they find no such necessity. They joyn their forces together, meet with *Publius Scipio*, and lay at him so hardly, that he is driven to keep himself close within his Trenches; wherein he thinks himself not well assured. Especially he is vexed by *Masanissa*, Prince of the *Massæsyli*, *Numidians*, bordering upon *Mauritania*, in the Region called now *Tremizen*: to whom the chief honour of this service is ascribed, for that he becomes afterward Confederate with the *Romans*. In this dangerous case, *P. Scipio* gets intelligence, that *Indibilis* a *Spanish* Prince, is coming with seven thousand and five hundred of the *Suessetani*, to joyn with his Enemies. Fearing therefore to be strait shut up, and besieged, he issues forth by night, to meet with *Indibilis* upon the way, leaving *T. Fonteius* his Lieutenant, with a small company to defend the Camp. He meets with *Indibilis*, but is not able, according to his hope, to defeat him at the first incounter. The fight continues so long, that the *Numidian* horse appear (whom he thought to have been ignorant of his departure) and fall upon the *Romans* on all sides: neither are the *Carthaginians* far behind; but come so fast upon him in a Rear, that *P. Scipio*, uncertain which way to turn, yet fighting and animating his men, where need most requireth, is struck thorow with a lance, and slain: very few of his Army escaping the same destiny, through benefit of the dark night. The like end hath *Cn. Scipio* within nine and twenty daies after. At his meeting with *Asdrubal*, the *Celtiberian* Mercenaries all forsake him, pretending that they had war in their own Country. If *Anitorgis*, where *Asdrubal* then lay, were, as *Ortelius* following *Beuterus* takes it, a *Celtiberian* Town; this was no vain pretence, but an apparent truth. But we may justly believe, that they were won by *Asdrubal*, and easily perswaded to take as much mony for not fighting, as they should have had for hazarding their lives. *C. Scipio* therefore being unable to stay them, and no less unable, without their help, either to resist the enemy, or to joyn with his Brother, maketh a very violent retrait; herein only differing from plain flight, that he keeps his men together. *Asdrubal* presseth hard upon him: and *Mago*, with *Asdrubal* the Son of *Gesco*, having made an end of *Publius*, hasten to dispatch his Brother after him. *Scipio* steals from them all by night, but is overtaken the next day by their horse, and arrested, in an open place of hard stony ground, where grows not so much as a shrub, unfit for defence of his Legions against such enemies. Yet a little Hill he finds of easie ascent on every side; which he takes for want of a more commodious place, and fortifies with pack-saddles, and other luggage, for default of a better Pallisado. These weak defences the *Carthaginians* soon tear in sunder: and, breaking in on all hands, leave very few of them alive; that saving themselves, I know not how, within some woods adjoyning, escape unto *T. Fonteius*, whom *Publius* had left in his Camp, as is before said. It is a terrible overthrow, they say, out of which no man escapes. Yet, how they that were thus hemmed in on every side, in so bare a ground as afforded not a shrub to cover them, could break out, and shrowd themselves within woods adjoyning, I should much wonder; did not a greater miracle following call away mine attention. *T. Fonteius* is in *P. Scipio*'s Camp, on the North side of *Iberus*, fearful (as may be supposed) of his own life; since his General, with two parts of the *Roman* Army, had little hope to remain long safe within it. Thither comes *L. Martius*, a young *Roman* Gentleman of a notable spirit; who having gathered together the scattered Souldiers, and drawn some Companies out of their Garrisons, makes a pretty Army. The Souldiers, being to chuse a General by most voices, preferr this *L. Martius* before *Fonteius* the Lieutenant, as well they may. For *Asdrubal* the Son of *Gesco*, coming upon them; this *L. Martius* so encourageth his men (fondly weeping when he led them forth, upon remembrance of their more honourable Generals lately slain) and admonisheth them of their present necessity, that he beats the *Carthaginians* into their Trenches. A notable victory perhaps he might have gotten, but that he wisely sounds the retrait; reserving the fury of his Souldiers to a greater occasion. The *Carthaginians* are at first amazed, and wonder whence this new boldness grows, in enemies lately vanquished,



vanquished, and now again little better than taken: but when they see, that the *Roman* dares not follow his advantage, they return to their former security; and, utterly despising him, set neither *Corps de garde* nor Sentinel, but rest secure, as if no enemy were near. *Martius* therefore animates his Souldiers with lively words; and tells them, That there is no adventure more safe, than that which is furthest from suspition of being undertaken. They are soon perswaded to follow him, in any desperate piece of service. So he leads them forth by night, and steals upon the Camp of *Asdrubal*; where, finding no guard, but the enemies fast asleep, or very drowsie, he enters without resistance, fires their Cabbins, and gives a terrible alarm; so that all affrighted the *Carthaginians* run head-long one upon another, they know not which way. All passages out of their Camp, *Martius* hath prepossessed, so that there is no way to escape, save by leaping down the Rampart; which as many do, as can think upon it, and run away toward the Camp of *Asdrubal* the Son of *Amilcar*, that lay six miles off. But *Martius* hath way-laid them. In a Valley between their two Camps he hath bestowed a *Roman* cohort, and I know not what number of Horse; so that into this Ambush they fall every one, and are cut in pieces. But, lest perchance any should have escaped, and give the alarm before his coming; *Martius* hastens to be there as soon as they. By which diligent speed, he comes early in the morning upon this further Camp; which with no great difficulty he enters, and partly by apprehension of danger which the Enemies conceived, when they beheld the *Roman* shields, foul, and bloodied with their former execution, he drives head-long into flight, all that can save themselves from the fury of the sword. Thirty seven thousand of the enemies perish in this nights work; besides a thousand eight hundred and thirty, taken prisoners. Hereunto *Valerius Antius* adds, that the Camp of *Mago* was also taken, and seven thousand slain; and that in another battel with *Asdrubal*, there were slain ten thousand more; besides four thousand three hundred and thirty taken prisoners. Such is the power of some Historians. *Livie* therefore hath elsewhere well observed, That there is none so intemperate, as *Valerius Antius*, in multiplying the numbers that have fallen in battels. That, whilst *Martius* was making an Oration to his Souldiers, a flame of fire shone about his head, *Livie* reports as a common tale, not giving thereto any credit: and temperately concludeth, That this Captain *Martius* got a great name; which he might well do, if with so small forces, and in such distress, he could clearly get off from the Enemies, and give them any parting blow, though it were far less than that which is here set down.

Of these occurrents *L. Martius* sent word to *Rome*, not forgetting his own good service, whatsoever it was, but setting it out in such wise, as the Senate might judge him worthy to hold the place of their Vicegerent in *Spain*: which the better to intimate unto them, he stiled himself Propretor. The Fathers were no less moved with the tydings than the case required; and therefore took such careful order, for supplying their forces in *Spain*, that although *Hannibal* came to the gates of *Rome*, ere the Companies levied to serve that Province, could be sent away; yet could they not stay a tyde for defence of the City it self, but shipped them in all haste for *Spain*. As for the title of Propretor, which *Martius* had assumed, they thought it too great for him, and were offended at his presumption in usurping it: foreseeing well, that it was a matter of ill consequence, to have the Souldiers abroad make choice among themselves, of those that should command Armies and Provinces. Therefore *Claudius Nero* was dispatched away, with all convenient haste, into *Spain*: carrying with him about six thousand of the *Roman* foot, and as many of the *Latines*, with three hundred *Roman* horse, and of the *Latines* eight hundred.

It happened well, that about these times, the affairs of *Rome* began to prosper in *Italy*, and afforded means of sending abroad such a strong supply: otherwise the victories of *Martius* would ill have served, either to keep footing in *Spain*, or to stop the *Carthaginian* Armies from marching towards the *Alps*. For when *Claudius*, landing with his new forces, took charge of that remainder of the Army, which was under *Martius* and *Fonteius*; he found surer tokens of the overthrows received, than of those miraculous victories, whereof *Martius* had made his vaunts unto the Senate. The *Roman* party was forsaken by most of the *Spanish* friends; whom how to reclaim, it could not easily be devised. Yet *Claudius* advanced boldly towards *Asdrubal* the Brother of *Hannibal*; whom he found among the *Ausetani*, near enough at hand, incamped in a place called *Lapides atri*; out of which there was no issue, but only through a straight, whereon the *Roman* seized at his first coming. What should have tempted any man of understanding to

to incamp in such a place, I do not find: and as little reason can I find in that which followed. For it is said, That *Asdrubal* seeing himself thus lockt up, made offer to depart forthwith out of all *Spain*, and quit the Province to the *Romans*, upon condition that he and his Army might be thence dismissed; That he spent many dayes, in entertaining parley with *Claudius* about this business; That night by night he conveyed his footmen (a few at a time) through very difficult passages, out of the danger; and that finally taking advantage of a misty day, he stole away with all his Horse and Elephants, leaving his Camp empty. If we consider, that there were at the same time, besides this *Asdrubal*, two other *Carthaginian* Generals in *Spain*; we shall find no less cause to wonder at the simplicity of *Claudius*, who hoped to conclude a bargain for so great a Country, with one of these three Chieftains, than at the strange nature of those passages, through which the footmen could hardly creep out by night; the Horse and Elephants easily following them in a dark misty day. Wherefore in giving belief to such a tale, it is needful that we suppose, both the danger wherein the *Carthaginians* were, and the conditions offered for their safe departure, to have been of far less value. How soever it was; neither this, nor ought else that the *Romans* could do, served to purchase any new friends in *Spain*, or to recover the old which they had lost. Like enough it is, that the old Souldiers, which had chosen *Martius* their Propretor, took it not well, that the Senate, regardless of their good deserts, had repealed their election, and sent a Propretor whom they fancied not so well. Some such occasion may have moved them to desire a Proconsul, and (perhaps) young *Scipio* by name: as if a title of greater dignity were needful to work regard in the *Barbarians*; and the beloved memory of *Cn.* and *Publius*, likely to do good, were it revived in one of the same family. Whether upon these, or upon other reasons; *C. Claudius* was recalled out of the Province; and *Publius* the Son of *P. Scipio* sent Proconsul into *Spain*.

This is that *Scipio*, who afterward transferred the war into *Africk*: where he happily ended it, to the great honour and benefit of his Country. He was a man of goodly presence, and singularly well conditioned; especially he excelled in Temperance, Continency, Bounty, and other vertues that purchase love; of which qualities what great use he made, shall appear in the tenour of his actions following. As for those things that are reported of him, favouring a little too much of the great *Alexanders* vanity; how he used to walk alone in the Capitol, as one that had some secret conference with *Jupiter*; how a Dragon (which must have been one of the gods; and, in likelihood, *Jupiter* himself) was thought to have conversed with his Mother, entring her Chamber often, and vanishing away at the coming in of any man; and how of these matters he nourished the rumour, by doubtful answers; I hold them no better than fables, devised by Historians, who thought thereby to add unto the glory of *Rome*: that this Noble City might seem not only to have surpassed other Nations in vertue of the generality, but also in great worth of one single man. To this end nothing is left out, that might serve to adorn this *Roman* Champion. For it is confidently written, as matter of unquestionable truth, That when a Proconsul was to be chosen for *Spain*, there durst not any Captain of the principal Citizens offer himself as Petitioner for that honourable, but dangerous charge; That the people of *Rome* were much astonished thereat; That when the day of Election came, all the Princes of the City stood looking one another in the face, not one of them having the heart to adventure himself in such a desperate service; and finally, that this *P. Cornelius Scipio*, being then about four and twenty years of age, getting up on an high place where he might be seen of all the multitude, requested and obtained, that the office might be conferred upon him. If this were true, then were all the victories of *L. Martius* no better than dreams: and either very unreasonable was the fear of all the *Roman* Captains, who durst not follow *Claudius Nero*, that not long before was gone into *Spain* Propretor; or very bad intelligence they had out of the Province, which *Asdrubal* the *Carthaginian*, as we heard even now, was ready to abandon. But upon these incoherences, which I find in the too partial *Roman* Historians, I do not willingly insist.

*P. Scipio* was sent Proconsul into *Spain*; and with him was joyned *M. Junius Syllanus*, as Propretor, and his Coadjutor. They carried with them ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, in thirty *Quinquereme* Gallies. With these they landed at *Emporiæ*; and marched from thence to *Tarracon* alongst the Sea-coast. At the fame of *Scipio's* arrival, it is said, that Embassages came to him apace from all quarters of the Province; which he entertained with such a Majesty, as bred a wonderful opinion of him. As for the enemies, they were greatly afraid of him; and so much the greater was their fear, by how much the less they could give any reason of it. If we must believe this, then must we needs believe, that their fear was even as great as could be: for very little cause there was, to be terrified with the fame of so young a man, which had as yet performed nothing. All the Winter following (or, as some think, all the next Year) he did nothing: but spent the time perhaps, as his foregoers had done, in treating with the *Spaniards*. His first enterprise was against new *Carthage*: upon which he came unexpected, with five and twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; his Seaforces coasting him, and moderating their course in such wise, that they arrived there together with him. He assailed the Town by Land and Sea; and won it by assault the first day. The *Carthaginians* lost it, by their too much confidence upon the strength of it: which caused them to man it more slenderly, than was requisite. Yet it might have been well enough defended, if some Fishermen of *Tarracon* had not discovered unto *Scipio*, a secret passage unto the walls; whereof the Townsmen themselves were either ignorant, or thought (at least) that their enemies could have no notice. This City of new *Carthage*, resembled the old and great *Carthage* in situation; standing upon a demy-Island, between an Haven and a great Lake. All the Western side of the walls, and somewhat of the North, was fenced with this Lake: which the Fisher-men of *Tarracon* had sounded; and finding some part thereof a shelf, whereon at low-water men might pass knee-deep, or (at most) wading up to the Navil, *Scipio* thrust thereinto some companies of his men; who recovered the top of the walls without resistance: the place being left without guard; as able to defend it self by the natural strength. These falling suddenly upon the backs of the *Carthaginians* within the City, easily forced a gate, and gave free entrance to the *Roman* Army. What booty was found within the Town, *Livie* himself cannot certainly affirm; but is fain to say, That some *Roman* Historians told lies without measure, in way of amplification. By that small proportion of riches, which was afterward carried by *Scipio* into the *Roman* Treasury, we may easily perceive how great a vanity it was to say, That all the wealth of *Africk* and *Spain* was heaped up in that one Town. But therein were bestowed all the *Spanish* Hostages (or at least of the adjoyning Provinces) whom *Scipio* intreated with singular courtesie; restoring them unto their kindred and friends, in such gracious manner, as doubled the thanks due to so great a benefit. Hereupon a Prince of the *Celtiberians*, and two petty Kings of the *Ilergetes* and *Lacetani*, neerest Neighbours to *Tarracon*, and dwelling on the North-side of *Iberus*, forsook the *Carthaginian* party, and joyned with the *Romans*. The speech of *Indibilis*, King of the *Ilergetes*, is much commended; for that he did not vaunt himself, as commonly Fugitives use, of the pleasure, which he did unto the *Romans*, in revolting from their enemies; but rather excused this his changing side, as being thereto compelled by injuries of the *Carthaginians*, and invited by the honourable dealing of *Scipio*. This temperate estimation of his new professed friendship, was indeed no unsure token, that it should be long-lasting. But if the *Ilergetes* had long ere this (as we have heard before) forsaken the *Carthaginian* party, and stoutly held themselves as friends to *Cn. Scipio*: then could nothing have been devised more vain, than this Oration of *Indibilis* their King, excusing, as new, his taking part with the same, when he should have rather craved pardon for his breach of alliance, formerly contracted with the Father and the Uncle. Most likely therefore it is, that howsoever the two elder *Scipio's* had gotten some few places among these their Neighbours, and held them by strength; yet were the *Romans* never masters of the Country, till this worthy Commander, by recovering their Hostages from the *Carthaginians*, and by his great munificence in sending them home, won unto himself the assured love and assistance of these Princes. The *Carthaginian* Generals, when they heard of this loss, were very sorry: yet nevertheless they set a good face on the matter; saying, That a young man, having stoln a Town by surprise, was too far transported, and over-joyed, but that shortly they would meet with him, and put him in mind of his Father and Uncle; which would alter his mood, and bring him to a more convenient temper.

Now if I should here interpose mine own conjecture; I should be bold to say, That the *Carthaginians* were at this time busie, in setting forth towards *Italy*; and that *Scipio*; to divert them, undertook new *Carthage*, as his Father and Uncle, upon the like occasion, sate down before *Ibera*. And in this respect I would suppose, that it had not been much amiss, if the passage over the Lake had been undiscovered, and the Town held out some longer while. For howsoever that particular Action was the more fortunate, in coming to such good issue upon the first day: yet in the generality of the business,

between *Rome* and *Carthage*, it was more to be wiſhed, that *Aſdrubal* ſhould be ſtayed from going into *Italy*, than that halfof *Spain* ſhould be taken from him. Whereas therefore he had nothing left to do, that ſhould hinder his journey; *Mago*, and *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Geſco*, were thought ſufficient to hold *Scipio* work, in that lingring War of taking and retaking Towns, whilſt the main of the *Carthaginian* forces, under *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Amilcar*, went to a greater enterpriſe: even to fight in tryal of the Empire. But the *Roman* Hiſtorians tell this after another faſhion; and ſay, That *Aſdrubal* was beaten into *Italy*: whither he ran for fear, as thinking himſelf ill aſſured of the *Spaniards*, as long as they might but hear the name of *Scipio*. *Scipio*, ſay they, coming upon *Aſdrubal*; his Vant-currers charged ſo luſtily the *Carthaginian* horſe, that they drave them into their Trenches: and made it apparent, even by that ſmall piece of ſervice, how full of ſpirit the *Roman* Army was, and how dejected the Enemy. *Aſdrubal* therefore by night retired out of that even ground, and occupied an Hill, compaſſed on three ſides with the River, very ſteep of aſcent, and not eaſie of acceſs on the foreſide: by which himſelf got up, and was to be followed by the *Romans*. On the top of it there was a Plain, whereon he ſtrongly encamped himſelf: and in the mid-way, between the top and root of the Hill, was alſo another Plain; into which he deſcended, more upon bravery, that he might not ſeem to hide himſelf within the Trenches, than for that he durſt adventure his Army to the hazzard of a battail, for which this was no equal ground. But ſuch advantage of place could not ſave him from the *Romans*. They climed up the Hill to him; they recovered even footing with him; drove him out of this lower Plain, up into his Camp on the Hill top: whither although the aſcent were very difficult, and his Elephants beſtowed in the ſmootheſt places to hinder their approach; yet compaſſing about, and ſeeking paſſage where it was hardeſt to be found; but much more ſtrongly breaking their way, where the *Carthaginians* had got up before them, they drave both men and Elephants head-long, I know not whither: for it is ſaid, that there was no way to flye. Out of ſuch a battel, wherein he had loſt eight thouſand men, *Aſdrubal* is ſaid to have eſcaped; and gathering together his diſperſed troops, to have marched toward the *Pyrenees*, having ſent away his Elephants ere the fight began. Nevertheleſs, *Mago*, and *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Geſco*, are reported after this to have conſulted with him about this War; and finally to have concluded, that go he needs muſt, were it but to carry all the *Spaniards* as far as might be, from the name of *Scipio*. How likely this was to have been true, it ſhall appear at his coming into *Italy*; whence theſe incoherent relations of the *Spaniſh* affairs have too long detained us.

## §. XII.

*The great troubles that* Hannibal *raiſed in all quarters, to the City of Rome. Poſthumius the Roman General, with his whole Army, is ſlain by the Gauls. Philip King of* Macedon *enters into a League with* Hannibal, *againſt the Romans. The Romans joyning with the Ætolians, make war upon* Philip *in Greece: and afterwards conclude a peace with him, the better to intend their buſineſs againſt the Carthaginians.*

WE left *Hannibal* wintering at *Capua*: where he and his new Confederates rejoyced (as may be thought) not a little, to hear the good news from *Carthage* of ſuch mighty aid, as was decreed to be ſent thence unto him. In former times he had found work enough, to carry the *Romans* corn into his own barns, and to drive away their Cattel to *Geryon*: his victories affording him little other profit, than ſuſtenance for his Army; by making him maſter of the open field. He might perhaps have forced ſome walled Towns in like ſort as he did *Geryon*, and the Caſtle of *Cannæ*: but had he ſpent much time, about the getting of any one place well defended; the hunger, that his Army muſt have endured the Winter and Spring following, untill corn were ripe, would have grievouſly puniſhed him for ſuch imployment of the Summer. This may have been the reaſon, why he forbore to adventure upon *Rome*, after his victory at *Cannæ*. For had he failed (as it was a matter of no certainty) to carry the City at his firſt coming; want of victuals would have compelled him to quit the enterpriſe. Yea many of the people that opened ſo haſtily their gates unto him, upon the freſh bruit of his glorious ſucceſs, would have taken time of deliberation, and waited perhaps the event of another battel; if being, either for want of means to force the City, or of neceſſaries to continue a ſiege before it, repelled (as might ſeem) from the walls of *Rome*, he had preſented himſelf unto them with a leſſened reputation, ſomewhat later in the year; when time to force their obedience was wanting, unleſs they would freely yield it. But this great part of the care and travel was paſt, when ſo many States of *Italy* were become his: the year following, the *Samnites*, and other old enemies of *Rome*, were like to receive a notable pleaſure of their new alliance with *Carthage*, by helping to lay ſiege unto that proud City, which ſo long had held them in ſubjection. Thus the winter was paſſed over joyfully, ſaving that there came not any tidings of the preparations, to ſecond the welcome report of thoſe mighty forces, that were decreed and expected. The Spring grew on: and of the promiſed ſupply there arrived no more, than only the Elephants. How late it was ere theſe came, I find not: only we find, that after this he had above thirty of them; whereas all, ſave one, that he brought over the *Alps*, had been loſt in his journy through the Mariſhes of *Hetruria*. Very bad excuſe of this exceeding negligence, they that brought the Elephants could make unto *Hannibal*. If they were his friends, they told him truly, what miſchiefs the perſwaſion of *Hanno* wrought among the too niggardly *Carthaginians*. Otherwiſe, they might perhaps inform him, that it was thought a ſafer, though a farther way about, to paſs along through *Spain* and *Gaul*, as he himſelf had done; and increaſe the Army, by hyring the *Barbarians* in the journey; than to commit the main ſtrength of their City, to the hazzard of the Seas: eſpecially wanting a commodious Haven, to receive the Fleet that ſhould carry ſuch a number of Men, Horſes, and Elephants, with all needful proviſions. With theſe allegations *Hannibal* muſt reſt content; and ſeek, as well as he can, to ſatiſfie his *Italian* Confederates. Therefore when time of the year ſerved, he took the field: and having finiſhed what reſted to be done at *Caſilinum*, fought to make himſelf Maſter of ſome good Haven-town thereabout; that might ſerve to entertain the *Carthaginian* Fleet, or take from his Enemies at home all excuſe, which they might pretend by want thereof. To the ſame purpoſe, and to do what elſe was needful, he ſent *Himilco* unto the *Locrians*, and *Hanno* to the *Lucans*: not forgetting at once to aſſay all quarters of *Italy*, yea, the Iſles of *Sicil* and *Sardinia*, ſince the ſiege of *Rome* muſt needs be deferred unto another year. *Hanno* made an ill journey of it, being met, or overtaken, by *T. Sempronius Longus*: who ſlew above two thouſand of his men; with the loſs of fewer than three hundred *Romans*. But *Himilco* ſped far better. By help of the *Brutians*, his good friends, he won *Petellia*, or *Petilia*, by force; after it had held out ſome moneths. He won likewiſe *Conſentia*, and *Croton*, that was forſaken by the Inhabitants. Alſo the City of *Locri*, which was of great importance, yielded unto him: as did all other places thereabout; except only the Town of *Rhegium*, over againſt *Sicil*.



The great faith of the *Petilians* is worthy to be recorded, as a notable teſtimony of the good government, under which the *Roman* ſubjects lived. As for the *Samnites*, *Campanes*, and others, whoſe earneſtneſs in rebellion may ſeem to prove the contrary; we are to conſider, That they had lately contended with *Rome* for Soveraignty, and were now tranſported with ambition: which reaſon can hardly moderate, or benefits allay. The *Petilians*, in the very beginning of their danger, did ſend to *Rome* for help: where their meſſengers received anſwer from the Senate, That the publick misfortunes had not left means, to relieve their Aſſociates that were ſo far diſtant. The *Petilian* Meſſengers (Embaſſadours they are termed; as were all others, publickly ſent from Cities of the *Roman* ſubjection, that had a private juriſdiction within themſelves) fell down to the ground, and humbly beſought the Fathers, not to give them away: promiſing to do and ſuffer whatſoever was poſſible, in defence of their Town, againſt the *Carthaginians*. Hereupon the Senate fell to conſultation again: and having throughly conſidered all their forces remaining, plainly confeſſed, that it was not in their power to give any relief. Wherefore theſe Embaſſadours were willed to return home, and to bid their Citizens provide hereafter for their own ſafety, as having already diſcharged their faith to the utmoſt. All this notwithſtanding, the *Petilians* (as was ſaid) held out ſome moneths: and having ſtriven in vain to defend themſelves, when there was no apparent poſſibility gave to the *Carthaginians* a bloody victory over them; being vanquiſhed as much by famine, as by any violence of the Aſſailants.

The *Romans* at this time were indeed in ſuch ill caſe, that *Hannibal* with a little help from *Carthage*, might have reduced them unto terms of great extremity. For whereas, in a great bravery, before their loſs at *Cannæ*, they had ſhewed their high minds, by entertaining the care of things far off, notwithſtanding the great war that lay upon them ſo near at hand: it now fell out miſerably all at once, that their fortune abroad was no whit better than at home. *L. Poſthumius Albinus* their Prætor they had ſent,

with an Army of five and twenty thousand, into *Gaul*: to the *Illyrian* King *Pineus* they had sent for their tribute due, whereof the pay-day was past; willing him, if he desired forbearance, to deliver Hostages for his performance of what was due; and to *Philip* King of *Macedon* they had sent, to require, that he should deliver up unto them *Demetrius Pharius* their Subject and Rebel, whom he had received. But now from all quarters they hear tydings, little suitable to their former glorious conceits. *Posthumius* with all his Army was cut in pieces by the *Gauls*, in such sort, that scarce ten men escaped. The manner of his overthrow was very strange. There was a great Wood, called by the *Gauls*, *Litana*; thorow which he was to pass. Against his coming, the Enemies had sawed the trees so far, that a little force would serve to cast them down. When therefore *Posthumius*, with his whole Army, was entred into this dangerous passage, the *Gauls* that lay about the Wood, began to cast down the trees; which falling one against another, bore all down so fast, that the *Romans* were overwhelmed, Men and Horses; in such wise, that no more escaped, than is said before. How this tedious work of sawing so many trees, could take desired effect, and neither be perceived, nor made frustrate, either by some wind that might have blown all down before the *Romans* entred, or by some other of those many accidents, whereto the device was subject; I do not well conceive. Yet some such thing may have been done, and what failed in the stratagem, supplied with the Enemies sword. It is not perhaps worthy to be omitted, as a monument of the savage condition, wherewith *Lombardie*, a Country now so civil, was infected in elder times, That of *Posthumius* his skull, being cleansed and trimmed up with gold, a drinking cup was made, and consecrated in their principal Temple, as an holy vessel for the use of the Priest in their solemnities. Of this great overthrow, when word was brought to *Rome*, the amazement was no less than the calamity. But sorrow could give no remedy to the mischief: and anger was vain, where there wanted forces to revenge. Tribute from the *Illyrians* there came none; neither do I find that any was a second time demanded; this we find, That with *Pleuratus*, and *Scerdiletus*, *Illyrian* Kings as also with *Gentius*, who reigned within a few years following, the *Romans* dealt upon even terms; entreating their assistance against *Philip* and *Perseus*; not commanding their duty, as Vassals. The *Macedonian* troubled them yet a little further. For having assured his affairs in *Greece*, and enjoying leisure to look into the doings abroad, he sent Embassadours to *Hannibal*; with whom he made a league, upon these conditions; That the King in person should come into *Italy*, and with all his forces, by Land and Sea, assist the *Carthaginians* in the *Roman* war, until it were finished; That *Rome*, and all *Italy*, together with all the spoil therein to be gotten, should be left intire unto the State of *Carthage*; and that afterwards *Hannibal*, with his Army, should pass into *Greece*, and there assist *Philip*, until he had subdued all his enemies (which were the *Ætolians*, *Thracians*, King *Antiochus*, and others) leaving semblably unto him the full possession of that Country, and the Isles adjoyning. But such predisposition of Kingdomes and Provinces, is lightly controlled by the divine Providence, which therein shews *It* self; not (as *Herodotus* falsly terms it, and like an *Atheist*) envious or malicious, but very just and Majestical in upholding that unspeakable greatness of Soveraignty, by which *It* rules the whole World, and all that therein is.

The first Embassadours that *Philip* sent, fell into the *Romans* hands, in their journey towards *Hannibal*: and being examined what they were, adventured upon a bold lye, saying, That they were sent from the King of *Macedon* to *Rome*, there to make a League with the Senate and people, and offer his help in this time of great necessity. These news were so welcome, that the joy thereof took away all care of making better inquiry. So they were lovingly feasted, and freely dismissed with guides that should lead them the way, and shew them how to avoid the *Carthaginians*. But they being thus instructed concerning their journey, fell wilfully into the Camp of *Hannibal*; who entertained them after a better fashion, and concluded the business about which they came, upon the points before remembred. In their return homeward, they happened again unluckily to be descryed by the *Roman* Fleet; which mistrusting them to be of the *Carthaginian* party, gave them chace. They did their best to have escaped: but being overtaken, they suffered the *Romans* to come aboord; and trusting to the lye that once had served them, said it again, That having been sent from King *Philip* to make a league with the people of *Rome*, they were not able by reason of the *Carthaginians* lying between, to get any further than to *M. Valerius* the Prætor, unto whom they had signified the good affection of the King their Master. The tale was now less credible than before:



before: and (which marred all) *Gesco*, *Bostar*, and *Mago*, with their followers, *Carthaginians* that were sent with them from *Hannibal* to ratifie the agreement, being presently detected, made the matter apparent. Wherefore a little inquisition served to find all out: so that at length *Hannibals* own letters to King *Philip* were delivered up, and the whole business confected. The Embassadours and their followers were sent close prisoners to *Rome*; where the chief of them were cast into prison, and the rest sold for bondslaves. Yet one of their ships that escaped, carried word into *Macedon* of all that had happened. Whereupon new Embassage was sent, that went and returned with better speed; concluding, as was agreed before, only with some loss of time.

The *Romans* were exceedingly perplexed; thinking with what heavy weight this *Macedonian* war, in an evil hour, was likely to fall upon them, when their shoulders were over-burdened with the load of the *Carthaginian*. Yet they took a noble resolution, and suitable unto that, whereby they kept off the storm, that else would have beaten upon them from *Spain*. They judged it more easie with small forces to detain *Philip* in *Greece*, than with all their strength to resist him in *Italy*. And herein they were in the right. For, that the very reputation of a King of *Macedon*, joyning with *Hannibal* in such a time, would have sufficed to shake the allegiance, not only of the *Latines*, and other, their most faithful Subjects, but even of the *Roman* Colonies, that held all priviledges of the City, it will appear by the following succes of things. *M. Valerius* the Prætor, with twenty *Quinquereme* Gallies, was appointed to attend upon the *Macedonian*, and to set on foot some commotion in *Greece*, or to nourish the troubles already therein begun. *Philip* was busie about the Sea Towns, that looked towards *Italy*, setting upon *Apollonia*; and thence falling upon *Oricum*, which he won, and so returned to *Apollonia* again. The *Epirots* craved help of *M. Valerius*; or rather accepted his kind offers; who had none other business to do. The Garrison that *Philip* had left in *Oricum*, was strong enough to hold the Towns-men in good order, but not to keep out the *Romans*; of whose daring to attempt any thing against him, on that side the Sea, *Philip* as then had no suspition. *Valerius* therefore easily regained the Town, and sent thence a thousand men, under *Nævius Crispus*, an undertaking and expert Captain, which got by night into *Apollonia*. These made a notable sally, and brake into *Philip*'s Trenches with so great slaughter, that they forced him to forsake his Camp, and raise the siege. The King purposed (as it is said) to have departed thence by Sea: but *Valerius*, coming with his Fleet from *Oricum*, stopped up the mouth of the River, so that he was fain to burn his ships (which belike were no better than long boats) and depart ill furnished of carriages by Land. After this *Valerius* dealt with the *Ætolians*, a Nation alwayes enemy to the Crown of *Macedon*; and easily perswaded them (being so affected, as hath else-where been shewed) to make strong war on *Philip*; wherein he promised them great assistance from the *Romans*. That which most moved the troublesome spirits of the *Ætolians*, was the hope of getting *Acarnania*; after which they had gaped long, and whereof the *Roman* was as liberal in making promise, as if already it had been his own. So a league was made between them; and afterward solemnly published at *Olympia*, by the *Ætolians*, and by the *Romans* in their *Capitol*. The conditions were, that from *Ætolia* to *Corcyra*, in which space *Acarnania* was contained, all the Country should be subdued, and left unto the *Ætolians*, the pillage only to be given to the *Romans*. And that if the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*, it should be with Provision, to hold no longer than whilst he abstained from doing injury to the *Romans*, or their Associates. This was indeed the only point whereat *Valerius* aimed, who promised as much on the *Romans* behalf, That they should not make peace with the *Macedonian*, unless it were with like condition of including the *Ætolians*. Into this league was place reserved for the *Lacedæmonians* and *Eleans*, as to those that had made or favoured the side of *Cleomenes* against the *Macedonian*, to enter at their pleasure. The like regard was had of *Attalus*, *Pleuratus*, and *Scerdiletus*: the first of which reigned at *Pergamus* in *Asia* the less, a Prince hereafter much to be spoken of; the other two held some part of *Illyria*, about which the *Romans* were so far from contending with them, that gladly they sought to get their friendly acquaintance. But the names of these Associates are thrust into the Treaty, rather to give it countenance, than for any readiness which they discover to enter thereinto. The *Ætolians* alone, and chiefly *Scopas* their Prætor, with *Dorymachus* and others, are yet a while the only men, of whom the *Roman* Generals must make much; as the late *French* King, *Henry* the fourth, when he had only the title of *Navarre*, was said to court the Majors of *Rochel*. *Philip* was not idle, when he heard whereunto

whereunto the *Ætolians* tended. He repaired his Army, made a countenance of war upon the *Illyrians*, and other his borderers, that were wont in times of danger to infeſt the Kingdom of *Macedon*; waſted the Country about *Oricum* and *Apollonia*, and overrunning the *Pelagonians*, *Dardanians*, and others, whom he held ſuſpected, came down into *Theſſaly*, whence he made ſhew as if he would invade *Ætolia*. By the fame of this Expedition, he thought to ſtir up all the *Greecks* adjoyning, againſt the *Ætolians*; whom they generally deteſted as a neſt of Robbers, troubleſome to all the Country. To which purpoſe, and to hinder the *Ætolians* from breaking into *Greece*, he left *Perſeus*, his Son and Heir, with four thouſand men, upon their borders: with the reſt of his Army, before greater buſineſs ſhould overtake and intangle him, he made a long journey into *Thrace*, againſt a people called the *Medes*, that were wont to fall upon *Macedon*, whenſoever the King was abſent. The *Ætolians* hearing of his departure, armed as many as they could againſt the *Acarnanians*; in hope to ſubdue thoſe their daily enemies, and win their little Country, ere he ſhould be able to return. Hereto it much availed, that the *Romans* had already taken *Ocniadæ* and *Naxos*, *Acarnanian* Towns, conveniently ſituated to let in an Army; and conſigned them unto the *Ætolians*, according to the tenour of the contract lately made with them. But the ſtout reſolution of the *Arcananians*, to dye (as we ſay) every Mothers Son of them, in defence of their Country; together with the great haſte of the *Macedonian* (who laid aſide all other buſineſs) to ſuccour theſe his friends; cauſed the *Ætolians* to forſake their enterpriſe. When this Expedition was given over, the *Romans* and *Ætolians* fell upon *Ancyræ*, which they took: the *Romans* aſſailed by Sea, the *Ætolians* by Land. The *Ætolians* had the Town, and the *Romans* the ſpoil.

For theſe good ſervices *M. Valerius* was choſen Conſul at *Rome*; and *P. Sulpitius* ſent in his ſtead, to keep the war on foot in *Greece*. But beſides the *Roman* help, *Attalus* out of *Aſia* came over to aſſiſt the *Ætolians*. He was chiefly moved by his own jealouſie of *Philips* greatneſs; though ſomewhat alſo tickled with the vanity of being choſen by the *Ætolians* their principal Magiſtrate; which honour, though no better than titulary, he took in very loving part. Againſt the forces which *Attalus* and the *Romans* had ſent, being joyned with the main power of *Ætolia*, *Philip* tried the fortune of two battels; and was victorious in each of them. Hereupon, theſe his troubleſome neighbours deſired peace of him, and uſed their beſt means to get it. And when the day appointed for the concluſion therefore, was come: their Embaſſadours, in ſtead of making ſubmiſſion, propoſed unto him ſuch intolerable conditions, as ill beſeemed vanquiſhed men to offer; and might therefore well teſtifie, that their minds were altered. It was not any love of peace, but fear of being beſieged in their own Towns, that had made them deſirous of compoſition. This fear being taken away, by the incouragements of *Attalus* and the *Romans*, they were as fierce as ever; and thruſt a Garriſon of their own, and ſome *Roman* friends into *Elis*; which threatned *Achaia*, wherein *Philip* then lay. The *Romans*, making a cut over the ſtraight from *Naupactus*, waſted the Country in a terrible bravery; wherein *Philip* required him, coming upon them in great haſte from the *Nemæan* Games (which he was then celebrating) and ſending them faſter away, but nothing richer than they came.

In the heat of this contention, *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*, fearing the growth of *Attalus*, no leſs than *Attalus* held ſuſpected the power of *Philip*, ſent a Navy into *Greece*, to aſſiſt the *Macedonian* party. The like did the *Carthaginians*; and upon greater reaſon, as being more intereſſed in the ſucceſs of his affairs. *Philip* was too weak by Sea: and though he could man ſome two hundred ſhips, yet the veſſels were ſuch, as could not hold out againſt the *Roman Quinqueremes*. Wherefore it behoved him to uſe the help of his good friends the *Carthaginians*. But their aid came ſomewhat too late; which might better at firſt have kept thoſe Enemies from faſtening upon any part of *Greece*, than afterward it could ſerve to drive them out, when they had pierced into the bowels of that Country. Ere *Philip* could attempt any thing by Sea, it was needful that he ſhould correct the *Eleans*, bad neighbours to the *Achaians* his principal Confederates. But in aſſailing their Town, he was encountred by the *Ætolian* and *Roman* garriſon, which drave him back with ſome loſs. In ſuch caſes, eſpecially where God intendeth a great converſion of Empire, Fame is very powerful in working. The King had received no great detriment in his retrait from *Elis*: rather he had given teſtimony of his perſonal valour, in fighting well on foot, when his horſe was ſlain under him. He had alſo ſoon after taken a great multitude of the *Eleans*, to the number of four thouſand, with ſome twenty thouſand head of Cattel, which they had brought together in a place of



of ſafety, as they thought, when their Country was invaded. But it had hapned, that in his purſuit of the *Roman* forragers about *Sicyon*, his horſe running haſtily under a low tree, had torn off one of the horns, which (after the faſhion of thoſe times) the King wore in his Creſt. This was gathered up by an *Ætolian*, who carried it home, and ſhewed it as a token of *Philip*'s death. The horn was well known, and the tale believed. All *Macedon* therefore was in an uproar; and not only the boderers, ready to fall upon the Country, but ſome Captains of *Philip* eaſily corrupted; who thinking to make themſelves a fortune in that change of things, ran into ſuch treaſon, as they might better hope to make good, than to excuſe. Hereupon the King returned home, leaving not three thouſand men to aſſiſt his friends the *Achæans*. He alſo took order, to have Beacons erected, that might give him notice of the enemies doings, upon whom he meant ſhortly to return. The affairs of *Macedon*, his preſence quickly eſtabliſhed. But in *Greece* all went ill-favouredly; eſpecially in the Iſle of *Eubœa*, where one *Plator* betrayed to *Attalus* and the *Romans*, the Town of *Oreum*, ere *Philip* could arrive to help it: where alſo the ſtrong City of *Chalcis* was likely to have been loſt, if he had not come the ſooner. He made ſuch haſty marches, that he had almoſt taken *Attalus* in the City of *Opus*: This City, lying over againſt *Eubœa*, *Attalus* had won more through the cowardize of the people, than any great force that he had uſed: now becauſe the *Roman* Souldiers had defrauded him in the ſack of *Oreum*, and taken all to themſelves; it was agreed, that *Attalus* ſhould make his beſt profit of the *Opuntians*, without admitting the *Romans* to be his ſharers. But whilſt he was buſie, in drawing as much mony as he could out of the Citizens: the ſudden tydings of *Philip*'s arrival, made him leave all behind him, and run away to the Sea-ſide, where he got aboord his ſhips, finding the *Romans* gone before, upon the like fear. Either the indignity of this miſadventure, or tydings of *Pruſias* the *Bithynian* his invaſion upon the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, made *Attalus* return home, without ſtaying to take leave of his friends. So *Philip* recovered *Opus*, won *Torone*, *Tritonos*, *Drymus* and many ſmall Towns in thoſe parts; performing likewiſe ſome actions, of more bravery than importance, againſt the *Ætolians*. In the mean ſeaſon, *Machanidas*, the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, had been buſie in *Peloponneſus*; but hearing of *Philip*'s arrival, was returned home.

The *Lacedæmonians*, hearing certain report of *Cleomenes* his death in *Egypt*, went about to chuſe two new Kings, and to conform themſelves to their old manner of government. But their eſtate was ſo far out of tune, that their hope of redreſſing things within the City, proved no leſs unfortunate, than had been their attempts of recovering a large dominion abroad. *Lycurgus* a Tyrant roſe up among them: upon whom ſucceeded this *Machanidas*, and ſhortly after came *Nabis*, that was worſe than both of them. They held on the *Ætolian* and *Roman* ſide, for fear of the *Achæans*, that were the chief Confederates of *Philip*, and hated extremely the name both of Tyrant and *Lacedæmonian*. But of theſe we ſhall ſpeak more hereafter.

*Philip* entring into *Achaia*, and ſeeing his preſence had brought the contentment of aſſurance to that Country; ſpake brave words to the Aſſembly of their States, ſaying, That he had to do with an Enemy that was very nimble, and made war by running away. He told how he had followed them to *Chalcis*, to *Oreum*, to *Opus*, and now into *Achaia*; but could no where find them, ſuch haſte they made, for fear of being overtaken. But flight, he ſaid, was not alwaies proſperous: he ſhould one day light upon them; as ere this he ſundry times had done, and ſtill to their loſs. The *Achaians* were glad to hear theſe words; and much the more glad, in regard of his good deeds accompanying them. For he reſtored unto their Nation ſome Towns that were in his hand, belonging to them of old. Likewiſe to the *Megalopolitans* their Confederates, he rendred *Aliphera*. The *Dymæans*, that had been taken by the *Romans*, and ſold for ſlaves, he ſought out, ranſomed, and put in quiet poſſeſſion of their own City. Further, paſſing over the *Corinthian* Gulf, he fell upon the *Ætolians*; whom he drave into the mountains and wood, or other their ſtrongeſt holds, and waſted their Country. This done, he took leave of the *Achæans*, and returned home by Sea, viſited the people that were his ſubjects, or dependants; and animated them ſo well, that they reſted fearleſs of any threatning danger. Then had he leiſure to make war upon the *Dardanians*, ill neighbours to *Macedon*: with whom nevertheleſs he was not ſo far occupied, but that he could go in hand with preparing a Fleet of an hundred Gallies, whereby to make himſelf Maſter of the Sea; the *Romans* (ſince the departure of *Attalus*) having not dared to meet or purſue him, when he lately ran along the coaſt

coast of *Greece*, fast by them where they lay.

This good success added much reputation to the *Macedonian*, and emboldened him to make strong war upon the *Ætolians*, at their own doors. As for the *Romans* either some displeasure, conceived against their Confederates, or some fear of danger at home, when *Asdrubal* was ready to fall upon *Italy*; caused them to give over the care of things in *Greece*, and leave their friends there to their own fortunes. The *Ætolians* therefore being driven to great extremity, were fain to sue for peace unto *Philip*; and accept it, upon what ever conditions it best pleased him. The agreement was no sooner made, than *P. Sempronius* with ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and thirty five gallies, came over in great haste (though somewhat too late) to trouble it. Hearing how things went in *Ætolia*, he turned aside to *Dyrrhacchium* and *Apollonia*, making a great noise, as if with these his own forces he would work wonders. But it was not long ere *Philip* came to visit him, and found him tame enough. The King presented him battel, but he refused it: and suffering the *Macedonians* to waste the Countrey round about, before his eyes, kept himself close within the wals of *Apollonia*, making some overtures of peace: which caused *Philip* to return home quietly. The *Romans* had not so great cause to be displeased with the *Ætolians*, as had *Philip* to take in evil part the demeanor of the *Carthaginians*. For notwithstanding the royal offer that he made them, to serve their turn in *Italy*, and assist them, in getting their hearts desire, before he would expect any requital: they had not sent any fleet, as in reason they ought, and as (considering his want of sufficient ability by Sea) it is likely they were bound either to secure the transportation of his Army, or to free his coast from the *Roman* and *Ætolian* Piracies. Only once they came to his help, which was at his last journey into *Achaia*. But they were gone again before his arrival: having done nothing, and pretending fear of being taken by the *Romans*, even at such time as *Philip* with his own Navy, durst boldly pass by Sea, and found none that durst oppose him. This wretchless dealing of the *Carthaginians*, may therefore seem to have been one of *Hanno* his tricks, whereof *Hannibal* so bitterly complained. For it could not but grieve this malicious man exceedingly to hear that so great a King made offer to serve in person under *Hannibal*, and required the assistance of the same *Hannibal*, as of a man likely to make Monarchs, and alter the affairs of the world at pleasure. Therefore he had reason, such as envy could suggest, to perswade the *Carthaginians* unto a safe and thrifty course: which was, not to admit into the fellowship of their *Italian* wars so mighty a Prince; whom change of affection might make dangerous to their Empire; or his much affection unto *Hannibal*, more dangerous to their liberty. Rather they should do well to save charges, and feed the *Macedonian* with hopes; by making many promises of sending a fleet and some other succours. This would cost nothing, yet would it serve to terrifie the *Romans*, and compell them to send part of their forces from home, that might find this Enemy work abroad. So should the *Roman* Armies be lessened in *Italy*; and *Philip*, when once he was ingaged in the war, be urged unto the prosecution, by his own necessity: putting the *Carthaginians* to little or no charges; yea, scarce to the labour of giving him thanks. Now if it might come to pass, as *Hannibal* every day did promise, that *Rome*, and all *Italy* should within a while be at the devotion of *Carthage*: better it were, that the City should be free, so as the troublesome *Greeks* might address their complaints unto the *Carthaginians*, as competent Judges between them and the *Macedonian*, than that *Hannibal*, with the power of *Africk*, should wait upon *Philip*, as his Executioner, to fulfill his will and pleasure, in doing such injuries, as would both make the name of a *Carthaginian* hateful in *Greece*, and oblige *Philip* to be no less impudent, in fulfilling all requests of *Hannibal*. Whether the counsel of *Hanno* and his fellows were such as this, or whether the *Carthaginians*, of their own disposition, without his advice, were too sparing, and careless, the matter (as far as concerned *Philip*) came to one reckoning. For they did him no manner of good, but rather dodged with him, even in their little courtesie which they most pretended. And this perhaps was part of the reason, why he began the building of an hundred Gallies, as if he would let them and others know, whereto his proper strength would have reached, had he not vainly given credit to faithless promises. When therefore the *Ætolians* had submitted themselves already: and when the *Romans* desired his friendship, as might be thought, for very fear of him, with reputation enough, and not as a forsaken Client of the *Carthaginians*, but a Prince able to have succoured them in their necessity, he might give over the war, and, without reprehension, leave them to themselves. For he had wilfully entred into trouble for their sakes;



sakes: but they despised him, as if the quarrel were meerly his own, and he unable to manage it.

The vanity of which their conceits would appear unto them, when they should see, that with his proper strength he had finished the War, and concluded it highly to his honour. So the year following it was agreed, by the mediation of the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, and others, That the *Romans* should retain three or four Towns of *Illyria*, which they had recovered in this War, being part of their old *Illyrian* Conquest: Places no way belonging to the *Macedonian*; and therefore perhaps inserted into the Covenants, that somewhat might seem to have been gotten. On the other side, the *Atintanes* were appointed to return under the obedience of *Philip*: who, if they were (as *Ortelius* probably conjectures) the people of the Country about *Apollonia*, then did the *Romans* abandon part of their gettings; whereby it appears, that they did not give peace, as they would seem to have done, but accepted it, upon conditions somewhat to their loss.

The Confederates and Dependants of the *Macedonian*, comprehended in this Peace, were *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, the *Achæans*, *Bœotians*, *Thessalians*, *Acarnanians*, and *Epirots*. On the *Roman* side were named, first, the people of *Ilium*, as an honourable remembrance of the *Romans* descent from *Troy*; then, *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*; *Pleuratus* an *Illyrian* Prince; and *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*; together with the *Eleans*, *Messenians*, and *Athenians*. The *Ætolians* were omitted, belike, as having agreed for themselves before. But the *Eleans* and *Messenians*, followers of the *Ætolians*, (and by them, as is most likely, comprised in their league with *Philip*) were also inserted by the *Romans*; that were never slow in offering their friendship to small and feeble Nations. As for the *Athenians*; they stood much upon their old honour; and loved to bear a part, though they did nothing, in all great actions. Yet the setting down of their names in this Treaty, served the *Romans* to good purpose: forasmuch as they were a busie people, and ministred occasion to renew the War, when means did better serve to follow it.

## §. XIII.

*How the* Romans *began to recover their strength by degrees. The noble affection of the* Romans, *in relieving the publick Necessities of their Common-weal.*

IT was a great fault in the *Carthaginians*, that embracing so many enterprises at once, they followed all by the halves; and wasted more men and mony to no purpose, than would have served (if good order had been taken) to finish the whole War, in far shorter space; and make themselves Lords of all that the *Romans* held. This error had become the less harmful, if their care of *Italy* had been such as it ought. But they suffered *Hannibal* to weary himself with expectation of their promised supplies; which being still deferred from year to year, caused as great opportunities to be lost, as a Conquerour could have desired. The death of *Posthumius*, and destruction of his whole Army in *Gaul*; the begun rebellion of the *Sardinians*; the death of *Hiero* their friend in *Syracuse*; with great alterations much to their prejudice, in the whole Isle of *Sicil*; as also that War, of which we last spake threatned from *Macedon*, happening all at one time; and that so nearly after their terrible overthrow at *Cannæ*, among so many revolts of their *Italian* Confederates; would utterly have sunk the *Roman* State; had the *Carthaginians*, if not the first year, yet at least the second, sent over to *Hannibal* the forces that was decreed. It is not to be doubted, that even this diversity of great hopes, appearing from all parts, administred matter unto *Hanno*, or such as *Hanno* was, whereupon to work. For though it were in the power of *Carthage*, to perform all that was decreed for *Italy*; yet could not that prohibition hold, when so many new occurrences brought each along with them their new care; and required their several Armies. This had not been a very bad excuse, if any one of the many occasions offered had been throughly prosecuted: though it stood with best reason, that the foundation of all other hopes and comforts, which was the prosperity of *Hannibal* in his *Italian* war, should have been strengthened; whatsoever had become of the rest. But the slender Troops, wherewith the *Carthaginians* fed the War in *Spain*; the lingring aid which they sent to uphold the *Sardinian* rebellion, when it was already well-near beaten down; their trifling with *Philip*; and (amongst all these their attempts) their hasty catching at *Sicil*: little deserved to be thought good reasons of neglecting

cting the main point, whereto all the reſt had reference. Rather every one of theſe Actions, conſidered apart by it ſelf, was no otherwiſe to be allowed, as diſcreetly undertaken, or ſubſtantially followed; than by making ſuppoſition, That the care of *Italy* made the *Carthaginians* more negligent in all things elſe. Yet if theſe allegations would not ſerve to content *Hannibal*, then muſt he patiently endure to know, that his own Citizens were jealous of his Greatneſs, and durſt not truſt him with ſo much power, as ſhould enable him to wrong the State at home.

Whatſoever he heard or thought, *Hannibal* was glad to apply himſelf to Neceſſity; to feed his *Italian* friends with hopes; and to triſle away the time about *Nola*, *Naples*, *Cumæ*, and other places: being loth to ſpend his Army in an hard ſiege, that was to be reſerved for a work of more importance. Many offers he made upon *Nola*, but alwayes with bad ſucceſs. Once *Marcellus* fought a battel with him there, yet under the very Walls of the Town; having the aſſiſtance of the Citizens, that were grown better affected to the *Roman* ſide, ſince the Heads that inclined them to rebellion, were cut off. About a thouſand men *Hannibal* in that fight loſt: which was no great marvel; his forces being then divided, and imployed in ſundry parts of *Italy* at once. *Naples* was even in thoſe dayes, a ſtrong City; and required a years work to have taken it by force. Wherfore the earneſt deſire of *Hannibal* to get it, was alwayes fruſtrate. Upon the Town of *Cumæ* they of *Capua* had their plot, and were in hope to take it by cunning. They ſent to the chief Magiſtrates of the *Cumans*, deſiring them (as being alſo *Campans*) to be preſent at a ſolemn ſacrifice of the Nation, where they would conſult about their general good: promiſing to bring thither a ſufficient guard, to aſſure the whole Aſſembly from any danger that might come by the *Romans*. This motion the *Cumans* made ſhew to entertain; but privily ſent word of all to *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, the *Roman* Conſul.

*Gracchus* was a very good man of war, and happily choſen Conſul in ſo dangerous a time. His Colleague ſhould have been *Poſthumius Albinus*, that was lately ſlain by the *Gauls*: after whoſe death *Marcellus* was choſen, as being judged the fitteſt man to encounter with *Hannibal*. But the *Roman* Augures either found ſome religious impediment that nullified the election of *Marcellus*; or at leaſt they fained ſo to have done, becauſe this was the firſt time, that ever two *Plebeian* Conſuls were choſen together. *Marcellus* therefore gave over the place; and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the late famous Dictator, was ſubſtituted in his room. But *Fabius* was detained in the City, about matters of religion or ſuperſtition: wherewith *Rome* was commonly, eſpecially in times of danger, very much troubled. So *Gracchus* alone, with a Conſular Army, waited upon *Hannibal* among the *Campans*: not able to meet the enemy in field; yet intentive to all occaſions, that ſhould be preſented. The *Volones*, or Slaves, that lately had been armed, were no ſmall part of his followers. Theſe, and the reſt of his men, he continually trained; and had not a greater care to make his Army ſkilful in the exerciſes of war, than to keep it from quarrels that might ariſe by upbraiding one another with their baſe conditions.

Whilſt the Conſul was thus buſied at *Liternum*, the Senators of *Cumæ* ſent him word of all that had paſſed between them and the *Capuans*. It was a good occaſion to fleſh his men, and make them confident againſt the Enemy; of whom hitherto they had bad experience. *Gracchus* therefore put himſelf into *Cumæ*: whence he iſſued at ſuch time, as the Magiſtrates of that City were expected by the *Campans*. The Sacrifice was to be performed by night, at a place called *Hamæ*: three miles from *Cumæ*. There lay *Marius Alfius* the chief Magiſtrate of *Capua*, with fourteen thouſand men; not wholly intent either to the Sacrifice, or to any danger that might interrupt it; but rather deviſing how to ſurprize others, than fearing himſelf to be aſſailed. The Conſul therefore, ſuffering none to go forth of *Cumæ*, that might bear word of him to the enemies, iſſued out of the Town when it grew dark: his men being well refreſhed with meat and ſleep, the day before, that they might hold out the better in this nights ſervice. So he came upon the *Capuans* unawares, and ſlew more than two thouſand of them, together with their Commander, loſing not above a hundred of his own men. Their Camp he took; but tarried not long to riffle it, for fear of *Hannibal*, who lay not far off. By this his providence, he eſcaped a greater loſs, than he had brought upon the Enemies. For when *Hannibal* was informed how things went at *Hamæ*, forthwith he marched thither; hoping to finde thoſe young ſouldiers, and ſlaves, buſied in making ſpoil, and loading themſelves with the booty. But they were all gotten ſafe within *Cumæ*; which partly for anger, partly for deſire of gaining it, and partly at the urgent entreaty of the *Capuans*, *Hannibal* aſſailed the next



the next day. Much labour, and with ill ſucceſs, the *Carthaginians* and their fellows ſpent about this town. They raiſed a wooden Tower againſt it; which they brought cloſe unto the wals; thinking thereby to force an Entry. But the Defendants, on the inſide of the wall, raiſed againſt this an high Tower; whence they made reſiſtance, and found means at length to conſume with fire the work of their Enemies. While the *Carthaginians* were buſie in quenching the fire, the *Romans*, ſallying out of the Town at two gates, charged them valiantly, and drave them to their Trenches, with the ſlaughter of about fourteen hundred. The Conſul wiſely founded the Retreat, ere his men were too far engaged, and *Hannibal* in a readineſs to requite their ſervice. Neither would he in the pride of his good ſucceſs, adventure forth againſt the Enemy; who preſented him battel the day following, near unto the wals. *Hannibal* therefore, ſeeing no likelihood to prevail in that which he had taken in hand, brake up the ſiege, and returned to his old camp at *Tifata*. About theſe times, and ſhortly after, when *Fabius* the other Conſul had taken the field; ſome ſmall Towns were recovered by the *Romans*, and the people ſeverely puniſhed for their revolt.

The *Carthaginian* Army was too ſmall, to fill with garriſons all places that had yielded; and withal to abide (as it muſt do) ſtrong in the field. Wherefore *Hannibal*, attending the ſupply from home, that ſhould enable him to ſtrike at *Rome* it ſelf, was driven in the mean time to alter his courſe of war: and inſtead of making (as formerly he had done) a general invaſion upon the whole Country, to paſs from place to place; and wait upon occaſions, that grew daily more commodious to the enemy, than to him. The Countrey of the *Hirpines* and *Samnites* was grievouſly waſted by *Marcellus*, in the abſence of *Hannibal*; as alſo was *Campania*, by *Fabius* the Conſul; when *Hannibal* having followed *Marcellus* to *Nola*, and received there the loſs before mentioned, was gone to winter in *Apulia*. Theſe people ſhewed not the like ſpirit in defending their lands, and fighting for the *Carthaginian* Empire, as in former times they had done, when they contended with the *Romans*, in their own behalf, to get the Soveraignty. They held it reaſon, that they ſhould be protected by ſuch as thought to have dominion over them: whereby at once they overburdened their new Lords; and gave unto their old, the more eaſie means to take revenge of their defection.

The people of *Rome* were very intentive as neceſſity conſtrained them, to the work that they had in hand. They continued *Fabius* in his Conſulſhip: and joyned with him *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*; whom they had appointed unto that honour the year before. Of theſe two, *Fabius* was called the *Shield*: and *Marcellus*, the *Roman Sword*. In *Fabius* it was highly, and upon juſt reaſon, commended, That being himſelf Conſul, and holding the Election, he did not ſtand upon nice points of formality, or regard what men might think of his ambition, but cauſed himſelf to be choſen with *Marcellus*; knowing in what need the City ſtood of able Commanders. The great name of theſe Conſuls, and the great preparations which the *Romans* made, ſerved to put the *Campans* in fear, that *Capua* it ſelf ſhould be beſieged. To prevent this, *Hannibal*, at their earneſt entreaty, came from *Arpi* (where he lay, hearkening after news from *Tarentum*) and having with his preſence comforted theſe his friends, fell on the ſudden upon *Puteoli*, a Sea-town of *Campania*; about which he ſpent three dayes in vain, hoping to have won it. The garriſon in *Puteoli* was ſix thouſand ſtrong: and did their duty ſo well, that the *Carthaginian*, finding no hope of good ſucceſs, could only ſhew his anger upon the fields there, and about *Naples*; which having done, and once more (with as ill ſucceſs as before) aſſailed *Nola*, he bent his courſe to *Tarentum*: wherein he had very great intelligence. Whileſt he was in his progreſs thither; *Hanno* made a journey againſt *Beneventum*: and *T. Gracchus*, the laſt years Conſul, haſting from *Nuceria*, met him there; and fought with him a battel. *Hanno* had with him about ſeventeen thouſand foot, *Brutians* and *Lucans* for the moſt part: beſides twelve hundred horſe; very few of which were *Italians*, all the reſt *Numidians* and *Moors*. He held the *Romans* work four hours, ere it could be perceived to which ſide the victory would incline. But *Gracchus* his ſouldiers, which were all (in a manner) the late-armed ſlaves, had received from their General a peremptory denunciation, That this day or never they muſt purchaſe their liberty, bringing every man for price thereof, an enemies head. The ſweet reward of liberty was ſo greatly deſired, that none of them feared any danger in earning it: howbeit that vain labour impoſed by their General, of cutting off the ſlain enemies heads, troubled them exceedingly; and hindered the ſervice by imployment of ſo many hands in a work ſo little concerning the victory. *Gracchus* there-

fore finding his own errour, wisely corrected it: proclaiming aloud, That they should cast away the heads, and spare the trouble of cutting off any more; for that all should have liberty immediately after the battel, if they wonn the day. This encouragement made them run head-long upon the Enemy; whom their desperate fury had soon overthrown, if the *Roman*-horse could have made their part good against the *Numidian*. But though *Hanno* did what he could, and pressed so hard upon the *Romans* battel, that four thousand of the slaves, (for fear either of them, or of the punishment which *Gracchus* had threatned before the battel unto those that should not valiantly behave themselves) retired unto a ground of strength; yet was he glad at length to save himself by flight, when the Gross of his Army was broken; being unable to remedy the loss. Leaving the field, he was accompanied by no more than two thousand, most of which were horse; all the rest were either slain or taken. The *Roman* General gave unto all his souldiers that reward of liberty which he had promised: but unto those four thousand, which had recoyled unto the Hill, he added this light punishment; That as long as they served in the wars, they should neither eat nor drink otherwise than standing, unless sickness forced them to break his order. So the victorious Army returned to *Beneventum*: where the newly enfranchised Souldiers were feasted in publick by the Towns-men; some sitting, some standing, and all of them having their heads covered (as was the custom of slaves manumised) with caps of white wooll. The picture of this Feast (as a thing worthy of remembrance) was afterward hung up in a Table by *Gracchus*, in the Temple of Liberty; which his Father had built and dedicated. This was indeed the first battel, worthy of great note, which the *Carthaginians* had lost since the coming of *Hannibal* into *Italy*: the victories of *Marcellus* at *Nola*, and of this *Gracchus* before at *Hamæ*, being things of small importance.

Thus the *Romans*, through industry, by little and little, repaired the great Breach in their Estate, which *Hannibal* had made at *Cannæ*. But all this while, and long after this, their Treasury was so poor, that no industry nor art could serve to help it. The fruits of their grounds did only (and perhaps hardly) serve to feed their Towns and Armies, without any surplusage, that might be exchanged for other needful commodities. Few they were in *Italy* that continued to pay them tribute: which also they could worse do than before; as living upon the same trade, and subject to the same inconveniencies, which enfeebled *Rome* it self. *Sicil* and *Sardinia*, that were wont to yield great profit, hardly now maintained the *Roman* Armies, that lay in those Provinces, to hold them safe, and in good order. As for the Citizens of *Rome*, every one of them suffered his part of the detriment, which the Common-wealth sustained, and could now do least for his Country, when most need was: as also the number of them was much decreased; so as if mony should be raised upon them by the *Poll*, yet must it be far less than in former times. The Senate therefore diligently considering the greatness of the war within the bowels of *Italy*, that could not be thence expelled, without the exceeding charge of many good Armies; the peril, wherein *Sicil* and *Sardinia* stood, both of the *Carthaginians*, and of many among the Naturals declining from the friendship or subjection of *Rome*; the threats of the *Macedonian*, ready to land in the Eastern parts of *Italy*, if they were not at the cost to find him work at home; the greater threats of *Asdrubal*, to follow his Brother over the *Alps*, as soon as he could rid himself of the *Scipio's* in *Spain*; and the poverty of the Common-wealth, which had not mony for any one of these mortal dangers; were driven almost even to extream want of counsel. But being urged by the violence of swift necessity, signified in the letters of the two *Scipio's* from *Spain*; they resolved upon the only course, without the which the City could not have subsisted.

They called the people to assembly; wherein *Quintus Fulvius* the Prætor laid open the publick wants; and plainly said, That in this exigent, there must be no taking of mony for victuals, weapons, apparel, or the like things needful to the Souldiers; but that such as had stuff, or were Artificers, must trust the Common-wealth with the Loan of their commodities and labors, until the war were ended. Hereunto he so effectually exhorted all men, especially the Publicans or Customers, and those which in former times had lived upon their dealing in the common Revenues, that the charge was undertaken by private men; and the Army in *Spain*, as well supplyed, as if the Treasury had been full. Shortly after this, *Marcus Attilius Regulus*, and *Publius Furius Philus*, the *Roman* Censors; taking in hand the redress of disorders within the City, were chiefly intentive to the correction of those, that had mis-behaved themselves in this present war. They began with *L. Cecilius Metellus*;



*Metellus*; who, after the battel at *Cannæ*, had held discourse with some of his Companions, about flying beyond the Seas; as if *Rome*, and all *Italy*, had been no better than lost. After him they took in hand those, that having brought to *Rome* the message of their fellows made prisoners at *Cannæ*, returned not back to *Hannibal*, as they were bound by oath; but thought themselves thereof sufficiently discharged, in that they had stepped once back into his Camp, with pretence of taking better notice of the Captives names. All these were now pronounced infamous by the Censors: as also were a great many more; even whosoever had not served in the wars, after the term which the Laws appointed: Neither was the note of the Censors at this time (as otherwise it had used to be) hurtful only in reputation: but greater weight was added thereunto, by this Decree of the Senate, following; *That all such as were noted with infamy by these Censors, should be transported into* Sicil, *there to serve until the end of the War, under the same hard conditions, that were imposed upon the Remainder of the Army beaten at* Cannæ. The office of the Censors was, to take the List and accompt of the Citizens; to chuse or displace the Senatours; and to set notes of disgrace (without further punishment) upon those, whose unhoneſt or unseemly behaviour fell not within the compass of the Law. They took also an account of the *Roman* Gentlemen: amongst whom they distributed the publick Horses of service, unto such as they thought meet; or took them away for their mis-behaviour. Generally, they had the oversight of mens lives and manners: and their censure was much reverenced and feared; though it extended no further, than to putting men out of rank; or making them change their Tribe; or (which was the most that they could do) causing them to pay some Duties to the Treasury, from which others were exempted. But, besides the care of this general Tax, and matters of Morality, they had the charge of all publick Works; as mending of High-wayes, Bridges, and Water-courses; the reparations of Temples, Porches, and such other buildings. If any man incroached upon the Streets, High-wayes, or other places that ought to be common; the Censors compelled him to make amends. They had also the letting out of Lands, Customs, and other publick Revenues to farm: so that most of the Citizens of *Rome* were beholding unto this office; as maintaining themselves by some of the Trades thereto belonging. And this was no small help to conserve the dignity of the Senate: the commonalty being obnoxious unto the Censors; which were alwayes of that Order, and careful to uphold the reputation thereof. But the Common-weal being now impoverished by War, and having small store of Lands to lett, or of Customs that were worth the farming; *Regulus* and *Philus* troubled not themselves much with perusing the Temples, or other decayed places, that needed reparations: or, if they took a view of what was requisite to be done in this kind; yet forbore they to set any thing in hand, because they had not wherewith to pay. Herein again appeared a notable generosity of the *Romans*. They that had been accustomed in more happy times, to undertake such pieces of work, offered now themselves as willingly to the Censors, as if there had been no such want: promising liberally their cost and travel; without expectation of any payment, before the end of the War. In like sort, the Masters of those slaves, that lately had been infranchised by *Gracchus*, were very well contented to forbear the price of them, until the City were in better case to pay. In this general inclination of the Multitude, to relieve, as far forth as every one was able, the common necessity; all the goods of Orphans, and of Widows living under Patronage, were brought into the Treasury; and there the Quæstor kept a Book of all that was laid out for the sustenance of these Widows and Orphans: whilst the whole stock was used by the City. This good example of those which remained in the Town, prevailed with the Souldiers abroad: so that (the poorer sort excepted) they refused to take pay; and called those *Mercenaries*, that did accept it, when their Country was in so great want.

The twelve hundred Talents wrongfully extorted from the *Carthaginians*; nor any injuries following, done by the *Romans* in the height of their pride; yielded half so much commodity, as might be laid in ballance against these miseries, whereinto their Estate was now reduced. Nevertheless if we consider things aright, the calamities of this War did rather inable *Rome* to deal with those Enemies, whom she forthwith undertook, than abate or slacken the growth of that large Dominion, whereto she attained, ere the youngest of those men was dead, whose names we have already mentioned. For by this hammering, the *Roman* metal grew more hard and solid: and by paring the branches of private fortunes, the Root and Heart of the Common-wealth was corroborated. So grew the City of *Athens*, when

when *Xerxes* had burnt the Town to aſhes, and taken from every particular Citizen, all hope of other felicity, than that which reſted in the common happineſs of the univerſality. Certain it is, (as Sir *Francis Bacon* hath judiciouſly obſerved) That a State, whoſe dimenſion or ſtem is ſmall, may aptly ſerve to be foundation of a great Monarchy: which chiefly comes to paſs, where all regard of domeſtical proſperity is laid aſide; and every mans care addreſſed to the benefit of his Country. Hereof I might ſay that our Age hath ſeen a great example, in the united Provinces in the Netherlands; whoſe preſent riches and ſtrength grew chiefly from that ill aſſurance, which each of their Towns, or almoſt of their Families, perceived it ſelf to hold, whilſt the generality was oppreſſed by the Duke of *Alva*; were it ſo, that the people had thereby grown as warlike, as, by extreme induſtry, and ſtraining themſelves to fill their publick Treaſury, they are all grown wealthy, ſtrong at Sea, and able to wage great Armies for their ſervices by Land. Wherefore if we value at ſuch a rate as we ought, the patient reſolution, conformity to good Order, obedience to Magiſtrates, with many other Vertues, and above all other, the great love of the Commonweal, which was found in *Rome* in theſe dangerous times: we may truly ſay, That the City was never in greater likelihood to proſper. Neither can it be deemed otherwiſe, than that if the ſame affections of the people had laſted, when their Empire, being grown more large and beautiful, ſhould in all reaſon have been more dear unto them; if the riches and delicacies of *Aſia* had not infected them with ſenſuality, and carryed their appetites mainly to thoſe pleaſures, wherein they thought their well-being to conſiſt; if all the Citizens and ſubjects of *Rome* could have believed their own intereſt to be as great, in thoſe wars which theſe latter Emperours made for their defence, as in theſe which were managed by the Conſuls: the Empire, founded upon ſo great vertue, could not have been thrown down by the hands of rude *Barbarians*, were they never ſo many. But unto all Dominions God hath ſet their periods: Who, though he hath given unto Man the knowledge of thoſe wayes, by which Kingdoms riſe and fall; yet hath left him ſubject unto the affections, which draw on theſe fatal changes, in their times appointed.

## §. XIV.

*The* Romans *win ſome Towns back from* Hannibal. Hannibal *wins* Tarentum. *The ſiege of* Capua. *Two Victories of* Hannibal. *The Journey of* Hannibal *to the gates of* Rome. Capua *taken by the* Romans.

AS the people of *Rome* ſtrained themſelves to the utmoſt, for maintaining the War: ſo their Generals abroad omitted no part of induſtry, in ſeeking to recover what had been loſt. The Town of *Caſſline*, *Fabius* beſieged. It was well defended by the *Carthaginian* Garriſon; and likely to have been relieved by thoſe of *Capua*, if *Marcellus* from *Nola*, had not come to the aſſiſtance of his Colleague. Neverthleſs, the place held out ſo obſtinately, that *Fabius* was purpoſed to give it over: ſaying, that the enterpriſe was not great; yet as difficult, as a thing of more importance. But *Marcellus* was of a contrary opinion. He ſaid, That many ſuch things, as were not at firſt to have been undertaken by great Commanders, ought yet, when once they were taken in hand, to be proſecuted unto the beſt effect. So the ſiege held on: and the Town was preſſed ſo hard, that the *Campans* dwelling therein, grew fearful, and craved parley; offering to give it up, ſo as all might have leave to depart in ſafety, whither they pleaſed. Whilſt they were thus treating of conditions: or whilſt they were iſſuing forth, according to the compoſition already made; (for it is diverſly reported) *Marcellus* ſeizing upon a Gate, entred with his Army, and put all to ſword that came in their way. Fifty of thoſe that were firſt gotten out, ran to *Fabius* the Conſul, who ſaved them, and ſent them to *Capua* in ſafety; all the reſt were either ſlain, or made priſoners. If *Fabius* deſerved Commendations, by holding his word good unto theſe fifty; I know not how the ſlaughter of the reſt, or impriſonment afterward of ſuch as eſcaped the heat of execution, could be excuſed by *Marcellus*. It may be that he helped himſelf after the *Roman* faſhion, with ſome æquivocation, but he ſhall pay for it hereafter. In like ſort was *Mount Marſan* in *Gaſcoign* taken by the Marſhall *Monluc*, when I was a young man in *France*. For whilſt he entertained parley about compoſition; the beſieged rann all from their ſeveral guards, upon haſty deſire of being acquainted with the conditions propoſed. The Marſhall therefore diſcovering a part of the Walls unguarded, entred by *Scalado*, and put all ſave the Governour unto the ſword. Herein that



that Governour of *Mount Marſan* committed two groſs errours; the one, in that he gave no order for the Captains and Companies, to hold themſelves in their places; the other, in that he was content to parlee without Pledges for aſſurance given and received. Some ſuch overſight the Governour of *Caſtline* ſeemeth to have committed; yet neither the advantage taken by *Marcellus*, or by *Monluc*, was very honourable. When this Work was ended, many ſmall Towns of the *Samnites*, and ſome of the *Lucans* and *Apulians*, were recovered: wherein were taken or ſlain, about five and twenty thouſand of the Enemies; and the Country grievouſly waſted by *Fabius*, *Marcellus* lying ſick at *Nola*.

*Hannibal* in the mean while was about *Tarentum*, waiting to hear from thoſe, that had promiſed to give up the Town. But *M. Valerius* the *Roman* Propretor had thruſt ſo many men into it, that the Traitors durſt not ſtir. Wherefore the *Carthaginian* was fain to depart, having wearied himſelf in vain with expectation. Yet he waſted not the Country, but contented himſelf with hope, that they would pleaſe him better in time following. So he departed thence toward *Salapia*, which he choſe for his wintring-place; and began to victual it when Summer was but half paſt. It is ſaid, that he was in love with a young Wench in that Town, in which regard, if he began his Winter more timely than otherwiſe he required, he did not, like the *Romans*; whom neceſſity inforced, to make their Summer laſt as long as they were able to travel up and down the Country.

About this time began great troubles in *Sicil*, whither *Marcellus* the Conſul was ſent, to take ſuch order for the Province, as need ſhould require. Of the doings there, which wore out more time than his Conſulſhip, we will ſpeak hereafter.

The new Conſuls, choſen at *Rome*, were *Q. Fabius* the Son of the preſent Conſul, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the ſecond time. The *Romans* found it needful for the publick ſervice, to imploy oftentimes their beſt able men: and therefore made it lawful, during the war, to recontinue their Officers, and chuſe ſuch as had lately held their places before; without regarding any diſtance of time, which was otherwiſe required. The old *Fabius* became Lieutenant unto his Son: which was perhaps the reſpect, that moſt commended his Son unto the place. It is noted, That when the old man came into the Camp, and his Son rode forth to meet him: eleven of the twelve Lictors, which carried an Axe with a bundle of Rods before the Conſul, ſuffered him, in regard of due reverence, to paſs by them on horſe-back, which was againſt the cuſtom. But the Son perceiving this, commanded the laſt of his Lictors to note it: who thereupon bade the old *Fabius* alight, and come to the Conſul on his feet. The Father chearfully did ſo; ſaying, *It was my mind, Son, to make tryal, whether thou didſt underſtand thy ſelf to be Conſul.* *Caſſius Altinius* a wealthy Citizen of *Arpi*, who, after the battel at *Cannæ*, had holpen the *Carthaginian* into that Town, ſeeing now the fortune of the *Romans* to amend, came privily to this Conſul *Fabius*, and offered to render it back unto him, if he might be therefore well rewarded. The Conſul purpoſed to follow old examples; and to make this *Altinius* a pattern to all Traitors; uſing him as *Camillus* and *Fabricius* had done thoſe that offered their faithful ſervice againſt the *Faliſci*, and King *Pyrrhus*. But *Q. Fabius* the Father, was of another opinion: and ſaid, it was a matter of dangerous conſequence, That it ſhould be thought more ſafe to revolt from the *Romans*, than to turn unto them. Wherefore it was concluded, that he ſhould be ſent to the Town of *Cales*, and there kept as priſoner; until they could better reſolve, what to do with him, or what uſe to make of him. *Hannibal* underſtanding that *Altinius* was gone, and among the *Romans*, took it not ſorrowfully; but thought this a good occaſion to ſeize upon all the mans riches, which were great. Yet that he might ſeem rather ſevere, than covetous, he ſent for the wife and children of *Altinius* into his Camp: where having examined them by torment, partly concerning the departure and intentions of this fugitive, partly, and more ſtrictly, about his riches, what they were, and where they lay, he condemned them as partakers of the treaſon, to be burnt alive; and took all their goods unto himſelf. *Fabius* the Conſul ſhortly after came to *Arpi*: which he wonn by *Scalado*, in a ſtormy and rainy night. Five thouſand of *Hannibal*'s Souldiers lay in the Town; and of the *Arpines* themſelves, there were about three thouſand. Theſe were thruſt formoſt by the *Carthaginian* Garriſon; when it was underſtood, that the *Romans* had gotten over the Wall, and broken open a Gate. For the Souldiers held the Towns-men ſuſpected; and therefore thought it no wiſdom to truſt them at their backs. But after ſome little reſiſtance, the *Arpines* gave over fight, and entertained parley with the *Romans*: proteſting, they they had been betrayed by their Princes; and

were

were become subject to the *Carthaginians*, against their wills. In process of this discourse, the *Arpine* Prætor went unto the *Roman* Consul: and receiving his faith for security of the Town, presently made head against the Garrison. This notwithstanding, like it is that *Hannibals* men continued to make good resistance. For when almost a thousand of them that were *Spaniards*, offered to leave their companions, and serve on the *Romans* side, it was yet covenanted, that the *Carthaginians* should be suffered to pass forth quietly, and return to *Hannibal*. This was performed: and so *Arpi* became *Roman* again, with little other loss, than of him that had betrayed it. About the same time *Cliternum* was taken by *Sempronius Tuditanus*, one of the Prætors: and unto *Cneus Fulvius*, another of the Prætors, an hundred and twelve Gentlemen of *Capua* offered their service; upon no other condition, than to have their goods restored unto them, when their City should be recovered by the *Romans*. This was a thing of small importance: but considering the general hatred of the *Campans* towards *Rome*, it served to discover the inclination of the *Italians* in those times; and how their affections recoyled from *Hannibal*, when there was no appearance of those mighty succours, that had been promised from *Carthage*. The *Consentines* also, and the *Thurines*, people of the *Brutians*, which had yielded themselves to *Hannibal*, returned again to their old allegiance. Others would have followed their example, but that one *L. Pomponius*, who of a Publican had made himself a Captain, and gotten reputation by some petty exploits in forraging the Country, was slain by *Hanno*; with a great multitude of those that followed him. *Hannibal* in the mean while had all his care bent upon *Tarentum*; which if he could take, it seemed that it would stand him in good stead, for drawing over that help out of *Macedon*, which his *Carthaginians* failed to send. Long he waited ere he could bring his desire to pass: and being loth to hazard his forces, where he hoped to prevail by intelligence; he contented himself with taking in some poor Towns of the *Salentines*. At length, his Agents within *Tarentum*, found means to accomplish their purpose, and his wish. One *Phileas*, that was of their conspiracy, who lay at *Rome* as Embassadour, practising with the Hostages of the *Tarentines*, and such as had the keeping of them, conveyed them by night out of the City. But he and his company the next day were so closely pursued, that all of them were taken, and brought back to *Rome*, where they suffered death as Traitors. By reason of this cruelty, or severity, the people of *Tarentum* grew to hate the *Romans* more generally and earnestly than before. As for the Conspirators, they followed their business the more diligently, as knowing what reward they were to expect, if their intention should happen to be discovered. Wherefore they sent again to *Hannibal*; and acquainting him with the manner of their plot, made the same composition with him for the *Tarentines*, which they of *Capua* had made before. *Nico* and *Philomenes*, two of the chief among them, used much to go forth of the Town on hunting by night; as if they durst not take their pleasure by day, for fear of the *Carthaginians*. Seldom or never they missed of their game: for the *Carthaginians* prepared it ready for their hands, that they might not seem to have been abroad upon other occasion: From the Camp of *Hannibal* it was about three dayes journey to *Tarentum*, if he should have marched thither with his whole Army. This caused his long abode in one place the less to be suspected: as also, to make his enemies the more secure, he caused it to be given out, that he was sick. But when the *Romans* within *Tarentum*, were grown careless of such his neighbourhood, and the Conspirators had set their business in order; he took with him ten thousand the most expedite of his horse and foot; and long before break of day, made all speed thitherward. Fourscore light horse of the *Numidians* ran a great way before him, beating all the wayes, and killing any that they met, for fear lest he, and his troop following him, should be discovered. It had been often the manner of some few *Numidian* horse, to do the like in former times. Wherefore the *Roman* Governour, when he heard tell in the evening, that some *Numidians* were abroad in the fields, took it for a sign, that *Hannibal* was not as yet dislodged; and gave order, that some companies should be sent out the next morning, to strip them of their booty, and send them gone. But when it grew dark night; *Hannibal*, guided by *Philomenes*, came close to the Town: where, according to the tokens agreed upon, making a light to shew his arrival; *Nico*, that was within the Town, answered him with another light, in sign that he was ready. Presently *Nico* began to set upon one of the Gates, and to kill the watch-men. *Philomenes* went toward another gate: and whistling (as was his manner) called up the Porter; bidding him make haste, for that he had killed a great Bore, so heavy, that scarce two men could stand under it. So the Porter opened the wicket: and forthwith entred two young men, loaden with the Bore; which *Hannibal* had prepared large enough, to be worthy the looking on. While the Porter stood wondring at the largeness of the beast, *Philomenes* ran him through with his Bore-spear: and letting in some thirty armed men, fell upon all the watch; whom when he had slain, he entred the great gate. So the Army of *Hannibal* entring *Tarentum* at two Gates, went directly toward the Market place, where both parts met. Thence they were distributed by their General, and sent into all quarters of the City, with *Tarentines* to be their guides. They were commanded to kill all the *Romans*, and not to hurt the Citizens. For better performance hereof, *Hannibal* willed the Conspirators, that when any of their friends appeared in sight, they should bid him be quiet, and of good chear. All the Town was in an uproar: but few could tell what the matter meant. A *Roman* trumpet was unskilfully sounded by a *Greek* in the Theater: which helped the suspition, both of the *Tarentines*, that the *Romans* were about to spoil the Town; and of the *Romans*, that the Citizens were in commotion. The Governour fled into the Port: and taking boat, got into the Citadel, that stood in the mouth of the Haven; whence he might easily perceive the next morning, how all had passed. *Hannibal* assembling the *Tarentines*, gave them to understand, what good affection he bore them; inveighed bitterly against the *Romans*, as tyrannous oppressours; and spake what else he thought fit for the present. This done, and having gotten such spoil as was to be had of the Souldiers goods in the Town, he addressed himself against the Citadel; hoping that if the Garrison would sally out, he might give them such a blow, as should make them unable to defend the Piece. According to his expectation it partly fell out. For when he began to make his approaches, the *Romans* in a bravery sallying forth, gave charge upon his men: who fell back of purpose according to direction, till they had drawn on as many as they could, and so far from their strength, as they durst adventure. Then gave *Hannibal* a sign to his *Carthaginians*, who lay prepared ready for the purpose: and fiercely setting upon the Enemy, drave him back with great slaughter, as fast as he could run; so that afterwards he durst not issue forth. The Citadel stood upon a Demi-Island, that was plain ground; and fortified only with a Ditch and Wall against the Town, whereunto it was joyned by a cawsey. This cawsey *Hannibal* intended to fortifie in like sort against the Citadel; to the end that the *Tarentines* might be able, without his help, to keep themselves from all danger thence. His work in few dayes went so well forward, without impediment from the besieged, that he conceived hope of winning the piece it self, by taking a little more pains. Wherefore he made ready all sorts of engines, to force the place. But whilst he was busied in his works, there came by sea a strong supply from *Metapontum*: which took away all hope of prevailing; and made him return to his former counsel. Now forasmuch as the *Tarentine* fleet lay within the haven, and could not pass forth, whileſt the *Romans* held the Citadel: it seemed likely that the Town would suffer want, being debarred of accustomed trade and provisions by Sea: whileſt the *Roman* garrison by help of their shipping, might easily be relieved, and enabled to hold out. Against this inconvenience, it was rather wished by the *Tarentines*, than any way hoped, that their fleet could get out of the haven; to guard the mouth of it, and cut off all supply from the Enemy. *Hannibal* told them, that this might well be done: for that their Town standing in plain ground, and their streets being fair and broad, it would be no hard matter to draw the Gallies over land, and lanch them into the Sea without. This he undertook, and effected: whereby the *Roman* garrison was reduced into great necessity; though with much patience it held out, and found *Hannibal* oftentimes otherwise busied, than his affairs required.

Thus with mutual loss on both sides, the time passed: and the *Roman* forces, growing dayly stronger, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, with *Appius Claudius*, lately chosen Consuls, prepared to besiege the great City of *Capua*. Three and twenty Legions the *Romans* had now armed. This was a great and hasty growth from that want of men, and of all necessaries, whereinto the loss at *Cannæ* had reduced them. But to fill up these Legions, they were fain to take up young Boyes that were under seventeen years of age: and to send Commissioners above fifty miles round, for the seeking out of such Lads as might appear serviceable, and pressing them to the Wars; making yet a Law, that their years of service, whereinto they were bound by order of the City, should be reckoned, for their benefit, from this their beginning so young, as if they had been of lawful age. Before the *Roman* Army drew near, the *Campans* felt great want of victual, as if they had already been besieged. This happened partly by sloth of the Nation, partly by the great

great waſte and ſpoyl, which the *Romans* had in foregoing years made upon their grounds. They ſent therefore Embaſſadours to *Hannibal*; deſiring him to ſuccour them ere they were cloſed up, as they feared to be ſhortly. He gave them comfortable words, and ſent *Hanno* with an Army to ſupply their wants. *Hanno* appointed them a day; againſt which they ſhould be ready with all manner of carriages, to ſtore themſelves with victuals, that he would provide. Neither did he promiſe more than he performed. For he cauſed great quantity of grain, that had been laid up in Cities round about, to be brought into his Camp, three miles from *Beneventum*. Thither at the time appointed, came no more than forty Carts or Wagons, with a few pack-horſes, as if this had been enough to victual *Capua*. Such was the retchleſneſs of the *Campans*. *Hanno* was exceeding angry hereat: and told them they were worſe than very beaſts; ſince hunger could not teach them to have greater care. Wherefore he gave them a longer day; againſt which he made proviſion to ſtore them throughly. Of all theſe doings word was ſent to the *Roman* Conſuls, from the Citizens of *Beneventum*. Therefore *Q. Fulvius* the Conſul, taking with him ſuch ſtrength as he thought needful for the ſervice, came into *Beneventum* by night; where with diligence he made inquiry into the behaviour of the Enemy. He learned, that *Hanno* with part of his Army was gone abroad to make proviſions; that ſome two thouſand Wagons, with a great rabble of Carters and other Varlets, lay among the *Carthaginians* in their Camp; ſo that little good order was kept: all thought being ſet upon a great harveſt. Hereupon the Conſul bade his men prepare themſelves to aſſail the enemies Camp: and leaving all his impediments within *Beneventum*, he marched thitherward ſo early in the morning, that he was there with the firſt break of day. By coming ſo unexpected, he had well near forced the Camp on the ſudden. But it was very ſtrong, and very well defended: ſo that the longer the fight continued, the leſs deſire had *Fulvius* to loſe more of his men in the attempt; ſeeing many of them caſt away, and yet little hope of doing good. Therefore he ſaid, that it were better to go more leiſurely and ſubſtantially to work; to ſend for his fellow-Conſul, with the reſt of their Army; and to lye between *Hanno* and home; that neither the *Campans* ſhould depart thence, nor the *Carthaginians* be able to relieve them. Being thus diſcourſing, and about to ſound the retrait; he ſaw that ſome of his men had gotten over the enemies Rampart. There was great booty; or (which was all one to the Souldier) an opinion of much that might be gotten in that Camp. Wherefore ſome Enſign-bearers threw their Enſignes over the Rampart, willing their men to fetch them out, unleſs they would endure the ſhame and diſhonour following ſuch a loſs. Fear of ſuch ignominy (than which nothing could be greater) made the Souldiers adventure ſo deſperately, that *Fulvius*, perceiving the heat of his men, changed his purpoſe, and incouraged thoſe that were ſomewhat backward; to follow the example of them that had already gotten over the Trenches. Thus the Camp was won: in which were ſlain above ſix thouſand; and taken above ſeven thouſand, beſides all the ſtore of victuals, and carriages, with abundance of booty, that *Hanno* had lately gotten from the *Roman* Confederates. This miſadventure, and the nearer approach of both the Conſuls, made them of *Capua* ſend a pitiful Embaſſage to *Hannibal*: putting him in mind of all the love that he was wont to proteſt unto their City; and how he had made ſhew to affect it no leſs then *Carthage*. But now, they ſaid it would be loſt, as *Arpi* was lately, if he gave not ſtrong and ſpeedy ſuccour. *Hannibal* anſwered with comfortable words: and ſent away two thouſand horſe, to keep their grounds from ſpoil, whileſt he himſelf was detained about *Tarentum*, partly by hope of winning the Citadel, partly by the diſpoſition, which he ſaw in many Towns adjoyning, to yield unto him. Among the Hoſtages of the *Tarentines*, that lately had fled out of *Rome*, and, being overtaken, ſuffered death for their attempt; were ſome of the *Metapontines*, and other Cities of the *Greeks*, inhabiting that Eaſtern part of *Italy*, which was called of old, *Magna Græcia*. Theſe people took to heart the death of their Hoſtages, and thought the puniſhment greater than the offence. Wherefore the *Metapontines*, as ſoon as the *Roman* garriſon was taken from them to defend the Citadel of *Tarentum*, made no more ado, but opened their gates to *Hannibal*. The *Thurines* would have done the like, upon the like reaſon, had not ſome companies layn in their Town; which they feared that they ſhould not be able to maſter. Nevertheleſs, they helped themſelves by cunning: inviting to their gates *Hanno* and *Mago*, that were near at hand: againſt whom whileſt they proffered their ſervice to *Atinius* the *Roman* Captain, they drew him forth to fight, and recoyling from him, cloſed up their gates. A little for-



formality they uſed in pretending fear, leſt the enemy ſhould break in together with the *Romans*, in ſaving *Atinius* himſelf, and ſending him away by Sea; as alſo in conſulting a ſmall while (becauſe perhaps many of their chief men were unacquainted with the practice) whether they ſhould yield to the *Carthaginian* or no. But this diſputation laſted not long: for they that had removed the chief impediment, eaſily prevailed in the reſt; and delivered up the Town to *Hanno* and *Mago*. This good ſucceſs, and hope of the like, detained *Hannibal* in thoſe quarters, whileſt the Conſuls fortifying *Beneventum* to ſecure their backs, addreſſed themſelves to the ſiege of *Capua*.

Many diſaſters befell the *Romans*, in the beginning of this great enterpriſe. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, a very good man of War, that had of late been twice Conſul, was ſlain, either by treachery of ſome *Lucans*, that drew him into ambuſh, or by ſome *Carthaginian* ſtragglers, among whom he fell unawares. His body, or his head, was very honourably interred, either by *Hannibal* himſelf, or (for the reports agree not) by the *Romans*; to whom *Hannibal* ſent it. He was appointed to lie in *Beneventum*, there to ſecure the back of the Army that ſhould beſiege *Capua*. But his death hapned in an ill time, to the great hinderance of that buſineſs. The Volones or Slaves lately manumiſed, forſook their Enſigns, and went every one whither he thought good, as if they had been diſcharged by the deceaſe of their Leader; ſo that it asked ſome labour to ſeek them out, and bring them back into their Camp. Nevertheleſs, the Conſuls went forward with their work, and drawing near to *Capua*, did all acts of hoſtility, which they could. *Mago* the *Carthaginian*, and the Citizens of *Capua* gave them an hard welcome, wherein above fifteen hundred *Romans* were loſt. Neither was it long ere *Hannibal* came thither, who fought with the Conſuls, and had the better; inſomuch, that he cauſed them to diſlodge. They removed by night, and went ſeveral waies: *Fulvius* towards *Cannæ*, *Claudius* into *Lucania*. *Hannibal* followed after *Claudius*, who having led him a great walk, fetcht a compaſs about, and returned to *Capua*. It ſo fell out, that one *Marcus Centenius Penula*, a ſtout man, and one that with good commendations had diſcharged the place of a Centurion, lay with an Army not far from thence, where *Hannibal* reſted, when he was weary of hunting after *Claudius*. This *Penula* had made great vaunts to the *Roman* Senate, of wonders which he would work, if he might be truſted with the leading of five thouſand men. The Fathers were unwilling in ſuch a time, to reject the vertue of any good Souldier, how mean ſoever his condition were. Wherefore they gave him the charge of eight thouſand: and he himſelf being a proper man, and talking bravely, gathered up ſo many voluntaries, as almoſt doubled his number. But meeting thus with *Hannibal*, he gave proof of the difference between a ſtout Centurion, and one able to command in chief. He and his fellows were all (in a manner) ſlain, ſcarce a thouſand of them eſcaping. Soon after this, *Hannibal* had word, that *Cneus Fulvius* a *Roman* Prætor with eighteen thouſand men was in *Apulia*, very careleſs, and a man inſufficient for the charge which he held. Thither therefore he haſted to viſit him: hoping to deal the better with the main ſtrength of *Rome*, which pointed at *Capua*, when he ſhould have cut off thoſe forces, that lay in the Provinces about, under men of ſmall ability. Coming upon *Fulvius*, he found him and his men ſo jolly, that needs they would have fought the firſt night. Wherefore it was not to be doubted, what would happen the day following. So he beſtowed *Mago* with three thouſand of his lighteſt armed, in places thereabout moſt fit for ambuſh. Then offering battel to *Fulvius*, he ſoon had him in the trap: whence he made him glad to eſcape alive; leaving all, ſave two thouſand of his followers, dead behind him.

Theſe two great blows, received the one preſently after the other, much aſtoniſhed the *Romans*. Nevertheleſs, all care was taken, to gather up the ſmall reliques of the broken Armies: and that the Conſuls ſhould go ſubſtantially forwards with the ſiege of *Capua*: which was of great conſequence, both in matter of reputation, and in many other reſpects. The two Conſuls ſate down before the Town, and *C. Claudius Nero*, one of the Prætors, came with his Army from *Sueſſula*, to their aſſiſtance. They made Proclamation, That whoſoever would iſſue out of *Capua* before a certain day prefixed, ſhould have his pardon, and be ſuffered to enjoy all that unto him belonged: which day being paſt, there ſhould be no grace expected. This offer was contumeliouſly rejected; the *Capuans* relying on their own ſtrength, and the ſuccours attended from *Hannibal*. Before the City was cloſed up, they ſent meſſengers to the *Carthaginian*; which found him at *Brunduſium*. He had made a long journey in hope of gaining the *Tarentine* Citadel: of which expectation failing, he turned to *Brunduſium*, upon advertiſement that he ſhould

be let in. There the *Capuans* met him, told him of their danger with earneſt words; and were with words as bravely re-comforted. He bade them conſider, how, a few dayes ſince he had chaſed the Conſuls out of their fields; and told them, that he would preſently come thither again, and ſend the *Romans* going as faſt as before. With this good anſwer the Meſſengers returned, and hardly could get back into the City; which the *Romans* had almoſt intrenched round. As for *Hannibal* himſelf, he was of opinion, that *Capua*, being very well manned, and heartily devoted unto his friendſhip, would hold out a long time, and thereby give him leiſure to do what he thought requiſite among the *Tarentines*, and in thoſe Eaſtern parts of *Italy*; whilſt the *Roman* Army ſpent it ſelf in a tedious ſiege. Thus he lingred, and thereby gave the Conſuls time both to fortifie themſelves at *Capua*, and to diſpatch the election of new Magiſtrates in *Rome*; whilſt he himſelf purſued hopes that never found ſucceſs.

*Claudius* and *Fulvius*, when their term of office was expired, were appointed to continue the ſiege at *Capua*; retaining the ſame Armies, as Proconſuls. The Towns-men often ſallied out, rather in a bravery, than likelihood to work any matter of effect; the Enemy lying cloſe within his Trenches, as intending without other violence, to ſubdue them by famine. Yet againſt the *Campan* horſe (for their foot was eaſily beaten) the *Romans* uſed to thruſt out ſome troops, that ſhould hold them ſkirmiſh. In theſe exerciſes the *Campans* uſually had the better, to the great grief of their proud Enemy; who ſcorned to take foil at the hands of ſuch Rebels. It was therefore deviſed, that ſome active and couragious young men ſhould learn to ride behind the *Roman* men at arms; leaping up, and again diſmounting lightly, as occaſion ſerved. Theſe were furniſhed like the *Velites*, having each of them three or four ſmall darts: which alighting in time of conflict, they diſcharged thick upon the Enemies horſe; whom vanquiſhing in this kind of ſervice, they much diſheartened in the main. The time thus paſſing, and famine daily increaſing within the City, *Hannibal* came at length, not expected by the *Romans*: and taking a Fort of theirs, called *Galatia*, fell upon their Camp. At the ſame time the *Capuans* iſſued with their whole power, in as terrible manner as they could deviſe: ſetting all their multitude of unſerviceable people by the walls, which with a loud noiſe of Pans and Baſons, troubled thoſe that were occupied in fight. *Appius Claudius* oppoſing himſelf to the *Campans*, eaſily defended his Trenches againſt them; and ſo well repreſſed them, that he drave them at length back into their City. Nethertheleſs, in purſuing them to their gates, he received a wound that accompanied him in ſhort ſpace after to his grave. *Q. Fulvius* was held harder to this taſk by *Hannibal*, and the *Carthaginian* Army. The *Roman* Camp was even at point to have been loſt; and *Hannibal* his Elephants, of which he brought three and thirty, were either gotten within the rampart, or elſe (for the report varies) being ſome of them ſlain upon it, fell into the ditch, and filled it up in ſuch ſort, that their bodies ſerved as a Bridge unto the Aſſailants. It is ſaid, that *Hannibal* in this tumult cauſed ſome fugitives that could ſpeak Latine well, to proclaim aloud as it were in the Conſuls name, That every one of the Souldiers ſhould ſhift for himſelf, and flye betimes unto the next hills, for as much as the Camp was already loſt. But all would not ſerve. The fraud was detected; and the Army having ſitten there ſo long, had at good leiſure ſtrongly intrenched it ſelf, ſo as little hope there was to raiſe the ſiege by force.

This did extremely perplex the *Carthaginian*. The purchaſe of *Capua* had (as was thought) with-held him from taking *Rome* it ſelf: and now his deſire of winning the *Tarentine* Citadel, had well-near loſt *Capua*; in reſpect of which, neither the Citadel, nor the City of *Tarentum* were to have been much regarded. Falling therefore into a deſperate anger with himſelf and his hard fortune, that of ſo many great victories he had made no greater uſe: on the ſudden he entertained an haughty reſolution, even to ſet upon *Rome*; and carry to the walls of that proud City, the danger of War that threatned *Capua*. This, he thought, would be a mean, to draw the *Roman* Generals, or one of them at leaſt, unto the defence of their own home. If they roſe from the ſiege with their whole Army, then had he his deſire: If they divided their forces, then was it likely, that either he or the *Campans*, ſhould well enough deal with them apart. Neither did he deſpair, that the terrour of his coming might ſo aſtoniſh the multitude within *Rome*, as he might enter ſome part or other of the City. His only fear was, leſt the *Campans*, being ignorant of his purpoſe, ſhould think he had forſaken them; and thereupon forthwith yield themſelves to the Enemy. To prevent this danger, he ſent letters to *Capua* by a ſubtle *Numidian*; who running as a fugitive into the *Roman* Camp, conveyed himſelf thence over the innermoſt Trenches into



into the City. The Journey to *Rome* was to be performed with great celerity: no ſmall hope of good ſucceſs reſting in the ſuddenneſs of his arrival there. Wherefore he cauſed his men to have in a readineſs ten dayes victuals; and prepared as many boats, as might in one night tranſport his Army over the River *Vulturnus*. This could not be done ſo cloſely, but that the *Roman* Generals, by ſome fugitives, had notice of his purpoſe. With this danger therefore they acquainted the Senate; which was therewith affected, according to the diverſity of mens opinions, in a caſe of ſuch importance. Some gave counſel to let alone *Capua*, yea, and all places elſe, rather than to put the Town of *Rome* into peril of being taken by the enemy. Others were ſo far from allowing of this, as they wondred how any man could think, that *Hannibal*, being unable to relieve *Capua*, ſhould judge himſelf ſtrong enough to win *Rome*; and therefore ſtoutly ſaid, That thoſe Legions, which were kept at home for defence of the City, would ſerve the turn well enough, to keep him out and ſend him thence, if he were ſo unwiſe as to come thither. But it was finally concluded, that Letters ſhould be ſent to *Fulvius* and *Claudius*, acquainting them perfectly with the forces, that at the preſent were in *Rome*: who, ſince they knew beſt what the ſtrength was which *Hannibal* could bring along with him, were beſt able to judge, what was needful to oppoſe him. So it was referred unto the diſcretion of theſe Generals at *Capua*, to do as they thought behoveful: and if it might conveniently be, neither to raiſe their ſiege, nor yet to put the City of *Rome* into much adventure. According to this Decree of the Senate, *Q. Fulvius* took fifteen thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, the choice of his whole Army; with which he haſted toward *Rome*; leaving *App. Claudius*, who could not travel by reaſon of his wound, to continue the ſiege at *Capua*.

*Hannibal* having paſſed over *Vulturnus*, burnt up all his boats, and left nothing that might tranſport the Enemy, in caſe he ſhould offer to purſue or coaſt him. Then haſted he away toward *Rome*, ſtaying no longer in any one place, than he needs muſt. Yet found he the Bridges over *Liris* broken down by the people of *Fregellæ*: which, as it ſtopped him a little on his way; ſo it made him the more grievouſly to ſpoil their Lands, while the Bridges were in mending. The nearer that he drew to *Rome*, the greater waſte he made: his *Numidians* running before him; driving the Country, and killing or taking multitudes of all ſorts and ages, that fled out of all parts round about. The Meſſengers of theſe news came apace, one after another into the City; ſome few bringing true advertiſements; but the moſt of them reporting the conceits of their own fear. All the Streets and Temples in *Rome* were peſtred with women, crying, and praying, and rubbing the Altars with their hair, becauſe they could do none other good. The Senators were all in the great Market, or place of Aſſembly; ready to give their advice, if it were asked, or to take directions given by the Magiſtrates. All places of moſt importance were ſtuffed with ſouldiers: it being uncertain, upon which part *Hannibal* would fall. In the midſt of this trepidation, there came news that *Quintus Fulvius*, with part of the Army from *Capua*, was haſting to the defence of the City. The Office of a Proconſul did expire, at his return home, and entring into the Gates of *Rome*. Wherefore, that *Fulvius* might loſe nothing by coming into the City, in time of ſuch need, as Act was paſſed, That he ſhould have equal power with the Conſuls during his abode there. He and *Hannibal* arrived at *Rome*, one ſoon after another: *Fulvius* having been long held occupied in paſſing over *Vulturnus*; and *Hannibal* receiving impediment in his Journey, as much as the Country was able to give. The Conſuls, and *Fulvius*, incamped without the Gates of *Rome*, attending the *Carthaginian*. Thither they called the Senate: and as the danger grew nearer and greater; ſo took they more careful & eſpecial order againſt all occurrences. *Hannibal* came to the River *Anio*, or *Anien*, three miles from the Town; whence he advanced with two thouſand horſe, and rode along a great way under the Walls, viewing the ſight thereof, and conſidering how he might beſt approach it. But he either went, or (as the *Roman* Story ſaith) was driven away, without doing or receiving any hurt. Many tumults roſe in this while among the people; but were ſuppreſſed by the care and diligence of the Senators. Above the reſt, one accident was both troubleſome, and not without peril. Of *Numidians* that had ſhifted aſide, and fallen (upon ſome diſpleaſures) from *Hannibal* to the *Romans*, there were ſome twelve hundred then in *Rome*; which were appointed by the Conſuls, to paſs thorow the Town, from the Mount *Aventine*, to the Gate *Colliatna*, where it was thought that their ſervice might be uſeful, among broken wayes, and Garden-walls lying in the ſuburbs. The faces of theſe men, and their furniture, wherein they differed not from the followers of *Hannibal*; bred

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such mistaking, as caused a great uproar among the people: all crying out that *Aventine* was taken, and the Enemy gotten within the walls. The noise was such, that men could not be informed of the truth: and the streets were so full of cattel, and husbandmen, which were fled thither out of the Villages adjoyning, that the passage was stopt up: and the poor *Numidians* pitifully beaten from the house tops, with stones and other weapons that came next to hand, by the desperate multitude, that would have run out at the Gates, had it not been certain who lay under the Walls. To remedy the like inconveniences, it was ordained, *That all which had been Dictators, Consuls, or Censors, should have authority as Magistrates, till the Enemy departed.* The day following *Hannibal* passed over *Anien*, and presented battel to the *Romans*, who did not wisely if they undertook it. It is said, that a terrible showre of rain, caused both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* to return into their several Camps, and that this happened two dayes together, the weather breaking up and clearing as soon as they were departed asunder: certain it is, that *Hannibal*, who had brought along with him no more than ten dayes provision, could not endure to stay there, until his victuals were all spent. In which regard the *Romans*, if they suffered him to waste his time and provisions, knowing that he could not abide there long, did as became well advised men: if they offered to fight with him, and either had the better, or were parted (as is said) by some accident of weather, the commendations must be given to their fortune. The terrour of *Hannibals* coming to the City, how great soever it was at the first, yet after some leisure, and better notice taken of their forces, which appeared less than the first apprehension had formed them, was much and soon abated. Hereunto it helped well, that at the same time the Supply appointed for *Spain*, after the death of the two *Scipio's*, were sent out of the Town, and went forth at the Gate, whilst one *Carthaginian* lay before another. In all *Pnick terrours*, as they are called, whereof there is either no cause known, or no cause answerable to the greatness of the sudden consternation; it is a good remedy to do somewhat quite contrary to that which the danger would require, were it such as men have fashioned it in their amazed conceits. Thus did *Alexander* cause his souldiers to disarm themselves, when they were all on a sudden in a great fear of they wist not what. And thus did *Clearchus* pacifie a foolish uproar in his Army, by proclaming a reward unto him that could tell who had sent the Ass into the Camp. But in this present example of the *Romans*, appears withall a great magnanimity; whereby they sustained their reputation, and augmented it no less, than by this bold attempt of *Hannibal* it might seem to have been diminished. Neither could they more finely have checked the glorious conceits of their enemie, and taken away the disgrace of that fear, which clouded their valour at his first coming; than by making such demonstrations, when once they had recovered spirit, how little they esteemed him. To this purpose therefore that very piece of ground, on which the *Carthaginian* lay encamped, was sold in *Rome*: and sold it was nothing under the value, but at as good a rate, as if it had been in time of peace. This indignity coming to his ear, incensed *Hannibal* so much, that he made port-sale of the Silver-smiths shops, which were near about the Market or Common place in *Rome*; as if his own title to the houses within the Town were no whit worse, than any *Roman* Citizens could be unto that piece of ground, whereon he raised his Tent. But this counter-practice was nothing worth. The *Romans* did seek to manifest that assurance which they justly had conceived; *Hannibal*, to make shew of continuing in an hope, which was already past. His victuals were almost spent: and of those ends, that he had proposed unto himself, this Journey had brought forth none other, than the fame of his much daring. Wherefore he brake up his Camp: and doing what spoil he could to the *Roman* Territory, without sparing religious places, wherein wealth was to be gotten, he passed like a tempest over the Country, and ran toward the Eastern Sea so fast, that he had almost taken the City of *Rhegium* before his arrival was feared or suspected. As for *Capua*, he gave it lost: and is likely to have cursed the whole faction of *Hanno*, which thus disabled him to relieve that fair City, since he had no other way to vent his grief.

*Q. Fabius* returning back to *Capua*, made Proclamation anew, that whoso would yield before a certain day, might safely do it. This, and the very return of *Fulvius*, without any more appearance of *Hannibal*, gave the *Capuans* to understand, that they were abandoned, and their case desperate. To trust the *Roman* pardon proclaimed, every mans conscience of his own evil deserts, told him, that it was a vanity: and some faint hope was given, by *Hanno* and *Bostar*, Captains of the *Carthaginian* Garrison within the Town, that *Hannibal* should come again, if means could only be found, how to convey such Letters unto him as they would write. The carriage of the Letters was undertaken by some *Numidians*; who running as fugitives, out of the Town into the *Roman* Camp, waited fit opportunity to make an escape thence with their packets. But it happened ere they could convey themselves away, that one of them was detected by an harlot following him out of the Town; and the Letters of *Bostar* and *Hanno* were taken and opened, containing a vehement entreaty unto *Hannibal*, that he would not thus forsake the *Capuans* and them. For (said they) we came not hitherto make War against *Rhegium* and *Tarentum*, but against the *Romans*; whose Legions, wheresoever they lye, there also should the *Carthaginian* Army be ready to attend them; and by taking of such a course, have we gotten those victories at *Trebia*, *Thrasymene*, and *Cannæ*. In fine, they besought him, that he would not dishonour himself, and betray them to their enemies, by turning another way; as if it were his only care, that the City should not be taken in his full view; promising to make a desperate sally, if he would once more adventure to set upon the *Roman* Camp. Such were the hopes of *Bostar* and his fellow.

But *Hannibal* had already done his best; and now began to faint under the burden of that War, wherein as afterward he protested he was vanquished by *Hanno* and his Partisans, in the *Carthaginian* Senate, rather than by any force of *Rome*. It may well be, as a thing incident in like cases, that some of those which were besieged in *Capua*, had been sent over by the *Hannonians*, to observe the doings of *Hannibal*, and to check his proceedings. If this were so, justly might they curse their own malice, which had cast them into this remediless necessity. Howsoever it were, the Letters directed unto *Hannibal*, fell (as is shewed) into the *Roman* Proconsuls hands; who cutting off the hands of all such counterfeit fugitives, as carried such messages, whipt them back into the Town. This miserable spectacle brake the hearts of the *Campans*, so that the multitude crying out upon the Senate, with menacing terms, caused them to assemble and consult, about the yielding up of *Capua* unto the *Romans*. The bravest of the Senators and such as a few years since, had been most forward in joyning with *Hannibal*, understood well enough whereunto the matter tended. Wherefore one of them invited the rest home to supper; telling them, that when they had made good chear, he would drink to them such an health, as should set them free from that cruel revenge, which the Enemies sought upon their bodies. About seven and twenty of the Senators there were, that liking well of this motion, ended their lives together, by drinking poyson. All the rest hoping for more mercy than they had deserved, yielded simply to discretion. So one of the Town-gates was set open; whereat a *Roman* Legion, with some other Companies, entring, disarmed the Citizens; apprehended the *Carthaginian* Garrison; and commanded all the Senators of *Capua* to go forth into the *Roman* Camp. At their coming thither, the Proconsuls laid Irons upon them all, and commanding them to tell what store of gold and silver they had at home, sent them into safe custody; some to *Cales*, others to *Theanum*. Touching the general multitude, they were referred unto the discretion of the Senate; yet so hardly used by *Fulvius* in the mean while, that they had little cause of hope or comfort in this adversity. *Ap. Claudius* was brought even to the point of death, by the wound which he had lately received; yet was he not inexorable to the *Campans*; as having loved them well in former times, and having given his Daughter in marriage to that *Pacuvius*, of whom we spake before. But this facility of his Colleague, made *Fulvius* the more hasty in taking vengeance; for fear, lest upon the like respects, the *Roman* Senate might prove more gentle, than he thought behoveful to the common safety, and honour of their State. Wherefore he took the pains to ride by night unto *Theanum*, and from thence to *Cales*; where he caused all the *Campan* prisoners to suffer death; binding them to stakes, and scourging them first a good while with rods; after which he struck off their heads.

This terrible example of vengeance, which the *Carthaginians* could not hinder, made all Towns of *Italy* the less apt to follow the vain hope of the *Campans*; and bred a general inclination, to return upon good conditions to the *Roman* side. The *Atellans*, *Calatines* and *Sabatines*, people of the *Campans*, that in the former change had followed the fortune of *Capua*, made also now the like submission, for very fear and want of ability to resist. They were therefore used with the like rigour, by *Fulvius*; who dealt so extremely with them all, that he brought them into desperation. Wherefore some of their young Gentlemen burning with fire of revenge got into *Rome*; where they found means by night-time, to set on fire many houses, that a great part of the City was like to have been consumed. The beginning of the fire

fire in divers places at once, argued that it was no caſualty. Wherefore liberty was proclaimed unto any ſlave, and other ſufficient reward to any free-man, that ſhould diſcover who thoſe Incendiaries were. Thus all came out; and the *Campans* being detected by a ſlave of their own (to whom, above his liberty promiſed, was given about the ſumm of an hundred marks) had the puniſhment anſwerable to their deſerts. *Fulvius* hereby being more and more incenſed againſt this wretched people, held them in a manner as priſoners within their Walls: and this extreme ſeverity cauſed them at length to become Suppliants unto the *Roman* Senate; that ſome period might be ſet unto their miſeries. That whereupon the Senators reſolved in the end, was worſe than all that which they had ſuffered before. Only two poor women in *Capua* (of which one had been an harlot) were found not guilty of the late rebellion. The reſt were, ſome of them, with their wives and children ſold for ſlaves, and their goods confiſcated; others laid in priſon, and reſerved to further deliberation: but the generality of them, commanded to depart out of *Campania* by a certain day, and confined unto ſeveral places, as beſt liked the angry victors. As for the Town of *Capua*, it was ſuffered to ſtand, in regard of the beauty and commodious ſight: but no corporation or form of polity was allowed to be therein; only a *Roman* Provoſt was every year ſent to govern over thoſe that ſhould inhabit it, and to do juſtice. This was the greateſt act, and moſt important, hitherto done by the people of *Rome*, after many great loſſes in the preſent War. After this, the glory of *Hannibal* began to ſhine with a more dim light than before: his oyl being far ſpent; and that which ſhould have revived his flame, being unfortunately ſhed; as ſhall be told in place convenient.

## §. XV.

*How the* Carthaginians, *making a party in* Sardinia *and* Sicil, *held War againſt the* Romans *in thoſe Iſlands, and were overcome.*

WHilſt things paſſed thus in *Italy*, the commotions raiſed in *Sardinia* and *Sicil* by the *Carthaginians* and their friends, were brought to a quiet and happy end by the induſtrious valour of the *Romans*. The *Sardinian* rebellion was great and ſudden: above thirty thouſand being up in arms, ere the *Roman* forces could arrive there to ſuppreſs it. One *Harſicoras* with his Son *Hyoſtus*, mighty men in that Iſland, were the Ring-leaders; being incited by *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, that promiſed the aſſiſtance of his Country. Neither were the *Carthaginians* in this enterpriſe ſo careleſs, as in the reſt of their main undertakings, about the ſame time. Yet it had been better if their care had been directed unto the proſecution of that main buſineſs in *Italy*; whereon this and all other hopes depended. For it would have ſufficed, if they could have hindred the *Romans* from ſending an Army into *Sardinia*. *Harſicoras* with his followers might well enough have ſerved to drive out *Quintus Mutius* the Prætor; who lay ſick in the Province; and not more weak in his own body, than in his train. But whilſt they ſought revenge of that particular injury, whereof the ſenſe was moſt grievous; they neglected the opportunity of requiting thoſe that had done them wrong; and of the ſecuring themſelves from all injuries in the future. Their fortune alſo in this enterpriſe was ſuch, as may ſeem to have encouraged them from being at the like charge, in caſes of more importance. For, whereas they ſent over *Aſdrubal*, ſurnamed *the Bald*, with a competent Fleet and Army, aſſiſted in this expedition by *Hanno* the Author of the rebellion, and by *Mago* a Gentleman of the *Barchine* houſe, and near kinſman to *Hannibal*: it ſo fell out, that the whole Fleet, by extremity of foul weather, was caſt upon the *Baleares*; ſo beaten, and in ſuch evil plight, that the *Sardinians* had even ſpent their hearts, and were in a manner quite vanquiſhed, ere theſe their friends could arrive to ſuccour them.

*Titus Manlius* was ſent from *Rome* with two and twenty thouſand foot, and twelve hundred horſe, to ſettle the eſtate of that Iſland, which he had taken in, and annexed unto the *Roman* Dominion, long before this, in his Conſulſhip. It was a laudable cuſtom of the *Romans*, to preſerve and uphold in their ſeveral Provinces, the greatneſs and reputation of thoſe men, and their families, by whom each Province had been firſt ſubdued unto their Empire. If any injury were done unto the Provincials, if any grace were to be obtained from the Senate, or whatſoever accident required the aſſiſtance of a Patron; the firſt Conquerour, and his race after him, were the moſt ready and beſt approved means, to procure the benefit of the people ſubdued. Hereby the *Romans* held very ſure intelligence in every Province, and had alwayes in readineſs fit men to reclaim their ſubjects, if they fell into any ſuch diſorder, as would otherwiſe have required



required a greater charge and trouble. The coming of *Manlius* retained in obedience all that were not already broken too far out. Yet was *Harſicoras* ſo ſtrong in field, that *Manlius* was compelled to arm his Mariners: without whom he could not have made up that number of two and twenty thouſand, wherof we have ſpoken before: he landed at *Calaris*, or *Carallis*, where mooring his ſhips, he paſſed up into the Country, and ſought out the Enemy. *Hyoſtus*, the Son of *Harſicoras*, had then the command of the *Sardidian* Army left unto him by his Father, who was gone abroad into the Country, to draw in more friends to their ſide. This young Gentleman would needs adventure to get honour, by giving battel to the *Romans* at his own diſcretion. So he raſhly adventured to fight with an old Souldier; by whom he received a terrible overthrow; and loſt in one day above thirty thouſand of his followers. *Hyoſtus* himſelf, with the reſt of his broken troops, got into *Cornus*, the chief Town of the Iſland; whither *Manlius* purſued them. Very ſoon after this defeature came *Aſdrubal* with his *Carthaginians*; too late to win all *Sardinia* in ſuch haſte as he might have done, if the tempeſt had not hindred his voyage; yet ſoon enough, and ſtrong enough to ſave the Town of *Cornus*, and to put a new ſpirit into the Rebels. *Manlius* hereupon withdrew himſelf back to *Calaris*; where he had not ſtayed long, ere the *Sardinians* (ſuch of them as adhered to the *Roman* party) craved his aſſiſtance; their Country being waſted by the *Carthaginians*, and the rebels, with whom they had refuſed to joyn. This drew *Manlius* forth of *Calaris*; where, if he had ſtayed a little longer, *Aſdrubal* would have ſought him out with ſome blemiſh to his reputation. But the fame of *Aſdrubal* and his company, appears to have been greater than was their ſtrength. For after ſome trial made of them in few ſkirmiſhes, *Manlius* adventred all to the hazard of a battel; wherein he ſlew twelve thouſand of the enemies; and took of the *Sardinians* and *Carthaginians* three thouſand. Four hours the battel laſted; and victory at length fell to the *Romans*, by the flight of the Illanders, whoſe courages had been broken in their unproſperous fight, not many dayes before. The death of young *Hyoſtus*, and of his Father *Harſicoras*, that ſlew himſelf for grief, together with the captivity of *Aſdrubal* himſelf, with *Mago* and *Hanno* the *Carthaginians*, made the victory the more famous. The vanquiſhed Army fled into *Cornus*, whither *Manlius* followed them, and in ſhort ſpace wonn the Town. All other Cities of the Iſle that had rebelled, followed the example of *Cornus*, and yielded unto the *Roman*; who, impoſing upon them ſuch increaſe of tribute, or other puniſhment, as beſt ſorted with the nature of their ſeveral offences, or their ability to pay, returned back to *Calaris* with a great booty, and from thence to *Rome* leaving *Sardinia* in quiet.

The war in *Sicil* was of greater length, and every way more burdenſome to *Rome*: as alſo the victory brought more honour and profit, for that the *Romans* became thereby, not only ſavers of their own, as in *Sardinia*, but Lords of the whole Country, by annexing the City and dominion of *Syracuſe*, to that which they enjoyed before. Soon after the battel of *Cannæ*, the old King of *Syracuſe* died; who had continued long a ſtedfaſt friend unto the *Romans*, and greatly relieved them in this preſent war. He left his Kingdom to *Hieronymus* his grand-child, that was about fifteen years of age; *Gelo* his Son, that ſhould have been his heir, being dead before. To this young King his ſucceſſour, *Hiero* appointed fifteen tutors; of which the principal were *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and *Themiſtius*; who had married his daughters, or the daughters of *Gelo*. The reſt were ſuch, as he judged moſt likely to preſerve the Kingdom, by the ſame Art, whereby himſelf had gotten, and ſo long kept it. But within a little while, *Andronodorus* waxing weary of ſo many coadjutors, began to commend the ſufficiency of the young Prince, as extraordinary in one of his years; and ſaid, that he was able to rule the Kingdom without help of any Protector. Thus by giving over his own charge, he cauſed others to do the like; hoping thereby to get the King wholly into his hands; which came to paſs in a ſort, as he deſired. For *Hieronymus*, laying aſide all care of government, gave himſelf wholly over to his pleaſures: or, if he had any regard of his Royal dignity, it was only in matter of exterior ſhew; as wearing a Diadem, with ornaments of people, and being attended by an armed guard. Hereby he offended the eyes of his purple, that had never ſeen the like in *Hiero*, or in *Gelo* his Son. But much more he offended them, when by his inſolent behaviour, ſuitable to his outward pomp, he gaue proof, that in courſe of life, he would revive the memory of Tyrants dead long ſince, from whom he took the pattern of his habit. He grew proud, luſtful, cruel, and dangerous to all that were about him; ſo that ſuch of his late tutors as could eſcape him by flight, were glad to live in baniſhment: the

reſt, being moſt of them put to death by the Tyrant; many of them dying by their own hands, to avoid the danger of his diſpleaſure, that ſeemed worſe than death it ſelf. Only *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and one *Thraſo*, continued in grace with him, and were his Counſellours, but not of his Cabinet. Theſe, howſoever they agreed in other points, were at ſome diſſention about the main point of adhering, either to the *Romans*, or to the *Carthaginians*. The two former of them were wholly for the Kings pleaſure, which was ſet on change: but *Thraſo*, having more regard of his honour and profit, was very earneſt to continue the amity with *Rome*. Whilſt as yet it remained ſomewhat doubtful which way the King would incline, a conſpiracy againſt his perſon was detected by a Groom of his; to whom one *Theodorus* had broken the matter. *Theodorus* hereupon was apprehended, and tormented; thereby to wring out of him the whole practice, and the names of the undertakers. Long it was ere he would ſpeak any thing: but yielding (as it ſeemed) in the end, unto the extremity of the torture, he confeſſed, that he had been ſet on by *Thraſo*; whom he appeached of the treaſon, together with many more, that were near in love or place unto *Hieronymus*. All theſe therefore were put to death, being innocent of the crime wherewith they were charged. But they that were indeed the Conſpirators, walked boldly in the ſtreets, and never ſhrunk for the matter: aſſuring themſelves, that the reſolution of *Theodorus* would yield to no extremity. Thus they all eſcaped, and ſoon after found means to execute their purpoſe. The King himſelf, when *Thraſo* was taken out of the way, quickly reſolved upon ſiding with the *Carthaginians*, whereto he was very inclinable before. Young men, when firſt they grow Maſters of themſelves, love to ſeem wiſer than their Fathers, by taking different courſes. And the Liberality of *Hiero* to the *Romans*, in their great neceſſity, had of late been ſuch, as might have been termed exceſſive, were it not in regard of his providence; wherein he took order for his own eſtate, that depended upon theirs. But the young Nephew taking little heed of dangers far off, regarded only the things preſent; the weakneſs of *Rome*, the prevalent fortunes of *Carthage*, and the much money that his Grand-father had laid out in vain, to ſhoulder up a falling houſe. Wherefore he dealt with *Hannibal*, who readily entred into good correſpondence with him, that was maintained by *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, *Carthaginians* born, but Grand-children of a baniſhed *Syracuſian*. Theſe grew into ſuch favour with *Hieronymus*, that they drew him whither they liſted. So that when *App. Claudius* the *Roman* Prætor, hearing what was towards, made a motion of renewing the Confederacy, between the people of *Rome*, and the King of *Syracuſe*; his meſſengers were diſmiſſed with an open ſcoff. For *Hieronymus* would needs have them tell him the order of the fight at *Cannæ*, that he might thereby learn how to accommodate himſelf; ſaying, that he could hardly believe the *Carthaginians*; ſo wonderful was the victory, as they reported it. Having thus diſmiſſed the *Romans*, he ſent Embaſſadours to *Carthage*, where he concluded a league: with condition, at firſt, that a great part of the Iſland ſhould be annexed to his Dominion; but afterward, that he ſhould reign over all *Sicil*; and the *Carthaginians* reſt ſatisfied with what they could get in *Italy*. At theſe doings *Appius Claudius* did not greatly ſtir; partly for the indignities that were offered; partly for that it behoved not the *Romans* to entertain more quarrels, than were enforced upon them by neceſſity; and partly (as may ſeem) for that the reputation, both of himſelf, and of his City, had received ſuch blemiſh, by that which happened unto him in his journey, as much diſcountenanced him when he came into *Sicil*, and forbade him to look big. The mony that *Hiero* had beſtowed formerly upon the *Romans*, wherewith to relieve them in their neceſſity, this *Appius* was to carry back unto him; it being refuſed by the *Roman* Senate, with greater bravery than their preſent fortune would allow. But inſtead of returning the mony with thanks, as he had been directed, and as it had been noiſed abroad that he ſhould do; the war againſt *Philip* King of *Macedon* (whereof we have ſpoken before) compelled the *Romans* to lay aſide vain-glory, and ſend word after him, that he ſhould conſign that mony over to *Marcus Valerius*; of whoſe voyage into *Greece*, the City had not otherwiſe wherewith to bear the charge. This was done accordingly, and hereby *Claudius* (which name in the whole continuance of that Family is taxed with pride) his errand was changed, from a glorious oſtentation of the *Roman* magnanimity, into ſuch a pitiful tune of thanks-giving, as muſt needs have bred ſorrow and commiſeration in ſo true a friend as *Hiero*; or, if it were delivered after his death, matter of paſtime and ſcorn, in *Hieronymus* the new King.

But whilſt *Hieronymus* was more deſirous of war, than well reſolved how to begin it;



it; his own death changed the form of things, and bred a great innovation in the State of *Syracuſe*; which thereby might have proſpered more than ever, had it been wiſely governed. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, of whom we ſpake before, were ſent about the Country with two thouſand men, to ſolicite the Towns, and perſwade them to ſhake off their obedience to the *Romans*. The King himſelf with an Army of fifteen thouſand horſe and foot, went to *Leontium* a City of his own Dominion: hoping that the fame of his preparation, would make the whole Iſland fall to him in all haſte; and accept him for Soveraign. There the Conſpirators took him on the ſudden, as he was paſſing thorow a narrow ſtreet: and ruſhing between him and his guard, ſtruck him dead. Forthwith liberty was proclaimed; and the ſound of that word ſo joyfully anſwered by the *Leontines*, that the guard of *Hieronymus* had little courage to revenge their Maſters death. Yet, for fear of the worſt, a great largeſs was promiſed unto the Souldiers, with rewards unto their Captains; which wrought ſo effectually, that when many wicked acts of the murdered King were reckoned up, the Army, as in deteſtation of his bad life, ſuffered his carkaſs to lye unburied. Theſe news ran quickly to *Syracuſe*; whither ſome of the Conſpirators, taking alſo of the Kings horſes, poſted away; to ſignifie all that had paſſed, to ſtir up the people to liberty, and to prevent *Andronodorus*, if he or his followers would make offer to uſurp a tyranny. The *Syracuſians* hereupon preſently took arms, and made themſelves Maſters of their own City. *Andronodorus* on the other ſide fortified the Palace, and the Iſland; being yet uncertain what to do: between deſire of making himſelf a ſoveraign Lord, and fear of ſuffering puniſhment as a Tyrant, if his enterpriſe miſcarried. His wife *Demarata*, that was the daughter of *Hiero*, cheriſhed him in his hopes; putting him in mind of that well-known Proverb, which *Dionyſius* had uſed; *That a Tyrant ſhould keep his place, till he were haled out of it by the heels, and not ride away from it on horſe-back.* But fear, and better counſel, prevailed ſo far, that *Andronodorus*, having ſlept upon the matter, diſſembled his affections, and deferred his hope unto better opportunity. The next day he came forth, and made a ſpeech unto the people; telling them that he was glad to ſee, how prudently they behaved themſelves in ſo great a change; that he had ſtood in fear, leſt they would not have contained themſelves within the bounds of diſcretion; but rather have ſought to murder all without difference, that any way belonged to the Tyrant; and that, ſince he beheld their orderly proceeding, and their care, not to raviſh their liberty perforce, but to wed it unto them for ever; he was willingly come to them forth of his ſtrength, and ſurrendred up the charge committed unto him, by one that had been an evil Maſter both to him and them. Hereupon great joy was made, and Prætors choſen (as in former times) to govern the City, of which *Andronodorus* was one, and the chief. But ſuch was his deſire of Soveraignty, and ſo vehement were the inſtigations of his wife, that ſhortly he began to practiſe with *Hippocrates*, *Epicides*, and other Captains of the Mercenaries; hoping to make himſelf ſtrong by their help, that were leaſt pleaſed with the change. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* had been with the *Syracuſian* Prætors, and told them, that being ſent from *Hannibal* to *Hieronymus*, they, according to inſtructions of their Captain, had done him, whilſt he lived, what ſervice they could; and that now they were deſirous to return home. They requeſted therefore that they might be friendly diſmiſſed, and with a convoy, that might keep them from falling into the hands of the *Romans*, and ſet them ſafe at *Locri*. This was eaſily granted; both for that the *Syracuſian* Magiſtrates were well contented to earn thanks of *Hannibal*, with ſuch a little courteſie; and for that they thought it expedient, to rid their Town quickly of this troubleſome couple, which were good ſouldiers, and gracious with the Army, but otherwiſe lewd men. It was not the deſire of theſe two *Sicilians*, to be gone ſo haſtily as they made ſhew; they were more mindful of the buſineſs for which *Hannibal* had ſent them. Wherefore they inſinuated themſelves into the boſomes of ſuch as were moſt likely to fill the Army with tumult, eſpecially of the *Roman* fugitives, and thoſe that had cauſe to miſtruſt what ſhould become of themſelves, when the *Romans* and *Syracuſians* were come to agreement. Such inſtruments as theſe, *Andronodorus* had great need of: as alſo of many other, to help him in his dangerous attempt. He found *Themiſtius*, that had married *Harmonia*, the Siſter of *Hieronymus*, ready to take his part; as being carried with the like paſſions of his own, and of his wife. But in ſeeking to increaſe the number of his adherents, he revealed the matter to one, that revealed all to the reſt of the Prætors. Hereupon it followed, that he, & *Themiſtius*, entring into the Senate, were ſlain out of hand: and afterward accuſed to the people, of all the evil

which they had done, whileſt *Hieronymus* lived, as by his authority; and now ſince attempted, in ſeeking to uſurp the tyranny themſelves. It was alſo declared, that the daughters of *Hiero* and *Gelo* were acceſſary to this dangerous treaſon: and that the unquiet ſpirits of theſe women would never ceaſe to work, untill they had recovered thoſe royal ornaments and Soveraign power, whereof their family was now diſpoſſeſſed. Theſe daughters therefore of *Hiero* and *Gelo* were alſo condemned to dye, and executioners preſently ſent by the enraged people, to take away their lives. *Demarata* and *Harmonia* had perhaps deſerved this heavy ſentence: but *Heraclea*, the daughter of *Hiero*, and wife of *Soſippus*, being altogether innocent, was murdered, together with her two young daughters, in the haſty execution of this raſh judgment. Her husband *Soſippus* was a lover of the Common-wealth; and in that reſpect ſo hated by *Hieronymus*, that being ſent Embaſſadour to King *Ptolemy*, &c. he durſt not return home, but ſtayed in *Egypt* as a baniſhed man. This conſideration, when it was too late, together with ſome pitiful accidents accompanying the ſlaughter, ſo affected the multitude, that (pardoning themſelves) all cryed out upon the Authors of ſo foul a butchery. Being thus incenſed againſt the Senate; and knowing not otherwiſe how to ſatisfie their anger, they called for an election of new Prætors, in the room of *Andronodorus* and *Themiſtius*, that were lately ſlain: meaning to ſubſtitute ſuch in their places, as the Senators ſhould have little cauſe to like. At the election were preſent a great rout, not only of the poorer Citizens, but of ſouldiers that preſſed into the throng. One of theſe, named *Epicides* Prætor; another named *Hippocrates:* and the leſs that the old Prætors and Senators approved this nomination, the more eager was the multitude; and by a general cry forced them to be accepted. Theſe being made Prætors did what they could to hinder the agreement that was in hand, between the *Syracuſians* and the *Romans*. But having ſtriven in vain, and ſeeing that the people ſtood in fear of *Ap. Claudius*, and of *Marcellus* that was lately come into *Sicil*; they gave way unto the time, and ſuffered the old league of *Hiero* to be re-confirmed, which afterward they purpoſed to diſſolve by practiſe. The *Leontines* had ſome need of a garriſon; and to them was ſent *Hippocrates* the Prætor, attended by ſuch fugitives, and mercenary ſouldiers, as were moſt burdenſome to *Syracuſe*. Thither when he came, he began to do many acts of hoſtility againſt the *Romans:* firſt in ſecret, afterward more openly and boldly. *Marcellus*, rightly underſtanding the purpoſe of theſe two brethren, ſent word unto the *Syracuſians*, that they had already broken the league; and that the peace would never be kept ſincerely, untill this turbulent pair of brethren were expelled the Iſland. *Epicides*, fearing to ſuſtain the blame of his brothers proceedings, and more deſirous to ſet forward the war, than to excuſe any breach of peace; went himſelf unto the *Leontines*, whom he perſwaded to rebel againſt the *Syracuſians*. For he ſaid, that ſince they had all of late ſerved one Maſter, there was little reaſon why the *Leontines* ſhould not be enfranchiſed by his death, as well as the *Syracuſians*; yea or much rather, all things conſidered; ſince in their ſtreets the Tyrant was ſlain, and liberty firſt proclaimed. Wherefore, ſince they of *Syracuſe* were not contented to enjoy the freedom purchaſed among the *Leontines*; but thought it good reaſon, that they ſhould bear Dominion over thoſe that had broken the Chain, wherewith both the one and the other were bound: his advice was, that ſuch their arrogancy ſhould be checked betimes, ere it could get any colour of right by preſcription. Hereunto occaſion was given by one article of the League, made of late by the *Romans* and *Syracuſians*. For it was agreed, *That all which had been ſubject to* Hiero *and* Hieronymus, *ſhould henceforth be Vaſſals unto the State of Syracuſe*. Againſt this article, if the *Leontines* would take exception, and thereby challenge their own due; *Epicides* told them, that in this novelty of change, they had fit opportunity to recover the freedom, which their fathers had loſt not many ages before. Neither was it unreaſonable, which this crafty *Carthaginian* propounded; if the *Leontines* had been ſubdued by the ſame hand, which took liberty from the *Syracuſians*. But ſeeing they had long ſince yielded unto *Syracuſe*, and been ſubject unto that City, by what form ſoever it was governed; this claim of liberty was rather ſeaſonable, than juſt. Nevertheleſs, the motion of *Epicides* was highly approved: inſomuch that when meſſengers came ſoon after from *Syracuſe*, to rebuke the *Leontines*, for that which they had done againſt the *Romans*; and to denounce unto *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, that they ſhould get them gone, either to *Locri*, or whither elſe they liſted, ſo that they ſtayed not in *Sicil:* word was returned, That they of *Leontium* had not requeſted the *Syracuſians*, to make any bargains for them with the *Romans*,



*Romans*, nor thought themſelves bound to obſerve the covenants, which others without warrant had made in their names. This peremptory anſwer was forthwith reported unto *Marcellus* by the *Syracuſians*; who offered him their aſſiſtance in doing juſtice upon the *Leontines* their Rebels; with condition, That when the Town was taken, it might be theirs again. *Marcellus* required no better ſatisfaction: but forth-with took the buſineſs in hand, which he diſpatched in one day. At the firſt aſſault *Leontium* was taken, all ſave the Caſtle; whereinto *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* fled: and ſtealing thence away by night, conveighed themſelves into the Town of *Herbeſus*. The firſt thing that *Marcellus* did, when he had won the Town, was the ſame, which other *Roman* Captains uſed after victory, to ſeek out the fugitive *Roman* ſlaves and renegado's, whom he cauſed all to die: the reſt both of the Townſmen and Souldiers, he took to mercy, forbearing alſo to ſtrip or ſpoyl them. But the fame of his doings was bruited after a contrary ſort. It was ſaid, that he had ſlain Man, Woman, and Childe, and put the Town to ſack. Theſe news met the *Syracuſian* Army upon the way, as it was going to joyn with *Marcellus*, who had ended his buſineſs before. About eight thouſand Mercenaries there were, that had been ſent forth of *Syracuſe*, under *Soſis* and *Dinomenes*, two of the Prætors, to ſerve againſt the *Leontines* and other rebels. Theſe Captains were honeſt men, and well affected to their Country: but the Souldiers that followed them, had thoſe diſeaſes, with which all mercenaries are commonly infected. They took the matter deeply to heart, that their fellow ſouldiers (as now they termed thoſe againſt whom they went) had been ſo cruelly butchered: and hereupon they fell to mutiny; though what to demand, or with whom to be angry, they could not tell. The Prætors therefore thought it beſt, to turn their unquiet thoughts another way, and ſet them awork in ſome place elſe: for as much as at *Leontium* there was no need of their ſervice. So towards *Herbeſus* they marched; where lay *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, the architects of all this miſchief, deviſing what further harm they might do; but now ſo weakly accompanied, that they ſeemed unable to eſcape the puniſhments belonging to their offences paſt. Hereof the two brethren were no leſs well aware: and therefore adventured upon a remedy little leſs deſperate than their preſent caſe. They iſſued forth of *Herbeſus* unarmed, with Olive branches in their hands, in manner of Suppliants; and ſo preſented themſelves to the Army. Six hundred men of *Crete* were in the vant-guard; that had been well uſed by *Hieronymus:* and ſome of them greatly bound unto *Hannibal*, who had taken them priſoners in the *Italian* war, and lovingly diſmiſſed them. Theſe *Cretians* therefore welcomed the two brethren, and bade them be of good chear, ſaying, That no man ſhould do them harm, as long as they could uſe their weapons. Herewithall the Army was at a ſtand; and the rumour of this accident ran ſwiftly from man to man, with general approbation. The Prætors thought to help the matter by ſeverity, which would not ſerve. For when they commanded theſe two traitors to be laid in Irons, the exclamation was ſo violent againſt them, that fain they were to let all alone, and return, uncertain what courſe to take, unto *Megara*, where they were lodged the night before. Thither when they came, *Hippocrates* deviſed a trick, whereby to help himſelf, and better the uncertain caſe wherein he ſtood. He cauſed Letters, of his own penning, to be intercepted by ſome of his moſt truſty *Cretans*, directed (as they made ſhew) from the *Syracuſian* Prætors to *Marcellus*. The contents hereof were, That *Marcellus* had well done, in committing all to the ſword among the *Leontines:* but that it further behoved him, to make the like diſpatch of all the mercenaries belonging to *Syracuſe*; which were offenſive, all of them in general, to the liberty of the City, and the peace with *Rome*. When this counterfeit Epiſtle was openly rehearſed, the uproar was ſuch, that *Soſis* and his fellow Prætor, were glad to forſake the Camp, and fly for their lives. All the *Syracuſians* remaining behind, had been cut in pieces by the enraged Souldiers, if the two Artificers of the ſedition had not ſaved their lives; rather to keep them as pledges, and by them, to win their friends within the Town, than for any good will. They perſwaded alſo a miſchievous knave, that had ſerved amongſt the *Leontines*, to juſtifie the bruit of *Marcellus* cruelty, and to carry home the news to *Syracuſe*, as an eye-witneſs. This incenſed not only the multitude, but ſome of the Senate; and filled the whole Town with cauſeleſs indignation. In good time (ſaid ſome) was the avarice and cruelty of the *Romans* detected: who, had they in like ſort gotten into *Syracuſe*, would have dealt much worſe, where their greedy appetites might have been tempted with a far greater booty. Whilſt they were thus diſcourſing, and deviſing how to keep out the wicked *Romans*, *Hippocrates* with his Army came to the gates,

gates, exhorting the Citizens to let him in, unleſs for want of help, they would be betrayed to their enemies. The Prætors, with the beſt and wiſeſt of the Senate, would fain have kept him out: but the violence of the ſouldiers to force a gate, was no whit greater, than the head-ſtrong fury of thoſe within the Town, that laboured to break it open. So he entred, and immediately fell upon the Prætors, whom (being forſaken by all men) he put to the ſword, and made ſlaughter of them and their followers until night. The next day he went openly to work: and, after the common example of Tyrants, gave liberty unto all ſlaves and priſoners; and being fortified with adherents of the worſt and baſeſt ſort, made himſelf and his brother Prætors, in Title, but in effect, Lords of *Syracuſe*.

When *Marcellus* was advertiſed of this great alteration, he thought it no time for him to ſit ſtill, and attend the further iſſue. He ſent Embaſſadours to *Syracuſe*, that were not admitted into the Haven, but chaſed out as enemies. Then drew he near with his Army: and lodging within a mile and a half of the Town, ſent before him, ſome to require a parlee. Theſe were entertained without the walls by the two new Prætors: to whom they declared, That the *Romans* were come thither, not with purpoſe to do hurt, but in favour of the *Syracuſians*, which were oppreſſed by Tyrants; and to puniſh thoſe that had murdered and baniſhed ſo many of the principal Citizens. Wherefore they required, that thoſe worthy men, their Confederates, which were chaſed out of the Town, might be ſuffered to return and enjoy their own; as alſo that the Authors of the great ſlaughter lately committed, might be delivered up. Hereto *Epicides* briefly anſwered, that if their errand had been to him, he could have told what to ſay to them: but ſince it was directed unto others, they ſhould do well to return, when thoſe to whom they were ſent, had the government in their hands. As for the war which they threatned, he told them, they ſhould find by experience, That to beſiege *Syracuſe* was another manner of work, than to take *Leontium*. Thus he ſent them gone; and returned back into the City. Immediately began the ſiege, which endured longer than the *Romans* had expected, The quick and eaſie winning of *Leontium*, did put *Marcellus* in hope, that ſo long a circuit of walls as compaſſed *Syracuſe*, being manned with no better kinde of Souldiers, than thoſe with whom he had lately dealt, would in ſome part or other, be taken at the firſt aſſault. Wherefore he omitted no violence or terrour in the very beginning; but did his beſt both by Land and Sea. Nevertheleſs all his labour was diſappointed, and his hope of prevailing by open force, taken from him by the ill ſucceſs of two or three of the firſt aſſaults. Yet was it not the vertue of the Defendants, or any ſtrength of the City, that bred ſuch deſpair of haſty victory. But there lived at that time in *Syracuſe Archimedes* the noble Mathematician: who at the requeſt of *Hiero* the late King, that was his kinſman, had framed ſuch engines of war, as being in this extremity put in uſe, did more miſchief to the *Romans* than could have been wrought by the Canon, or any inſtruments of Gun-powder; had they in that age been known. This *Archimedes* diſcourſing once with *Hiero*, maintained that it were poſſible to remove the whole earth out of the place wherein it is, if there were ſome other earth, or place of ſure footing, whereon a man might ſtand. For proof of this bold aſſertion, he performed ſome ſtrange works; which made the King entreat him to convert his ſtudy unto things of uſe: that might preſerve the City from danger of enemies. To ſuch Mechanical works, *Archimedes*, and the Philoſophers of thoſe times, had little affection. They held it an injury done unto the liberal ſciences, to ſubmit learned Propoſitions, unto the workmanſhip, and gain, of baſe handy-crafts men. And of this opinion *Plato* was an Authour: who greatly blamed ſome Geometricians, that ſeemed unto him to prophane their ſcience, by making it vulgar. Neither muſt we raſhly taſk a man ſo wiſe as *Plato*, with the imputation of ſupercilious auſterity, or affected ſingularity in his reprehenſion. For it hath been the unhappy fate of great inventions to be vilified, as idle fancies, or dreams, before they were publiſhed: and being once made known, to be undervalued; as falling within compaſs of the meaneſt wit; and things that every one could well have performed. Hereof (to omit that memorable example of *Columbus* his diſcovery, with the much different ſorts of neglect, which he under-went before and after it) in a familiar and moſt homely example we may ſee moſt apparent proof. He that looks upon our *Engliſh Brewers*, and their Servants, that are daily exerciſed in the Trade; will think it ridiculous to hear one ſay, that the making of *Malt*, was an invention, proceeding from ſome of an extraordinary knowledge in natural Philoſophy. Yet is not the ſkill of the inventors any whit the leſs, for that the labour of workmanſhip grows to be the trade



trade of ignorant men. The like may be ſaid of many handy-crafts: and particularly in the Printing of Books; which being deviſed and bettered by great ſcholars and wiſe men, grew afterward corrupted by thoſe, to whom the practice fell; that is, by ſuch as could ſlubber things eaſily over, and feed their workmen at the cheapeſt rate. In this reſpect therefore, the Alchymiſts, and all others that have, or would ſeem to have any ſecret ſkill, whereof the publication might do good unto mankind; are not without excuſe of their cloſe concealing. For it is a kind of injuſtice, that the long travels of an underſtanding brain, beſide the loſs of time, and other expence, ſhould be caſt away upon men of no worth; yield leſs benefit unto the Author of a great work, than to meer ſtrangers; and perhaps his enemies. And ſurely, if the paſſion of Envy have in it any thing allowable and natural, as having Anger, Fear, and other like Affections: it is in ſome ſuch caſe as this; and ſerveth againſt thoſe, which would uſurp the knowledge, wherewith God hath denied to indue them. Nevertheleſs, if we have regard unto common charity, and the great affection that every one ought to bear unto the generality of mankind, after the example of him *that ſuffereth his Sun to ſhine upon the juſt, and unjuſt:* it will appear more commendable in wiſe men, to inlarge themſelves, and to publiſh unto the world, thoſe good things that lay buried in their own boſoms. This ought ſpecially to be done, when a profitable knowledge hath not annexed to it ſome dangerous cunning, that may be perverted by evil men to a miſchievous uſe. For if the ſecret of any rare *Antidote*, contained in it the ſkill of giving ſome deadly and irrecoverable poiſon: much better it were, that ſuch a Jewel remain cloſe in the hands of a wiſe and honeſt man, than being made common, bind all men to uſe the remedy, by teaching the worſt men how to do miſchief. But the works which *Archimedes* publiſhed, were ſuch as tended unto very commendable ends. They were Engines, ſerving unto the defence of *Syracuſe*; not fit for the *Syracuſians* to carry abroad, to the hurt and oppreſſion of others. Neither did he altogether publiſh the knowledge, how to uſe them, but reſerved ſo much to his own direction; that after his death more of the ſame kind were not made, nor thoſe of his own making were employed by the *Romans*. It ſufficed unto this worthy man, that he had approved unto the vulgar, the dignity of his Science; and done eſpecial benefit to his Country. For to enrich a Mechanichal trade, or teach the Art of murdering men, it was beſides his purpoſe.

*Marcellus* had cauſed certain of his *Quinqueremes* Gallies to be faſtened together, and Towers erected on them to beat the defendants from the wall. Againſt theſe *Archimedes* had ſundry devices; of which any one ſort might have repelled the aſſailants: but all of them together ſhewed the multiplicity of his great wit. He ſhot heavy ſtones, and long pieces of timber, like unto the yeards of ſhips; which brake ſome of the Gallies by their force and weight. Theſe afflicted ſuch as lay far off. They that were come nearer the walls, lay open to a continual volly of ſhot, which they could not endure. Some with an Iron grapple were taken by the prow, and hoyſted up, ſhaking out all the men, and afterwards falling down into the water. Some by ſtrange Engines were lifted up into the Air, where, turning round a while, they were broken againſt the walls or caſt upon the rocks: and all of them were ſo beaten, that they durſt never come to any ſecond aſſault. In the like ſort was the Land-Army handled. Stones and timber, falling upon it like hail, did not only over-whelm the men, but brake down the *Roman* Engines of battery; and forced *Marcellus* to give over the aſſault. For the remedy hereof it was conceived, that if the *Romans* could early before day get near unto the walls, they ſhould be (as it were) under the *point-blank*, and receive no hurt by theſe terrible Inſtruments; which were woond up hard to ſhoot a great compaſs But this vain hope coſt many of the aſſailants lives: For the ſhot came down right upon them; and beating them from all parts of the wall, made a great ſlaughter of them, all the way as they fled (for they were unable to tarry by it) even till they were gotten very far off. This did ſo terrifie the *Romans*, that if they perceived any piece of timber, or a ropes end, upon the wall, they rann away, crying out, That *Archimedes* his Engines were ready to diſcharge. Neither knew *Marcellus* how to overcome theſe difficulties, or to take away from his men, that fear, againſt the cauſe whereof he knew no remedy. If the Engines had ſtood upon the walls, ſubject to firing, or any ſuch annoyance from without; he might have holpen it by ſome device, to make them unſerviceable. But all, or the moſt of them were out of ſight, being erected in the ſtreets behind the walls; where *Archimedes* gave directions how to uſe them. Wherefore the *Roman* had no other way left, than to cut off from the Town all proviſion of victuals, both by Land and by Sea.

This

This was a very desperate piece of work. For the enemies having so goodly an Haven; the Sea in a manner free; and the *Carthaginians* that were strong by Sea, willing to supply them: were not likely so soon to be consumed with famine, as the besiegers to be wearied out, by lying in Leaguer before so strong a City, having no probability to carry it. Yet, for want of better counsel to follow, this was thought the best, and most honourable course.

In the mean while, *Himilco*, Admiral of a *Carthaginian* Fleet, that had waited long about *Sicil*, being by *Hippocrates* advertised of these passages, went home to *Carthage*, and there so dealt with the Senate, that five and twenty thousand Foot, three thousand Horse, and twelve Elephants, were committed unto his charge, wherewith to make war upon the *Comans* in *Sicil* by Land. He took many Towns; and many that had anciently belonged unto the *Carthaginians*, did yield unto him. To remedy this mischief and to stay the inclination of men, which following the current of Fortune, began to turn unto the *Carthaginians*; *Marcellus* with a great part of his Army, rose from *Syracuse*, and went from place to place about the Island. He took *Pelorus* and *Herbesus*, which yielded unto him. He took also *Megara* by force and sackt it: either to terrifie others that were obstinate, especially the *Syracusians*, or else because *Rome* was at this time poor, and his Army must have somewhat to keep it in heart. His especial desire was to have saved *Agrigentum*: whither he came too late; for *Himilco* had gotten it before. Therefore he returned backward toward *Syracuse*; carefully, and in as good order as he could, for fear of the *Carthaginian* that was too strong for him. The circumspection that he used, in regard of *Himilco*, stood him in good stead against a danger that he had not mistrusted. For *Hippocrates*, leaving the charge of *Syracuse* unto his brother, had lately issued out of the City, with ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse, intending to joyn his forces with *Himilco*. *Marcellus* fell upon him, ere either was aware of the other: and the *Romans*, being in good order, got an easie victory against the dispersed and half unarmed *Syracusians*. The reputation hereof helped a little to keep the *Sicilians* from rebellion. Yet it was not long, ere *Himilco*, joyning with *Hippocrates*, ran over all the Island at his pleasure, and presented battail to *Marcellus*, even at his Trenches; but the *Roman* wisely refused it. *Bomilcar* also a *Carthagimian*, entred with a great fleet into the Haven of *Syracuse*, and victualled the City. After this, the disposition of the Illanders changed so again, that although another Legion was come from *Rome*, which escaped from *Himilco*, and safely arrived at *Marcellus* his Camp: yet many places revolted unto the *Carthaginians*, and slew or betrayed the *Roman* Garrisons.

In the midst of these troubles, Winter enforced both parts to take breath a while: and *Marcellus*, leaving some of his Army before *Syracuse*, that he might not seem to have given over the siege, went unto *Leontium*, where he lay intentive to all occasions. In the beginning of the Spring he stood in doubt, whether it were better to continue the laborious work of besieging *Syracuse*, or to turn all his forces to *Agrigentum*, against *Himilco* and *Hippocrates*. But it would greatly have impaired his reputation, if he had gone from *Syracuse*, as unable to prevail; and he himself was of an eager disposition, ever unwilling to give ground, or to quit, as not seisible, an enterprise that he had once taken in hand. He came therefore to *Syracuse*: where though he found all the difficulties remaining as before; and no likelihood to take the City by force or famine; yet was he not without hope, that continuance of time would bring forth somewhat, which might fulfill his desire. Especially he assayed to prevail by treason; against which no place can hold out. And to this end he dealt with the *Syracusian* Gentlemen that were in his Camp; exhorting them to practise with their friends that remained in the City. This was not easie for them to do, because the Town would hearken to no parlee. At length a slave unto one of these banished men, making shew to run away from his Master, got into *Syracuse*; where he talked in private with some few, as he had been instructed. Thus began *Marcellus* to have intelligence within the City: whence the Conspirators used to send him advertisement of their proceedings, by a fisher-boat that passed forth in the night: but when they were grown to the number of fourscore, and thought themselves able to effect somewhat of importance, all was discovered; and they like Traitors, put to death. In the mean while, one *Damasippus* a *Lacedæmonian*, that had been sent out of the Town as an Embassador to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, was fallen into the hands of *Marcellus*. *Epicides* was very desirous to ransome him: and many meetings were appointed for that purpose, not far from the walls. There, one of the *Romans* looking upon the wall, and wanting the more compendious Art of Geometry, fell to numbring



numbring the stones: and making an estimate of the height, judged it less than it had been formerly deemed. Herewith he acquainted *Marcellus*: who causing better notice to be taken of the place; and finding that ladders of no extraordinary length would reach it; made all things ready, and waited a convenient time. It was the weakest part of the Town, and therefore the most strongly guarded: neither was there hope to prevail by force against *Archimedes*, if they failed to take it by surprise. But a fugitive out of the Town brought word, that a great feast was to be held unto *Diana*, which was to last three dayes: and that, because other good chear was not so plentiful within the City, as in former times, *Epicides*, to gratifie the people, had made the more large distribution of wine. A better opportunity could not be wished. Wherefore *Marcellus* in the dead of the Festival night, came unto the walls, which he took by *Scalado*. *Syracuse* was divided into four parts (or five, if *Epipolæ* were reckoned as one) each of which were fortified as distinct Cities. When therefore *Marcellus* had gotten some pieces, he had the commodity of a better and safe lodging, with good store of booty; and better opportunity than before, to deal with the rest. For there were now a great many, as well of those in *Acradinia* and the Island, inner parts of the Town, as of those that were already in the hands of *Marcellus*, that began to hearken unto composition, as being much terrified by the loss of those parts, which the *Romans* had taken and sackt. As for the weapons of *Archimedes*, little harm, or none they did, unto those that were sheltred under strong houses: although it may seem, that the inner walls were not altogether unfurnished of his help; since they held out a good while, and were not taken by force. The *Roman* fugitives and Renegado's, were more careful then ever to defend the rest of the City: being sure to be rewarded with cruel death, if *Marcellus* could prevail. *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, were daily expected; and *Bomilcar* was sent away to *Carthage*, to bring help from thence. It was not long ere *Hippocrates* and *Himilco* came: who fell upon the old Camp of the *Romans*, whilst *Epicides* sallied out of *Acradinia* upon *Marcellus*. But the *Romans* made such defence in each part, that the Assailants were repelled. Nevertheless, they continued to beset *Marcellus*: whom they held in a manner as straightly besieged, as he himself did besiege the Town. But the pestilence at length consumed, together with the two Captains, a great part of the Army, and caused the rest to dislodge. The *Romans* were (though somewhat less) afflicted with the same pestilence, insomuch that *Bomilcar* did put the City of *Carthage* in hope, that he might be taken where he lay, if any great forces were sent thither. This *Bomilcar* wanted no desire to do his Country service: but his courage was not answerable to his good will. He arrived at *Pachynus* with a strong fleet: where he staid; being loth to double the Cape; for that the winds did better serve the enemy than him. Thither sailed *Epicides* out of *Syracuse*: to acquaint him with the necessities of the City; and to draw him on. With much intreaty, at length he came forward: but meeting with the *Roman* fleet, that was ready for him, he stood off into the deep; and sailed away to *Tarentum*, bidding *Sicil* farewell. Then durst not *Epicides* return into *Syracuse*, but went to *Agrigentum*: where he expected the issue; with a very faint hope of hearing any good news.

The *Sicilian* Souldiers that remained alive of *Hippocrates* his Army, lay as near as they could safely, unto *Marcellus*, and some of them, in a strong Town three miles off. These had done what good they could to *Syracuse*, by doing what hurt they could unto the *Romans*. But when they were informed, that the State of *Sicil* was given as desperate by the *Carthaginians*: they sent Embassadours to treat of peace; and made offer to compound, both for themselves, and for the Town. Hereunto *Marcellus* willingly gave ear: for he had stayed there long enough; and had cause to fear, that after a little while, the *Carthaginians* might come thither strong again. He therefore agreed, both with the Citizens, and with the Souldiers that lay abroad; That they should be Masters of their own, enjoying their liberty and proper laws; yet suffering the *Romans* to possess whatsoever had belonged unto the Kings. Hereupon they, to whom *Epicides* had left his charge, were put to death, new Prætors chosen; and the gates even ready to be opened unto *Marcellus*: when suddenly the *Roman* fugitives disturbed all. These perceiving their own condition to be desperate, perswading the other Mercenary Souldiers. That the Citizens had bargained only for themselves, and betrayed the Army to the *Romans*. Wherefore they presently took Arms, and fell upon the new chosen Prætors; whom they slew, and made election of six Captains that should command over all. But shortly it was found out, that there was no danger at all to the Souldiers; excepting only the fugitives. The Treaty was therefore again set on foot, and wanted

little of concluſion: which yet was delayed; either by ſome fear of the Citizens, that had ſeen (as they thought) proof of the *Roman* avarice in the ſack of *Epipolæ*, *Tyche*, and *Neapolis*, the parts already taken; or by ſome deſire of *Marcellus* to get the Town by force, that he might uſe the liberty of a Conquerour, and make it wholly ſubject to *Rome*. *Mericus* a *Spaniard* was one of the ſix Captains that had been choſen in the laſt commotion: a man of ſuch faith, as uſually is found in Mercenaries; holding his own particular benefit above all other reſpects. With this Captain, *Marcellus* dealt ſecretly: having a fit inſtrument, of the ſame Nation, one *Belligenes*, that went in company with the *Roman* Embaſſadors, daily paſſing to and fro. This crafty Agent perſwaded *Mericus*, That the *Romans* had already gotten all *Spain*: and that if ever he purpoſed to make his own fortune good, either at home in *Spain*, or any where elſe; it was now the only time to do it; by conforming himſelf to the will of the *Roman* General. By ſuch hopes the *Spaniſh* Captain was eaſily won, and ſent forth his own brother among the *Syracuſian* Embaſſadours to ratifie the covenant with *Marcellus*.

This under-hand dealing of *Marcellus* againſt the *Syracuſians*, cannot well be commended as honeſt: neither was it afterwards throughly approved at his coming to *Rome*. For the benefits of *Hiero* to the *Romans* had been ſuch, as deſerved not to be requited with the ruine of his Country: much leſs, that the miſeries of his people, oppreſſed (though partly through their own folly) by an Army of Mercenaries, ſhould miniſter unto the people of *Rome*, advantage againſt them. The poor Citizens could not make good their parts againſt the hired Souldiers; and therefore were fain to yield unto the time, and obey thoſe Miniſters of *Hannibal*, that ruled the Army. But as long as they were free after the death of *Hieronymus*; and now of late, when they had gathered courage by the flight of *Epicides*: it had been their chief care to maintain amity with the people of *Rome*. They had lately ſlain many the principal of *Epicides* his followers; and many of themſelves had alſo been ſlain, both lately and in former times, becauſe of this their deſire unto the peace. What though it were true, that the Raſcality, and ſome ill adviſed perſons, joyned with the ſouldiers in hatred of the *Romans*, by occaſion of the ſlaughter which they heard to be done at *Leontium*, and afterward beheld in thoſe parts of their own City which was taken? Ought therefore the Roman General, in a treaty of peace held with the *Syracuſians*, to make a bargain under-hand againſt them, with a Captain of the Mercenaries? Theſe things were objected againſt *Marcellus*, at his return home: but the Senators thought it a great deal better, to comfort the *Syracuſians* with gentle words, and promiſe of good uſage in time to come; than to reſtore the booty, and give over the Dominion of a City, ſo great, wealthy, ſtrong, and many wayes important. Nevertheleſs if we conſider the many inconveniences and great miſchiefs whereunto *Syracuſe* was obnoxious; both by evil neighbours, and by that very form of policy, after which it was governed: we may truly affirm, That it received no ſmall benefit, by becoming ſubject unto *Rome*. For thereby it was not only aſſured againſt all forraign enemies, domeſtical conſpiracies, and ſuch Tyrants as of old had reigned therein: but freed from the neceſſity of baniſhing, or murdering, the moſt worthy Citizens; as alſo from all factions, inteſtine ſeditions, and a thouſand the like miſeries, that were wont to grow out of the jealouſie, wherein they held their liberty in vain. Neither enjoyed that City, from her firſt foundation, any ſuch long time of happineſs, as that wherein it flouriſhed, when it reſted ſecure under the protection of *Rome*; and was no more moleſted, by the diſeaſe of ambition; wherewith by *Marcellus* his victory it was throughly cured. But ſuch benefit, ariſing from wrongs done, ſerves not to make injuſtice the more excuſable: unleſs we ſhould approve the anſwer of that Thief, who being found to have ſtollen a ſilver cup from a ſick man, ſaid, *He never leaves drinking*.

By the treaſon of *Mericus*, the *Roman* Army was let into poſſeſſion of all *Syracuſe*: wherein, the booty that it found, was ſaid to have been no leſs, than could be hoped for, if they had taken *Carthage* it ſelf; that maintained war by Land and Sea againſt them. All the goodly works and Imageries, wherewith *Syracuſe* was marvellouſly adorned, were carried away to *Rome*; and nothing left untouched; ſave only the houſes of thoſe baniſhed men, that had eſcaped from *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, into the *Roman* Camp. Among other pitiful accidents; the death of *Archimedes* was greatly lamented, even by *Marcellus* himſelf. He was ſo buſie about his Geometry, in drawing figures, that he hearkened not to the noiſe, and uproar in the City; no, nor greatly attended the rude Souldier that was about to kill him. *Marcellus* took heavily the death of him; and cauſed his body to be honourably buried. Upon his Tomb (as he had ordained in his lifetime) was placed a *Cylinder* and a *Sphere*, with an inſcription of the proportion between them; which he firſt found out. An invention of ſo little uſe, as this may ſeem, pleaſed that great Artiſt better, than the deviſing of all thoſe Engines, that made him ſo famous. Such difference is in the judgment of learned men, and of the vulgar ſort. For many an one would think the mony loſt, that had been ſpent upon a Son, whoſe ſtudies in the Univerſity had brought forth ſuch fruit, as the proportion between a *Sphere* and a *Cylinder*.



After the taking of *Syracuſe*, all the Towns in *Sicil* yielded unto the *Romans*, except *Agrigentum* and a few places thereabout. At *Agrigentum* lay *Epicides* with one *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, and *Mutines* an *African*, that was lately ſent from *Hannibal*. This *Mutines* by many good pieces of ſervice, had added ſome credit to the beaten *Carthaginian* ſide; and withall made his own name great. By his perſwaſions, *Hanno* and *Epicides* adventured to meet *Marcellus* without the Town, and not behave themſelves as men expecting to be beſieged. Neither was he more valiant in counſel, than in execution. Once and again he ſet upon the *Romans*, where they lay encamped, and drove them fearfully into their Trenches. This bred envy in *Epicides* and *Hanno*; eſpecially in *Hanno*, that having been lately ſent from *Carthage*, with commiſſion and authority from the State, thought himſelf wronged greatly by *Hannibal*; in that he had ſent unto him this *Mutines*, to be his companion, and to take upon him, like as good a man as himſelf. The indignity ſeemed the greater, when *Mutines* being to ſtep aſide into *Heraclea*, for the pacifying ſome troubles there among the *Numidians*; adviſed (as directing *Hanno* and *Epicides*) not to meddle with the enemy, until his return. So much therefore the rather would *Hanno* fight; and offered battel unto *Marcellus*, before he fought it. It is like, that a great part of the *Roman* Army was left behind in *Syracuſe*, as need required; which made the *Carthaginians* the better able to deal with thoſe that came againſt them. But whatſoever diſproportion was between the two Armies; far greater were the odds between the Captains. For howſoever the people of *Carthage* would give authority by favour; yet could they not give worth and ability, in matter of war. The *Numidians*, having before conceived ſome diſpleaſure againſt their Captains; and being therefore ſome of them gone away to *Heraclea*, were much more offended, when they ſaw that the vain-glorious envy of *Hanno* carried him unto the fight, upon a fooliſh deſire to get victory, without the help of *Mutines* their Country-men. Wherefore they ſent unto the *Roman* General, and bade him be confident; for that it was not their purpoſe to ſhew themſelves his enemies that day, but only look on, and ſee the proud *Carthaginians* well beaten by whom they had been miſuſed. They made good their promiſe, and had their deſire. For *Marcellus*, finding likelihood of truth in their meſſage, did ſo luſtily ſet upon the enemies, that he brake them at the firſt charge; and with the ſlaughter of many thouſands, drove them back into *Agrigentum*.

If *Hanno* could have been contented, to follow the directions of one, that was a better man of War than himſelf, and not to have hazarded a battel without need; the *Romans* would ſhortly have been reduced into terms of great difficulty in their *Sicilian* War. For *Marcellus* was ſhortly after to leave the Province; and ſoon upon his departure, there landed in the Iſland a ſupply of eight thouſand foot, and three thouſand *Numidian* horſe, that were ſent from *Carthage*. The fame of this new Army drew many of the *Sicilians* into rebellion. The *Roman* Army conſiſting (for the moſt part) of the Legions of *Canna*, took it very hainouſly, that no good ſervice done, could bring them into the favour of the Senate; but that, as baniſhed men, they were ſent far from home, and not ſuffered to return back to *Rome* with their General. *Mutines* had pacified his Country-men the *Numidians*, and like an honeſt man, did what he could for thoſe whom he ſerved, without contending againſt the fooliſh pride of *Hanno*; finding that there was a great alteration; and a greater might have been, if the Army lately overthrown had been entire. *M. Cornelius* the *Roman* Prætor, uſed all diligence, both to pacifie his own men, and to hinder the *Carthaginians*. He recovered thoſe In-land towns that had rebelled: and though he could not hinder *Mutines* from over-running all the Country; yet he hindred the Country from revolting unto *Mutines*. Above threeſcore Towns, great and ſmall, the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*: of which *Agrigentum* was the principal, and far bigger than any of the reſt. Thence iſſued *Mutines* as often as he pleaſed, in deſpight of the *Romans*: not only to the ſuccour of his own adherents, but to the great waſte of thoſe that followed the contrary part. But *Hanno*, inſtead of being pleaſed with all theſe good ſervices, was filled more and more with envy,

vy, againſt the man that performed them. He had (belike) received inſtruction from old *Hanno* at *Carthage*, not to ſuffer *Hannibal*, or any *Hannibalian*, to have ſhare in the honour of theſe *Sicilian* Wars: which were therefore perhaps the more diligently ſupplied; whilſt *Italy* was neglected, that ſhould have been regarded more than all the reſt. Wherefore to ſhew his authority, and that it was not in the power of *Hannibal*, to appoint unto him an Aſſiſtant, or Director: He took away from *Mutines* his charge, and gave it to his own Son; thinking thereby to diſcountenance the man, and make him little eſteemed, as one out of Office, among the *Numidians*. But it fell out quite contrary: and this ſpightful dealing occaſioned the loſs of whatſoever the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil.* For the *Numidians* were ſo incenſed by the indignity offered unto their Country-man, being ſuch a brave Commander, that they offered him their ſervice to requite the wrong; and were thenceforth abſolutely at his own diſpoſition. *M. Valerius Lævinus*, the *Roman* Conſul, was newly come into the Province, when this fell out: and with him did *Mutines* enter into intelligence. For he could no longer brook theſe indignities; but being neither a *Carthaginian*, nor favoured by thoſe that bore all the ſway in *Carthage*: He thought it the wiſeſt way, to play the beſt of his own game, and forſake that City, which was likely to periſh by the evil counſel that governed it. He did not therefore, as his Country-men had lately done, content himſelf to ſee his Adverſaries reap the bitter fruits of their own malicious over-weening: and to ſuffer that harm, in doing whereof he would not bear a part; but conſpired againſt them to deliver up *Agrigentum*, and to help to expel them utterly out of *Sicil.* The Conſul was glad of his friendſhip; and carefully followed his advertiſements. Neither was there much cunning needful, to the performance of that which *Mutines* had undertaken: For he with his *Numidians* did forcibly ſeize upon a gate; whereat they let in ſome *Roman* Companies, that lay near in a readineſs for the purpoſe. *Hanno*, when firſt he heard the noiſe, thought it had been no worſe matter, than ſome ſuch tumult of the *Numidians*, as he had been well acquainted with of late. But when, making haſte to pacifie the trouble, he ſaw and heard, the *Romans* intermixed, among thoſe diſcontented followers of *Mutines*, forthwith he betook himſelf to flight: and ſaving himſelf, with *Epicides*, in a ſmall Bark, ſet ſail for *Africk*; leaving all his Army and Adherents in *Sicil*, to the mercy of the *Romans*, that henceforward continued Maſters of the whole Iſland.

*Lævinus* the Conſul having taken *Agrigentum*, did ſharp execution of juſtice upon all the Citizens. The principal of them he ſcourged with rods, and afterwards beheaded, as was the manner of the *Romans*: all the reſt of them he ſold for ſlaves, and confiſcated their goods; ſending home to *Rome* the mony that was raiſed of the booty. This was indeed a time, wherein *Rome* ſtood in no leſs neceſſity of gold, than of ſteel: which may have been the reaſon, why *Lævinus* dealt ſo cruelly with the *Agrigentines*. Nevertheleſs, the fame of ſuch ſeverity bred a terrour among all the Dependants of the *Carthaginians*, ſo that in great haſte they ſought to make their peace. About forty Towns yielded themſelves quickly unto the *Romans*; twenty were delivered up by Treaſon; and ſix only ſtayed to be wonn by force. Theſe things done, *Lævinus* returned home to *Rome*; carrying with him about four thouſand men from *Agatirna*; that were a company of out-laws, bankrouts, and baniſhed men, accuſtomed to live by ſpoil of others in theſe troubleſome times. He beſtowed them about *Rhegium* in *Italy*, where they might exerciſe their own occupation againſt the *Brutians*; a thieviſh kind of people, that were enemies unto thoſe of *Rhegium*, and to the *Romans*. As for *Mutines*, he was well rewarded, and made Citizen of *Rome*: where he lived in good accompt; accompanying the two *Scipio's* in their journey againſt *Antiochus*, and therein doing (as it is ſaid) very eſpecial ſervice. So by this enterpriſe of *Sicil*, the *Carthaginians* waſted much of their forces, that with greater profit might have been employed in *Italy*: leaving yet unto the *Romans*, in the end of this war, the entire poſſeſſion of this Iſland; which they wanted when it began.

## §. XVI.

### *How the War paſſed between the* Romans *and* Hannibal *in* Italy, *from the taking of* Capua *to the great victory at* Metaurus.

SHortly after the winning of *Capua*, *Marcellus* came to *Rome*: where for his good ſervices done in the Iſland of *Sicil*, he had granted unto him the honour of the leſſer Triumph, which was called *Ovation*. The greater Triumph was denyed him: becauſe he had not finiſhed the war, but was fain to leave his Army behind him in the Province. He ſtayed not long in *Rome*, before he was again choſen Conſul together with *M. Valerius Lævinus*, who ſucceeded



ceeded him in the Government of *Sicil*, and was, at the time of his election, making war againſt King *Philip* in *Greece*. Great Complaint was made againſt the Conſul *Marcellus*, by the *Syracuſians*, for that which he had done unto them: they alledging their great friendſhip to the people of *Rome*, in the time of their late King *Hiero*; and affirming, that their City did never willingly break the alliance; excepting when it was oppreſſed by ſuch Tyrants, as were not greater enemies to *Rome*, than to all good men that lived in *Syracuſe*. The Conſul, on the other ſide, reckoned the labours and dangers whereunto they had put him: willing them to bemoan themſelves to the *Carthaginians* that had holpen them in their neceſſity; and not unto the *Romans*, whom they had kept out. Thus each part having ſome good matter to alledge, the Senate made ſuch an end of the controverſie, as beſt agreed with the benefit of their own Common-wealth: blaming the too much rigour of *Marcellus*; yet not reſtoring the booty that he had taken, nor making the *Syracuſians* free from their ſubjection, but comforting them with gentle words, and hopeful promiſes, as hath been ſhewed before. The two new Conſuls *Marcellus* and *Lævinus*, were appointed to make war, as their lots ſhould fall out; the one in *Italy*, the other in *Sicil.* The Iſle of *Sicil* fell unto *Marcellus*; which Province he willingly changed with his Colleague; to the end that the *Syracuſians* (whoſe cauſe had not as yet been heard in the Senate) might not ſeem hindred by fear, from uttering their grievances freely. Afterwards, when his buſineſs with them was diſpatcht, he gently undertook the patronage of them: which remained long in his Family, to the great benefit of their Country in times following. So *Valerius*, the other Conſul, was ſent into *Sicil*, whoſe doings there have been already rehearſed: but *Marcellus* was employed againſt *Hannibal.*

Before the Conſuls departed out of *Rome*, they were much troubled with preſſing of Souldiers to the war, and moſt of all, with getting Mariners for their Navy. They were all of the poorer ſort, that uſed to be employed in Sea-ſervices, eſpecially in rowing. Theſe could not live without preſent wages: neither was there mony enough in the Treaſury to give them pay. Wherefore it was ordained, that they ſhould be ſet out at the expence of private men; who in this neceſſity of the State, were driven to ſuſtain all publick charges. Hereat the people murmured, and were ready to fall into ſedition; had not the Conſuls deferred the matter unto further conſideration. The Senate could ill tell, what to determine or do, in a caſe of ſuch extremity. For manifeſt it was, that the multitude had already indured ſo much, as well it could undergo; and ſomewhat more, than could with honeſty have been impoſed upon it. Nevertheleſs it was impoſſible to maintain the war againſt the *Carthaginians*; or to keep the *Macedonian* out of *Italy* without a ſtrong fleet. Wherefore, ſome were of opinion; That ſince the common Treaſure was ſo empty, the people muſt be forced, by right or wrong, to take the burden upon them. At laſt the Conſuls began to ſay, That no perſwaſions would be ſo effectual with the people, as good examples: and that if the Senators would follow the Conſuls, like it was that the people alſo would follow the Senate. Wherefore they propounded, and it was immediately concluded, That every one of them ſhould bring forth, and put into the Treaſury, all the mony that he had; and that no Senator ſhould keep any veſſel of gold, or plate whatſoever; excepting one Salt-ſeller, and a Bowl wherewith to make their offerings unto the gods; as alſo a Ring for himſelf, with ſuch other tokens of ingenuity for his wife and children, as every one did uſe, and thoſe of as ſmall value as might be. This advice of the Conſuls was not more thankfully accepted by the Senate, than the ready performance thereof by the Senate was highly applauded, and haſtily followed by the Gentlemen of *Rome*. Neither did the Commonalty refuſe to do that, which their betters had openly done before them. For ſince the publick neceſſity could no otherwiſe be holpen; every one was contented, that his private eſtae ſhould run the ſame fortune with the Common-wealth, which if it ſuffered wrack, in vain could any particular man hope to enjoy the benefit of his proper ſubſtance. This magnanimity deſerved well that greatneſs of Empire, whereof it was the foundation.

Convenient order being thus taken for an Army and Fleet: *Marcellus* went forth of the City againſt *Hannibal*; and *Lævinus* toward *Sicil.* The Army of *Hannibal* was greatly diminiſhed, by long and hard ſervice: neither did his *Carthaginians* ſeem to remember him, & think upon ſending the promiſed ſupply, or any ſuch proportion as he needed. His credit alſo among his *Italian* friends, was much wakened, by the loſs of *Capua*: which gave them cauſe to look unto themſelves; as if in his help there were little truſt to be repoſed, when they ſhould ſtand in need. This he well perceived; yet could not tell how to remedy. Either he muſt thruſt Garriſons in-

to all Towns that he ſuſpected, and thereby ſo diminiſh his Army, that he ſhould not be able to keep the field: or elſe he muſt leave them to their own fidelity, which now began to waver. At length his jealouſie grew ſo outragious, that he ſacked and waſted thoſe places that he was unable to defend: thinking that the beſt way to enrich himſelf; and make unprofitable to his enemies, the purchaſe from which he could not hinder them. But by this example, many were quite alienated from him; and ſome of thoſe, whom before he had leaſt cauſe to doubt. The Town of *Salapia* yielded unto *Marcellus*; and betrayed unto him a gallant Regiment of *Numidian* horſe, the beſt of all that ſerved under *Hannibal*; which was a greater loſs, than the Town it ſelf. *Blaſius* the author of this rebellion, could not bring his deſire to effect; without getting the conſent of one *Daſius*, that was his bitter enemy. Wherefore he brake the matter to this *Daſius* in private, and was by him accuſed unto *Hannibal*. But when he was convented and charged of Treaſon, he ſo ſtoutly denyed it, and by way of recrimination, ſo vehemently preſſed his accuſer with the ſame fault: that *Hannibal* thought it a matter deviſed out of meer malice; knowing well what enemies they were; and ſeeing that neither of them could bring any proof of what he affirmed. This notwithſtanding, *Blaſius* did not ceaſe to preſs his adverſary anew, and urge him from time to time, with ſuch lively reaſon; that he who could not be believed by *Hannibal*, was contented at length to win the favour of *Marcellus*. Preſently after this, the Conſul took by force, *Maronæa* and *Meles*, Towns of the *Samnites*; wherein he ſlew about three thouſand of *Hannibal* his men.

*Hannibal* could not look to all at once; but was fain to catch advantages; where he might get them; the *Romans* now being grown ſtronger in the field than he. The beſt was, that his *Carthaginians*, having wearied themſelves with ill ſpeed in many petty enterpriſes, and laid aſide all this while the care of *Italy*, to follow buſineſs of far leſs importance; had now at length reſolved, to ſend preſently the great ſupply, that had been ſo long promiſed and expected. This, if they had done in better ſeaſon; *Rome* it ſelf might have been ſtrucken down, the next year after that great blow received at *Cannæ*. But ſince that which is paſt cannot be amended; *Hannibal* muſt force himſelf to make a good countenance; and tell his followers; that this mighty ſuccour would come time enough. For *Maſaniſſa* was at *Carthage* with five thouſand *Numidians*, ready to ſet ſail for *Spain*; whither, when he came, it was appointed that *Aſdrubal* ſhould forthwith take his journey into *Italy*, of which there had been ſo much talk. Theſe news did not more comfort *Hannibal* and his followers, than terrifie the *Romans*. Wherefore each did their beſt; and the *Romans*, to prevent the threatning miſchief, and win as much as they could upon *Hannibal*, before the coming of his Brother; *Hannibal*, on the contrary, to hold his own, and weaken the *Romans* as much as he was able. He had intelligence, that *Cn. Fulvius*, a *Roman* Prætor, lay near unto *Herdonea*, to get the Town by practice. It was not long ſince, near unto the ſame place, another *Cn. Fulvius* had loſt his Army. Therefore *Hannibal* made great marches thitherward; and came to *Herdonea* ere *Fulvius* heard news of his approach. As ſoon as he came, he offered battel to the *Roman* Prætor; who accepted it with more haſte than good ſpeed. The *Roman* Legions made good reſiſtance a while, till they were compaſſed round with the *Carthaginian* horſe. Then fell they to rout, and great ſlaughter was made of them. *Fulvius* himſelf, with twelve *Tribunes* or *Coronels*, were loſt: of the common Souldiers, that were ſlain, the number is uncertain; ſome reporting ſeven, others thirteen thouſand. The Town of *Herdonea*, becauſe it was at point to have yielded unto *Fulvius*, *Hannibal* did ſet on fire; and putting thoſe to death that had practiſed with the Enemy, carried away the multitude; whom he beſtowed among the *Thurians* and *Metapontines*. The Conſul *Marcellus* hearing of this, wrote unto the Senate: and exhorted them to be of good chear; for that he would ſhortly abate the enemies pride. He followed the *Carthaginian* apace; and overtaking him at *Numiſtro* in the Country of the *Lucans*, fought with him a battel: which beginning at nine of the clock in the morning, laſted until night, and ended, by reaſon of the darkneſs, with uncertain victory. Afterward *Hannibal* departed thence into *Apulia*, whither *Marcellus* followed him. At *Venuſia* they met, and had many ſkirmiſhes; but none of importance. *Hannibal* removed often; and ſought to bring the enemy within danger of ſome ambuſh. But *Marcellus*, though he was very eager of battel, would yet adventure nothing, but by open day-light, and upon fair ground.

Thus paſſed the time away, until *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Q. Fulvius*, he that lately had taken *Capua*, were choſen Conſuls. *Fabius* conſidering how much the *Roman* affairs were bettered by the taking of *Capua*, purpoſed



purpoſed that year to beſiege *Tarentum*: which if he could win; like it was, that ſcarce one good City would afterwards remain true to *Hannibal*. Wherefore he vehemently exhorted his Colleague, and *Marcellus*, (to whom was continued the command of thoſe Legions that ſerved under him the year before) to preſs the *Carthaginian* ſo hard, as he might have no leiſure to help *Tarentum*. *Marcellus* was very glad of this charge: for he thought no *Roman* fitter than himſelf, to deal with *Hannibal* in open field. He followed him therefore to *Cannuſium*, and thence from place to place: deſiring ever to come to battail, but upon equal terms. The *Carthaginian* had not minde to hazzard much in fight: but thought it enough to entertain his enemy with ſkirmiſh; as being deſirous to keep his Army ſtrong untill the coming of *Aſdrubal*. Yet could he not avoid the importunity of *Marcellus*, nor brook the indignity of being daily braved. He therefore bade his men to be luſty, and to beat ſoundly this hot-ſpirited *Roman* Captain, that would never ſuffer them to be at quiet; untill they once had cooled well his courage, by letting him blood. Hereupon followed a battail; wherein *Hannibal* had the victory; took ſix Enſigns; and ſlew of the *Romans* almoſt three thouſand, among which were ſome of mark. *Marcellus* was ſo impatient of this diſhonour, that he rated his men, as Peſants, and baſe cowards: telling them, that they were the firſt of the *Roman* Legions, which had been beaten by *Hannibal*, by plain force and manhood, without being circumvented by any ſtratagem. With theſe and many other the like words, which they were aſhamed to hear, he did ſo vex them; that thinking themſelves better able to endure any violence of the enemy, than ſuch diſpleaſure of their General; they beſought him to pardon them, and lead them forth once again to fight. He did ſo: and placing thoſe Companies formoſt, that had loſt their Enſigns the day before, bade them be careful to win a victory; whereof the news might be at *Rome*, before the report of their ſhameful overthrow. *Hannibal* was angry, to ſee that nothing could make this Enemy quiet: and therefore was ready to fight again; ſince all other motives continued the ſame, and his men had been heartned by the late victory. But the *Romans* were ſtirred up with deſire of revenge, and of repairing their honour loſt, which affections gave a ſharp edge unto their valour: whereas the *Carthaginians* were grown dull, and weary by ſeeing themſelves diſappointed of their hope; and the enemy, notwithſtanding their late victory, as ready to moleſt them as before. In this ſecond battail *Marcellus* got the victory: which he purchaſed at ſo dear a rate; that neither he, nor *Hannibal*, had great cauſe to vaunt, the ſecond night. For if eight thouſand of the *Carthaginians* were ſlain, and three thouſand of the *Roman* ſide, in this next battail, the difference was no greater, than even to recompence the late received overthrow: eſpecially ſince the number of the *Romans* that were wounded, was ſo great, as diſabled *Marcellus* from purſuing *Hannibal*; who diſlodged by night. Nevertheleſs it ſufficed, that *Fabius* the Conſul hereby got leiſure, to follow his buſineſs at *Tarentum* without any diſturbance. *Q. Fulvius* the other Conſul about the ſame time, took in many of the *Hirpines*, *Lucans*, and *Volſcentes*, that willingly yielded themſelves, and betrayed the Garriſons of *Hannibal* that lay in their Towns: whom *Fulvius* entertained in loving ſort; gently rebuking them for their errours paſt, without puniſhing thoſe that had been authors, or buſie doers in the rebellion. That rabble of *Sicilian* thieves, which *Lævinus* had lately brought from *Agaterna*, was then alſo ſet on work to beſiege *Caulonia*, a Town of the *Brutians*: and nothing was omitted, that might ſerve to divert *Hannibal*, from the ſuccour of *Tarentum*.

*Q. Fabius* the Conſul, having taken *Manduria* a Town of the *Salentines*, ſate down before *Tarentum*: making all preparation that ſeemed needful to carry it either by aſſault or long ſiege. Of the Garriſons in the Town, a good part were *Brutians*, placed there by *Hannibal*, under a Captain of their own Nation. This Captain fell in love with a *Tarentine* wench; whoſe brother ſerved under *Fabius*. Hereof ſhe gave notice by letters to her brother, as thinking belike to draw him from the *Roman* ſide; by telling him how rich, and of what great account her lover was. But her brother made the Conſul acquainted with theſe news: and ſaid, that if the *Brutian* were far in love, he might perhaps be won, by intreaty of his Miſtris, to do what ſhe would have him. The Conſul hearing this, and finding likelihood in the matter, willed his ſouldier to convey himſelf into the Town as a fugitive, and try what good might be done. It fell out according to his deſire. The Souldier grew acquainted with this *Brutian* Captain: and partly by his own perſwaſions, partly by the flattering entreaty of his ſiſter; wan him to betray the Town to the *Romans*. When they had agreed upon the buſineſs, and

and reſolved how to order it; the ſame Souldier got out of the Town by night, and acquainted the Conſul with his proceedings: telling him in which part that *Brutian* kept watch, and what might conveniently be done. So in the night time, *Fabius* gave an alarm to the City; eſpecially about thoſe parts of the wall, which were fartheſt from the place where he meant to enter. The Captains in the Town, prepared to make reſiſtance in thoſe places, where the noiſe did threaten them with greateſt likelihood of danger. But *Fabius* himſelf with the choice of his men, came in great ſilence to the quarter of the *Brutians*: who being wrought by their Captain, helped the *Romans* to get up, and break open the next gate, whereat the Army was let in. The *Tarentines* and *Carthaginian* Souldiers, made head againſt *Fabius* in the Market place: but (as hapneth in like caſes, where the main confidence is already taken away) not very obſtinately. *Nico*, *Democrates*, and *Philomenes*, with thoſe that before had let in *Hannibal*, uſed now the laſt of their courage in dying againſt the *Romans*. *Carthalo*, who commanded the Garriſon within the Town, offered himſelf priſoner: hoping to be well uſed, becauſe of his hoſpitality that had paſſed between his Father and the Conſul. But he was ſlain by the way, ere he could come at *Fabius*. The *Romans* did put all indifferently to the ſword, in ſuch ſort, that they ſpared few of the *Brutians*. This ſlaughter of the *Brutian*, was thought to have been made by appointment of the Conſul, to the end that he might ſeem to have won the Town by force and not by treaſon: though he thereby failed of his purpoſe; and neither had the glory which he expected, nor preſerved his reputation of faithful dealing, and keeping his word. The booty found in *Tarentum* was very great: whereof the *Roman* Treaſury, whither it was carried, had great need. As for the Imageries, and other curioſities that were in the City, *Fabius* was contented to let them alone: and being told of ſome Idols that ſeemed worthy to be carried away, being very goodly pieces, in ſuch habit and poſture as if they were fighting: he ſaid, Let us leave unto the *Tarentines* their angry gods.

*Hannibal* being gotten clear from *Marcellus*, fell upon thoſe that beſieged *Caulonia*. They fled at his coming: but he was ſo near, that they were fain to betake them to a hill, which ſerved to no other purpoſe, than to bear off the firſt brunt. There they defended themſelves a little while, and then they yielded. When this buſineſs was done, he haſted away to relieve *Tarentum*. But when he came within five miles of the City, he had news that it was loſt. This grieved him: yet he ſaid no more than this, *The* Romans *have alſo their* Hannibal; we have loſt *Tarentum* in ſuch ſort as we got it. That he might not ſeem to turn back amazed, or in any fear of the victorious Conſul; he incamped a few dayes together, ſo near as he was unto *Tarentum*: and thence departing to *Metapontum*, bethought himſelf how to take *Fabius* in a trap. He cauſed the chief of the *Metapontines* to write unto *Fabius*, and offer to betray into his hands, the *Carthaginian* Garriſon; with condition, that he ſhould in that reſpect, forgive them all offences paſt. Theſe letters were ſent by two young men of the ſame City; who did their errand ſo well, that the Conſul wrote back by them unto the *Metapontines*, and appointed the day, when they ſhould expect him. Hereof *Hannibal* was exceeding glad: and at good leiſure made ready his ambuſhes for the wary *Fabius*. But whether ſome ſecret notice of the plot were given; or whether indeed (as it is related) ſome tokens in ſacrificing, terrified the ſuperſtitious *Roman*; the journy to *Metapontum* was deferred. Hereupon the ſame two Meſſengers were employed again: but being apprehended, and threatned with torture, they diſcovered all.

This year was happy to the *Romans*, in all their wars: for they got every where, ſave only at *Caulonia*; where they loſt a company of ſuch lewd fellows, that it may ſeem good fortune, to have ſo been rid of them. But their common poverty, and diſability to maintain their charge, continued, and grew greater than it was before. Thirty *Roman* Colonies were then in *Italy*: of which, twelve refuſed to contribute any longer to the Wars. For it was conſidered; that the Legions of *Cannæ*, and thoſe unhappy Companies that had been beaten under the one and the other *Cn. Fulvius*, were tranſported into *Sicil*; where they lived, in a ſort, as baniſhed men. This grieved their friends at home, and made them reckon up the more diligently thoſe other miſeries which they daily felt. Ten years together they had been exhauſted with levies of men, and impoſitions of money: in every of which years they had received ſome notable overthrow. In this caſe the leaſt that they could fear; or rather the beſt that they could hope; was to fall into the hands of the enemy to be made priſoners. For *Hannibal* did gently ſend home their people that was taken by him: whereas the *Romans* did baniſh from their homes, thoſe that had eſcaped. It was therefore likely to come to paſs within a while, that they ſhould be all conſumed: ſince new ſouldiers were daily preſſed forth of their Towns; and the old ones never returned. Such talk was frequent among thoſe of the Colonies: eſpecially where they that were tranſported into *Sicil*, had moſt compaſſionate friends. Wherefore it was concluded by the people of *Ardea*, *Sutrium*, *Alba*, and other good Towns, to the number of twelve, That they ſhould boldly deny unto the *Romans* their farther help. This was thought the likelieſt way to obtain peace: whereof otherwiſe they ſaw little hope, as long as *Hannibal* lived. When the Conſuls heard the Embaſſadours of theſe Towns make ſuch declaration, and proteſt their diſability of giving any farther help; they were much amazed. They willed the Embaſſadours to return home, and bring a better anſwer, foraſmuch as this was none other than treaſon: they bade them to conſider, that the people were not *Campans* or *Tarentines*, but the off-ſpring of the *Romans*; and no leſs partakers of the Empire, than they that inhabited the Mother-City. But all would not ſerve, the Embaſſadours continuing to proteſt, that they had already done what they could; and that they had remaining, neither men, nor mony. It was well for the *Romans*, that the other eighteen Colonies, did not imitate theſe twelve; but ſhewed themſelves willing to undergo whatſoever ſhould be laid upon them, without ſhrinking under the burden. This their offer was ſo highly pleaſing to the Conſuls; that the Embaſſadours of thoſe faithful Colonies, were brought unto the Senate, and produced into the Aſſembly of the people: where, with commemoration of all their former good ſervices, this their preſent love unto the State was magnified, and thanks accordingly beſtowed upon them; with promiſe, that it ſhould not be forgotten. As for the Embaſſadours of thoſe twelve Colonies, that refuſed to contribute; it was thought beſt, neither to detain them in the City, nor yet to diſmiſs them, nor take any notice of them at all; but leave them to their own conſideration of their ill deſerving.

It may greatly be doubted, what the example of theſe twelve people would have wrought in thoſe that were ſo willing to help the State, if *Aſdrubal* had been then coming into *Italy*. For then muſt the *Romans* have betaken themſelves wholly to their own defence; whereas now, to the great comfort of their ſubjects, they employed their forces in the conqueſt of *Italy*, with hopeful and fortunate ſucceſs. Nevertheleſs, they were fain to open their moſt privy treaſury; and thence take out the gold that had been laid up to ſerve them in caſes of greateſt extremity. Of the mony thus extracted, one quarter was delivered to *Fabius* the Conſul, to ſet him well out againſt the *Tarentines*; all the reſt was ſent into *Spain* to *Scipio*, for the maintenance of his Army; and to provide that *Aſdrubal* might not paſs from thence into *Italy*. It is likely that *Fabius* did not ſpend all his mony; finding ſuch eaſie ſucceſs at *Tarentum*, as was ſhewed before. But to ſtop the journey of *Aſdrubal*; neither the mony ſent into *Spain*, nor any victories won by *Scipio* could ſuffice. Nevertheleſs, it fell out happily for the people of *Rome*, that this year, and the next were ſpent, before his coming; and they better prepared, than at leſs warning they could have been, to entertain him. Here it were not amiſs to note, That ſince the *Romans*, being in ſo great a neceſſity of mony, were driven to furniſh the Army in *Spain*, with the greateſt part of all their ſtock that was left: it muſt needs be, that either the booty taken in new *Carthage*, was far leſs than fame had reported it; or elſe that *Scipio* had not as yet won it: howſoever *Livie* rather inclines to thoſe, who ſay that he got it ſoon after his arrival.

*M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *T. Quintus Criſpinus*, were choſen Conſuls after *Fabius* and *Fulvius*. In their year it was, that *Aſdrubal* took his journey out of *Spain*, though he came not into *Italy* until the year following. After the great battel at *Cannæ*, *Hannibal* had loſt much time about *Cumæ* and *Naples*, in ſeeking to make himſelf Maſter of a good Haven; for the landing of thoſe ſuccours that were promiſed from *Carthage*. The hope that he repoſed in *Philip*, cauſed him to turn his principal care to the Eaſtern parts of *Italy*; where he made ready a fair entrance for the *Macedonian*, if he had been ready to come; but ſince his hope was vaniſhed, and the long promiſed ſuccour of *Aſdrubal* was (though far later than had been expedient) ready to arrive: he began to deal with the people of *Hetruria*, through whoſe Countries his Brother was to paſs, that therein he might make a party againſt the *Romans*. The loſs of *Capua*, *Tarentum*, and many other Towns, might have terrified all other of the *Italian* Towns, from hearkening to any ſolicitation of the *Carthaginians*. Yet the poverty of the *Romans*, & the wearineſs of their adherents, together with the fame of a greater Army coming than that which *Hannibal* brought into *Italy*; did imbolden many of the *Hetrurians*, eſpecially the *Are-*

*times*, to take ſuch counſel as they thought moſt expedient for themſelves, without regard of their fidelity to *Rome*. The *Roman* Senate, hearing the rumour of their conſpiracy, ſent *Marcellus* the new choſen Conſul into *Hetruria*: whoſe coming did ſo terrefie them, that they reſted quiet for a while. All the year following they were deviſing how to break out: as contrariwiſe the *Roman* Propretors, partly by terrour of ſevere judgments and inquiſitions; and partly by the force of two or three Legions, with which they viſited all ſuſpected places, kept them honeſt againſt their wills, and took many Hoſtages for better aſſurance. The two Conſuls had an earneſt deſire, to make ſtrong War upon *Hannibal* without more temporiſing: perſwading themſelves, that in battel they ſhould be too ſtrong for him. *Criſpinus* had further his particular deſire, to make his Conſulſhip notable by the winning of ſome good Town: as *Fulvius* and *Fabius* had gotten honour by *Capua* and *Tarentum*. Therefore he went about the ſiege of *Locri*; one of the beſt Cities which the *Carthaginian* then held in *Italy*: and brought thither all ſorts of engines; ſending for a Fleet out of *Sicil* to help him. But *Hannibal* was not ſlow to relieve the City: the fame of whoſe approach, made *Criſpinus* deſiſt from his enterpriſe, and retire unto his Colleague, that lay at *Venuſia*. Thither followed *Hannibal*; to whom the Conſuls daily offered battel. This great man of War had no need to ſtand upon his reputation: which was already ſo confirmed, that his refuſing to fight, was not likely to be aſcribed unto fear; but rather deemed as part of his wiſdom. He entertained the Conſuls with many light ſkirmiſhes, and fought to take them at ſome advantage; reſerving his own numbers as full as he could, unto a time of greater imployment. In this lingring manner of War, *Marcellus* took no pleaſure: but fought to compell the Enemy to battel, whether he would or no. The Admiral of the *Roman* Fleet about *Sicil*, *L. Cincius*, was commanded again to aſſail the Town of *Locri*: which might well enough be forced, if *Hannibal* continued as he began, to triſle away the time at *Venuſia*. To the ſame purpoſe a part of the Garriſon that lay in *Tarentum*, was appointed to go by land to the aſſiſtance of *Cincius*. But *Hannibal* had an eye behind him. He laid an ambuſh in the way, between *Tarentum* and *Locri*, whereinto the *Romans* fell: and having loſt above three thouſand of their Company, were well glad, the reſt of them, to quit their enterpriſe, and ſave their own lives within *Tarentum*. As for the Conſuls, it was the deſire of *Hannibal* to waſte their Army by little and little: which to do, he neglected no advantage. There lay between him and them an Hillock, overgrown with wood, that ſeemed fit to cover a number of men: who lying there undiſcerned, might fall upon ſuch as ſhould ſtraggle from the *Roman* camp; and cut them off. Therefore he ſent thither by night ſome companies of *Numidians*: whom he willed to keep themſelves cloſe, and attend their beſt advantage. To this piece of ground the Conſuls thought it fit to remove their camp: *Marcellus* thinking that he never lay near enough unto *Hannibal*. Thither therefore both of them rode to view the place, accompanied with the ſon of *Marcellus*, a few Colonels, and other principal men: and not many more than two hundred horſe, moſt of them *Hetrurians*. The *Numidian* Centinel gave warning of their approach to his fellows who diſcovered not themſelves, until they had ſurrounded the Conſuls and their train. The Conſuls, as neceſſity compelled them, defended themſelves: hoping to be quickly relieved from their camp that was near at hand. But the *Hetrurians* ran away from them, at the firſt: and left them in that great danger, to the weak aſſiſtance of no more than forty horſe-men, that were of the Colonie of *Fregellæ*. Theſe *Fregellans* abode by the Conſuls, and did what they could to have brought them ſafe off. But when *Marcellus* was ſtricken thorow with a Lance, and fell down dead; then began every one to ſhift for himſelf, and eſcape as they might. *Criſpinus* the other Conſul, had his deaths wound, being ſtricken with two Darts; and young *Marcellus* was likewiſe wounded; yet theſe two recovered their camp: The reſt of the Colonels and Officers, together with the Lictors that carried the bundle of Rods and Axes before the Conſuls, were all ſlain or taken. To the dead body of the Conſul *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* gave honourable Funeral, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times: and beſtowing his aſhes in a ſilver pot, covered it with a crown of gold; and ſo ſent them to young *Marcellus*, to be by him interred, where he thought good.

Preſently after this, *Criſpinus* bethought himſelf, how that the ſignet Ring of *Marcellus* was faln into the cuſtody of *Hannibal*; who might uſe it to his own purpoſes, ere that which had hapned were well known abroad. Wherefore he ſent word unto all the Towns about; that his Colleague was ſlain, and that *Hannibal* had gotten his Ring: wiſhing them in that regard, to give no credit unto any letters therewithal ſigned. This providence of *Criſpinus* was not more than requiſite.



requiſite. For his meſſenger was but a little before come to *Salapia*, when another Meſſenger arrived there ſent from *Hannibal*, bringing letters in the name of *Marcellus*, and ſealed with the captive Ring; whereof the contents were: That it was his purpoſe to come the ſame night unto *Salapia*; where he willed, that the Souldiers of the Garriſon ſhould be in a readineſs, for ſuch imployment as he ſhould think needful. The device was plain, and no leſs plain was the revengeful minde which he bare againſt that City; becauſe of his brave *Numidian* companies that had therein been betrayed. The *Salapians* hereupon bethought themſelves, how to take their enemy in his own ſnare. They ſent back the Meſſenger, which was a *Roman* fugitive, without letting him perceive any ſign of diſtruſt in them. This done, they prepared all things in a readineſs, for the entertainment of ſuch a friend. Late in the night he came thither; with a troup of *Roman* fugitives armed *Roman*-like, leading the way. Theſe all talking Latine together, called unto the Watch, and bade open the gate; for the Conſul was there. The gate was opened fair and leiſurely, and the Port-cullis drawn up no higher than needs it muſt be, to let them enter. But when ſix hundred of them were gotten in, down fell the Port-cullis again: and they that thought to have taken others, were taken themſelves; being laid at on all hands by the *Salapians*, that quickly made an end with them.

*Hannibal* being thus over-reached with this ſtratagem, haſted away to *Locri*; whereunto *Cincius* the Admiral of the *Roman* fleet about *Cicil*, did lay hard ſiege. The firſt appearance of the *Numidians*, *Hannibal* his Vantcurrors, made the *Romans* in all confuſed haſte, run to their ſhips: leaving all their engines, and whatſoever was in their Camp, to the enemies diſpoſition.

The *Roman* Senate hearing of theſe accidents, ſent unto *Criſpinus* the ſurviving Conſul, and requeſted him to name a Dictator that might take charge of the Commonwealth, and diſpatch the election of new Magiſtrates, with other buſineſs; whereunto himſelf was diſabled by his hurts. He did ſo: and ſoon after died. Then was it thought needful, that new Conſuls ſhould be choſen out of hand: foraſmuch as two *Roman* Armies lay ſo near unto the Enemy, without any General. Eſpecially it was deſired, that Election ſhould be made of ſuch men as were not only valiant, but well adviſed: ſince the beſt, and moſt fortunate of their great Darers, *M. Marcellus*, by loſing himſelf ſo ſtrangely, had given them a fair warning, not to commit their Army unto raſh heads. Among thoſe that ſtood for the Conſulſhip, *C. Claudius Nero*, was the moſt eminent. He was of great Nobility, a good Souldier, and one, whoſe many ſervices in this preſent War, did forcibly commend unto the place. Yet he ſeemed a little too violent; and one, whoſe temper needed the allay of a more ſtaid wit. The fathers therefore endeavoured to joyn unto him in the Conſulſhip, *M. Livius*: one that had born the ſame Office long before. This *M. Livius* had been Conſul with *L. Æmilius Paulus*, in the year foregoing the beginning of this War. After their Conſulſhip, wherein they did good ſervice, they had both of them been called into judgment by the people: and this *Livius* condemned; *Æmilius* hardly eſcaping. Though it hath been once already noted; yet I cannot forbear to remember it again: how it pleaſed God to upbraid the unthankful *Romans*, with the malicious judgment, given by their multitude upon honourable men. For in the battel of *Cannæ*, it was apparent, what lamentable effects the memory of their injuſtice wrought: when *L. Æmilius* rather choſe to yield to the froward ignorance of his Colleague; and afterward to die in the greateſt overthrow that ever fell upon the State of *Rome*, than by reſiſting the pernicious courſes of *Terentius Varro*, to caſt himſelf anew upon the danger of the popular fury. As for *M. Livius*, he is even now ready, and will ſo continue, to tell the people of their faults in a divers manner. Eight years together after his condemnation, had he been abſent out of the City, and lived in his Country Grange; ſtill vexing himſelf with the indignity of his condemnation. *Marcellus* and *Lævinus*, being Conſuls two or three years ago, had brought him into *Rome*: where he lived private in diſcontented ſort, as might appear, both by his careleſneſs in apparel, and by the wearing of his long hair and beard; which in that time were the badges of men afflicted. Very lately he was compelled by the Cenſors, to poll his hair, and come into the Senate: where he uſed to ſit ſilent, and ſignifie his aſſent or diſlike to what was propoſed, either in ſhort formal words, or in paſſing from ſide to ſide, when the houſe was divided. At length it hapned, that in ſome buſineſs weightily concerning one that was his kinſman; he ſtood up and made a ſet ſpeech: whereby he drew all the Fathers to attention; and bade them enquire of him, and take better notice, what he was, and what he had been. The Senate was much altered ſince he had left it; many brave men were loſt;

new ones were choſen; ſuch as rather ſerved to fill up the number, than to anſwer to the dignity of the place: and they that were left of ancient ſtanding, had even ſpent their Vertues to no great effect. Wherefore all began to ſay; that it was great pitty, ſo worthy and able a man as this *Livius*, had been all this while forgotten; one of whom the Common-wealth ſtood in great need, yet had not uſed in this dangerous war. Now ſeeing that the Conſuls ought, one of them, to be choſen a *Patrician*, the other of neceſſity a *Plebeian*: and ſince neither *Fabius*, nor *Valerius Lævinus*, being both of them *Patricians*, could be joyned with *Claudius Nero*: every one was of opinion, that there could not be choſen and coupled together, two fitter men than *C. Claudius*, and this *Marcus Livius*. But *Livie* would not endure to hear of this. He ſaid it was unreaſonable, that one condemned as a diſhoneſt man, ſhould afterwards be choſen Ruler of the City. If they had done ill to truſt him with one Conſulſhip, what meant they then to offer him another? With theſe, and the like phraſes he reſiſted their deſires: till by perſwaſions, and examples rehearſed, of ſuch as had patiently digeſted injuries done by the people, and repayed good for evil; he was contented to accept the honour.

Here we may behold a true figure of that Emblem, with which *Themiſtocles* checked the ingratitude of the *Athenians*: reſembling himſelf to a Plane-tree, the branches and boughs whereof men break in fair weather; but run under it for ſhelter in a ſtorm. Such unthankfulneſs, to well-deſerving men, is not rarely found in the outragious multitude. Neither was the late example hereto much unlike, of *Philip* the ſecond King of *Spain* his dealing with the Duke of *Alva*. For although he had committed the Duke to priſon, upon ſome ſmall offence conceived, without all regard of his former deſerts: yet when his intended Conqueſt of *Portugal*, required the ſervice of a man, more than ordinarily ſufficient; he ſtood no longer upon the ſcanning of late diſpleaſures; but employed the ſame Duke, whom he had newly diſgraced. Thus is wiſdom often taught by neceſſity.

It was a dangerous year toward, when *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius* were choſen Conſuls. *Aſdrubal* was already come into *France*, and waited only, to have the wayes of the Alps thawed by warm weather, for his paſſage into *Italy*. The *Romans* uſed at this time the ſervice of three and twenty Legions: and wanted not employment for many more, if they had known how to levy and maintain them. Of theſe which they had, four ſerved in *Spain*, two in *Sicil*, and two in *Sardinia*: the reſt were ſo diſpoſed, in ſeveral parts of *Italy*, where need ſeemed to require, that only two Legions were left to each of the Conſuls. But the Conſuls were men of execution; and would not be tyed to the punctual obſervance of what the Senate thought fit. *M. Livius* would not ſtir out of *Rome*, againſt ſo mighty a power as followed *Aſdrubal*, until he had firſt obtained, that he might carry with him as many as could well be ſpared from other employments; and thoſe, or the moſt of them, choſen Companies. It was true, that two Legions appointed to ſerve under *Lucius Porcius* a Prætor of that year, among the *Ciſalpine Gauls*, might be reckoned as an additament to the forces of *Livius*; to whom the War againſt *Aſdrubal* was allotted. So might alſo two other Legions, that were among the *Salentines*, near unto *Tarentum*, under another of the Prætors, be accounted a part of *Claudius* his Army, that was ſent againſt *Hannibal*. Nevertheleſs, the Conſuls, by the eſpecial inſtance of *Livie*, did obtain, that all might be left to their own diſcretion. For news came that *Aſdrubal* was already paſſing the Alps; the *Ligurians*, who dwelt in the Country about *Genua*, with their neighbour people, were in readineſs to joyn with him; and *L. Porcius* ſent word, that he would adventure no further, than he ſafely might. When all was ordered as themſelves thought beſt, the two Conſuls went forth of the City; each his ſeveral way. The people of *Rome* were now quite otherwiſe affected, than they had been, when *L. Æmilius Paulus*, and *C. Terentius Varro*, were ſent againſt *Hannibal*. They did no longer take upon them, to direct their Generals, or bid them diſpatch, and win the victory betimes: but rather they ſtood in fear, leſt all diligence, wiſdom and valour ſhould prove too little. For ſince few years had paſſed, wherein ſome one of their Generals had not been ſlain; and ſince it was manifeſt, that if either of theſe preſent Conſuls were defeated, or put to the worſt; the two *Carthaginians* would forthwith joyn, and make ſhort work with the other: it ſeemed a greater happineſs than could be expected, that each of them ſhould return home Victor; and come off with honour, from ſuch mighty oppoſition, as he was like to find. With extreme difficulty had *Rome* held up her head, ever ſince the battel of *Cannæ*: though it were ſo, that *Hannibal* alone, with little help from *Carthage*, had continued the War in *Italy*. But there was now arrived another Son of *Amilcar*;



*Amilcar*; and one, that in his preſent Expedition, had ſeemed a man of more ſufficiency than *Hannibal* himſelf. For whereas in that long and dangerous march, thorow barbarous Nations, over great Rivers and Mountains, that were thought unpaſſable, *Hannibal* had loſt a great part of his Army: this *Aſdrubal* in the ſame places, had multiplied his numbers; and gathering the people, that he found in the way, deſcended from the Alps like a rowling Snow-ball, far greater than he came over the Pyrenees at his firſt ſetting out of *Spain*. Theſe conſiderations, and the like, of which fear preſented many unto them; cauſed the people of *Rome*, to wait upon their Conſuls out of the Town, like a penſive train of Mourners: thinking upon *Marcellus* and *Criſpinus*; upon whom in the like ſort they had given attendance the laſt year; but ſaw neither of them return alive, from a leſs dangerous War. Particularly, old *Q. Fabius* gave his accuſtomed advice to *M. Livius*, that he ſhould abſtain from giving, or taking battel, until he well underſtood the Enemies condition. But the Conſul made him a froward anſwer, and ſaid, that he would fight the very firſt day: for that he thought it long, till he ſhould either recover his honour by victory; or by ſeeing the overthrow of his own unjuſt Citizens, ſatisfie himſelf with the joy of a great, though not an honeſt revenge. But his meaning was better than his words.

Of the overthrow that *Aſdrubal* received in *Spain* by *Scipio*, a little before he took his Journey into *Italy*; ſuch mention hath already been made, as agreed with the report of that noble Hiſtorian *Livie*. Yet I think it not amiſs to add in this place, what may be be gathered out of the remaining fragments of *Polybius* his Hiſtory concerning that accident: *Aſdrubal* had wreſtled with many difficulties in *Spain*; by reaſon of thoſe Captains that were ſent from the City of *Carthage*, to joyn with him in the adminiſtration of that Province: they being, as it may ſeem, of the *Hannonian* faction; which is to ſay, thus far forth Traytors, that they preferred the advantage of their own ſide, before the good of their Common-wealth. In what particulars they wronged this worthy Son of *Amilcar*, and how they hindred his courſes undertaken, it cannot be known; ſince of thoſe Books, wherein *Polybius* hath exactly handled theſe matters, there are to us remaining only a few broken pieces. But by the ſpightful dealing of *Hanno* in *Sicil* with *Mutines*, a better man of War than himſelf, whom *Hannibal* had ſent into the Iſland: we may conceive, that againſt the Brother of *Hannibal* it was thought needful, by theſe miſchievous Partizans of *Hanno*, to uſe the violent oppoſition of more earneſt malice. Nevertheleſs, *Aſdrubal* was a good Patriot; and therefore endured patiently ſuch indignities, as *Mutines* could not long digeſt. His Journey into *Italy* being reſolved upon: he lay with part of the Army at *Betula*, not far from the Mines of Silver; whence he was to furniſh his Expeditions. Thither came *Scipio*; and drave him out of his Camp; though he were ſtrongly lodged, before the other *Carthaginian* Captains could, or would come to his aſſiſtance. The overthrow ſeems not to have been ſo great, as it muſt have been ſuppoſed, if no way lay open to thoſe that fled. Rather it appears, that *Aſdrubal* dealt like a provident man, and ſeeing that his Camp was likely to be forced, ſent away all his mony with the Elephants before him: but ſtay'd behind himſelf to ſuſtain the *Romans* a while, until his carriages might be out of danger. Herein he had his deſire. Afterwards, he gathered his broken troops together; and retyred in ſuch ſort, that *Scipio* thought it not good to purſue him, and ſo paſſed over *Tagus*. Then taking unto him the forces aſſigned for his expedition, he marched away toward the Pyrenees: leaving the care of *Spain* unto his Brother *Mago*, and to *Aſdrubal* the Son of *Geſco*; that thought himſelf the fitteſt man for the adminiſtration thereof. Fain would *Scipio* have ſtopped him on his Journey, by ſending to defend againſt him the ordinary way of the Mountains. But whether *Aſdrubal* took another way, or whether he forced the guards that *Scipio* had ſet to keep the Pyrenees (as the defence of hard paſſages commonly ſorts to no good effect) he was not letted in his voyage by any ſuch impediment. Coming into *Gaul*, and following the ſteps of his Brother *Hannibal*: he found the Nations that lay in his way, ſo well affected, either to him or to his mony, that no paſſages were defended againſt him, nor any ſort of reſiſtance made; but he, and his Army well entertained, and their number much increaſed, by acceſs of ſuch as were deſirous to take his pay. Of theſe he had the better choice: for that he was driven to winter in their Country; whilſt that the paſſages of the Alps were cloſed up with Ice and Snow. The Mountainers likewiſe, that had ſo greatly moleſted *Hannibal* in his Journey over the Alps, were eaſily won to take part with *Aſdrubal*, when he travelled thorow their Country. For theſe poor men, at the firſt coming of *Hannibal*, were verily perſwaded, that it was his purpoſe to rob them of their

Excerpt. e Polyb. lib. 10, & 11.

their cattel; and to make ſpoil of that little wealth which they had painfully ſcraped together out of the deſolate rocks. But now in proceſs of time, they were better informed. Therefore, underſtanding that there were two mighty Cities, far diſ-joyned aſunder, which made War upon each other, by Land and Sea; and that the Alps did only lye in the way: they gladly condeſcended to take their part in the fortune of the Invaders. The like affection upon greater cauſe, was afterward found in the *Ciſalpine Gauls*. The *Ligurians* alſo joyned with *Aſdrubal*: and ſo would the *Hetrurians* have done, if he had arrived in their Country. There was no other *Roman* Army near, than *L. Portius* with his two Legions; of whom there was no great fear. Therefore did *Aſdrubal* ſet upon *Placentia*, a *Roman* Colony: in hope to make his coming the more terrible, by the deſtruction of that Town. But there he loſt a great deal of time, and finally was driven to quit the enterpriſe: by undertaking which, he gave the *Roman* Conſuls leiſure to make ready for him; and cauſed his Brother *Hannibal* (who upon the firſt bruit of *Aſdrubal* he ſo timely, and eaſily paſſing the Alps, was about to leave his wintring Camps, and go forth to meet with him) to ſit ſtill a while, as well aware, that *Placentia* would not be taken in haſte.

*C. Claudius Nero* the *Roman* Conſul, made what ſpeed he could to meet with *Hannibal*, and ſtop him from joyning with his Brother. He had about forty thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe: with which he daily offered battel to the *Carthaginians*; and had of him the better in many ſkirmiſhes. *Hannibal* was once driven to make a tedious march from the borders of the *Salentines* and *Apulians*, unto the Country of the *Brutians*, there to encreaſe his forces; which were otherwiſe too weak for the Journey intended. Afterward coming to *Grumentum*, a Town of the *Lucans*; he there fought unproſperouſly with *Nero* the Conſul. Nevertheleſs, he got off, and marched away to *Venuſia*. But *Nero* followed him, and had there again the better of him. Wherefore he was driven to return to *Metapontum*: where joyning with *Hanno*, that had made ready a good Army, he aſſayed again, to make way by force to his Brother. So he paſſed onward, and came again to *Venuſia*, having *Nero* ſtill at his heels. Thence went he over the River *Aufidus*, to *Canuſium*, where he ſate down, not far from the place, in which he had obtained his moſt memorable victory. There alſo did *Nero* ſit down by him: and both of them reſted, without making offer to fight. It ſeemed perhaps unto *Hannibal*, who knew the Country very well; that his Brother might with little impediment, overcome the way to *Canuſium*: where, if he could once again deal with both the Conſuls, and all the *Roman* forces together, he had reaſon to hope for ſuch another victory, as once he had gotten in the ſame open Country. If this had ſo faln out; *Rome* would have been undone for ever. But the *Carthaginians* ſhould not have needed to wiſh any ſecond victory, in the naked *Campans* about *Cannæ*; if ſuch as Army an this which *Aſdrubal* now brings, had come to ſecond *Hannibal*, when he was in his full ſtrength; and the *Romans* not able to keep the field. Wherefore this worthy General had good reaſon afterward to ſay that *Hanno* was the man, who by delaying the ſupply, did beat him out of *Italy*; which elſe no power of the *Romans* could have done.

Whilſt *Nero* waited upon the *Carthaginians*, and thought it enough to hinder them from meeting with the Army that was coming to their ſuccour: he was advertiſed of *Aſdrubal* his approach; by Letters and Meſſengers intercepted, as they were going to *Hannibal*. Theſe gave notice, that *Aſdrubal* had left the ſiege of *Placentia*, and drew onwards apace: being already come within two hundred miles of his Brother; notwithſtanding all oppoſition that could be made by *Livie* the Conſul. Of theſe news *Claudius Nero* was nothing joyful. For if *Hannibal* could once be joyned as head, unto that great body of an Army, which *Aſdrubal* brought with him: it was moſt apparent, that howſoever the fortune of *Rome* ſhould avoid, for the preſent, any great calamity; yet the very continuance of ſo ſtrong a war at home, would enforce the *Latines*, and other faithful Aſſociates, to faint under the burden; as twelve of the thirty *Roman* Colonies had already done. Wherefore he reſolved, that it were better to make any deſperate adventure, than to ſuffer the conjunction of two ſuch malevolent Planets: whoſe peſtilent influence, if not on the ſudden, yet within few years, was like to work moſt lamentable effects. It ſeemed apparent, that his Colleague was unable to ſtay the progreſs of *Aſdrubal*: neither were there any good Legions in a readineſs, that could do ſervice in ſuch a needful caſe; excepting thoſe, that were already imployed under the two Conſuls. Hereupon he concluded, that it was not expedient for him to tye himſelf to his own charge, which was the war againſt *Hannibal*: but rather that it behoved him, to help where



where more neceſſity required; and to carry part of his forces unto his Colleague. This could not be without much danger. Yet ſince the meeting of the two *Carthaginian* Brethren, was far more dangerous to the *Roman* Common-wealth: it ſeemed the beſt way to put Fortune in truſt, with that which was of the leſs importance. Six thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe he therefore took, that were the very choice of his Army: and making ſhew, as if he would only ſtep aſide, to do ſome ſmall piece of ſervice near at hand; away he poſted as faſt as he could, to aſſiſt his fellow-Conſul. His Meſſengers ran before him, to give warning to all Towns by which he was to paſs, that they ſhould be ready to meet him with victuals, and all other neceſſaries for his Army. *Livius* the other Conſul, at that time, lay encamped near unto *Sena Gallica*, and *Aſdrubal*, within half a mile of him. In ſix dayes *Nero* had finiſhed his Journey thither; and when he drew near, ſent Meſſengers before him, to give notice of his coming. *Livie* thought it fitteſt that he ſhould ſtay in ſome place of covert until dark night, and then enter ſecretly into the Camp: leſt the Enemy, perceiving this acceſs of ſtrength, ſhould accordingly frame his counſels. This was done; and a token given, that the Colonels, Captains, and all Souldiers, as well horſe as foot, that *Nero* had brought with him, ſhould be lodged and entertained by men of their own ſort. Their Company was ſomewhat increaſed by Voluntaries that joyned with him on the way. Nevertheleſs it was not needful that the Quarter which received them, ſhould be enlarged; ſince they had brought with them nothing but their arms. The next day they held a Counſel of War: wherein ſome were of opinion, that it was beſt for theſe new arrived Companies to refreſh themſelves a few days after their weary Journey, before they ſhould be drawn forth to battel. But againſt this, *Nero* was very earneſt: and beſought his Colleague, to make uſe of him out of hand; that he might betimes return to his own Camp, ere *Hannibal* ſhould have notice of his abſence. The Souldiers alſo of *Nero* were full of ſpirit; perceiving that the honour of the victory was like to be theirs: foraſmuch as the battel would not have been undertaken, without this their coming to help. Finally, it was agreed when the Counſel brake up, that the ſign of battel ſhould be hung out; which was commonly a Purple Coat over the Generals Pavilion.

*Aſdrubal* was no leſs willing than the *Romans* to come to battel, having long deſired it, and hitherto not found occaſion before. But when he had put his men in order, and was riding before the head of his Army, to behold the Enemies countenance: it ſeemed to him, that they were more than they had been; and ſome of their arms and horſes looked as though they had wanted dreſſing, after a long Journey. Hereupon he began to withdraw his Army back into the Camp: and gave order, that if no priſoners could be taken, by whom he might be certified of the truth; yet ſhould there good obſervation be made, whether the Enemies Camp were enlarged, or no; or what other alteration could be noted, that might ſhew their forces to be encreaſed. The Camp, as hath been ſaid, was not extended: but the trumpet, that ſounded only once in the Quarter of *L. Porcius* the Prætor, did now, contrary to former cuſtom, ſound twice in the Quarter of *Livius* the Conſul. Hereat *Aſdrubal* greatly muſed: and being well acquainted with the *Roman* orders, held this for a ſure token, that the other Conſul was there arrived. How this might be, if *Hannibal* were alive, and in good caſe, he was not able to conjecture: but thought it the beſt way, to go leiſurely to work, till he might be better informed. Upon confidence in his own forces, he had not cared hitherto, how near he lay to the *Romans*; nor trouled himſelf perhaps with over-ſtrongly fortifying his own Camp. Yet when he now perceived, that ſomewhat was fallen out beſide his expectation, he changed his reſolution; and held it no diſhonour to remove a little further off. So he diſlodged ſecretly by night, intending to get over the River *Metaurus*; whereby to keep himſelf as long as he could, from neceſſity of battel. But whether it were ſo, that his guides did ſteal away from him in the dark, ſo that he could not find the way to the Foords; or whether his carriages were too heavy, and hindred his ſpeed: far he had not gone, ere the Conſul *Nero* was at his heels with all the *Roman* horſe, and ſtayed him from paſſing any further. Soon after came *L. Porcius* with the light armature: whom the other Conſul followed anon with all the Legions; in good order, and ready for battel. *Aſdrubal*, ſeeing himſelf overtaken with neceſſity to fight, omitted no care and circumſpection. His *Gauls*, in whom he repoſed leaſt confidence, he placed in his left wing upon a Hill, which the Enemy ſhould not, without much difficulty, be able to climb: in the right wing he ſtood himſelf with his *Africans* and *Spaniards*; his *Ligurians* he placed

placed in the midſt; and his Elephants he beſtowed in the front of his battels. On the *Roman* ſide, *Nero* had the leading of the right wing, *Livius* of the left, and *Porcius* of the battel. Both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* well underſtood, how much depended upon the fortune of this day; and how little hope of ſafety there was unto the vanquiſhed. Only the *Romans* herein ſeemed to have had the better in conceit and opinion; that they were to fight with men deſirous to have fled from them. And, according to this preſumption, came *Livius* the Conſul with a proud bravery, to give charge on the *Africans*, by whom he was ſo ſharply entertained, that the victory ſeemed very doubtful. The *Africans* and *Spaniards* were ſtout Souldiers, and well acquainted with the manner of the *Roman* fight. The *Ligurians* alſo were a hardy Nation, and not accuſtomed to give ground; which they needed the leſs, or were able now to do, being placed in the midſt. *Livius* therefore, and *Porcius* found ſtrong oppoſition: and with great ſlaughter on both ſides, prevailed little or nothing. Beſides other difficulties, they were exceedingly troubled by the Elephants, that brake their firſt ranks; and put them in ſuch diſorder, as the *Roman* Enſigns were driven to fall back. All this while *Claudius Nero*, labouring much in vain againſt a ſteep Hill, was unable to come to blows with the *Gauls*, that ſtood oppoſite unto him, but out of danger. This made *Aſdrubal* the more confident; who, ſeeing his own left wing ſafe, did the more boldly and fiercely make impreſſion on the other ſide, upon the left wing of the *Romans*. But *Nero* perceiving that the place wherein he ſtood, was ſuch as would compel him to remain idle till the fight were ended; took a part of his forces, and led them round behind the forces of *Porcius* and *Livius*: which having compaſſed, he fell upon *Aſdrubal*, and charged him in the flank. Here began the victory to be manifeſt on the *Roman* ſide. For *Nero*, finding none to reſiſt him in front, ran all along the depth of *Aſdrubal* his battel: and falling upon the ſkirts thereof, diſordered the Enemies, and put all to rout. Of the *Spaniards* therefore and *Africans*, that were laid at on every ſide, the greateſt part was ſlain. The *Ligurians* and *Gauls* eſcaped as they could; and ſaved themſelves by timely flight. Of the Elephants, four were taken alive: the reſt were ſlain: ſome by the Enemies weapons, others by their own guides that rode them. For when any of them, being ſore wounded, began to wax unruly, and ruſh back upon their own battels following them, the guide had in readineſs a Mallet and a Chizzel, wherewith he gave them a ſtroke between the ears, in the joynt of the neck, next unto the head, wherewith he killed the beaſts upon a ſudden. This ſpeedy way of preventing ſuch harm as the Elephants, being hurt, were wont to do to the ſquadrons following them, is ſaid to have been the device of *Aſdrubal* himſelf, who dyed in this battel.

Great commendations are given to *Aſdrubal*, both by *Polybius*, and by *Livie*. He is ſaid at all times to have ſhewed himſelf worthy of *Amilcar* his Father, and *Hannibal* his Brother; to have ſtriven with great patience againſt many difficulties, whereinto he fell by the means of thoſe Captains that were ſent from *Carthage* into *Spain*; to have performed in this laſt battel all duties of a worthy General; and finally, when he ſaw the loſs irrepairable, to have ridden manfully into the thickeſt of his Enemies; where, fighting bravely, he was ſlain. Of the number that died with him in this battel, the report of *Livie* and *Polybius* do very much diſagree. For *Livie* ſaith, that the *Charthaginians* had no leſs an overthrow, than was that which they gave to the *Roman* at *Cannæ*: that fifty ſix thouſand of them were ſlain, five thouſand and four hundred taken priſoners, and above four thouſand *Roman* Citizens, whom they had captives with them, delivered, and ſet at liberty. He ſaith alſo, that of the *Romans* and their Aſſociates there were ſlain eight thouſand: and of the booty, that it was exceeding great; not only in other kinds, but in gold and ſilver. Concerning the booty, *Polybius* hath no mention of it. Likely it is to have been as rich as *Livie* reporteth it; for *Aſdrubal* came well ſtored with mony. But *Polybius* (who had no deſire to make this battel of *Metaurus*, a parallel unto that of *Cannæ*) reports no more than about ten thouſand of the *Carthaginian* ſide; and two thouſand of the *Roman*, to have been ſlain. The number of the priſoners he doth not mention: but only ſaith, That ſome of the *Carthaginian* Princes were taken alive; and that all the reſt died in the battel. Whereby it may ſeem that they were all *Barchines*: foraſmuch as they preferred the honour of themſelves, and of their Country, above their lives.

The joy of this victory was no leſs in *Rome*, than had been the fear of the event. For ever ſince it were known in what ſort *Nero* had left his Army, the whole City was troubled, as much as lately at *Hannibal* his coming thither. Men thought it ſtrange, that the Conſul ſhould make ſuch a great adventure



ture, as thus to put the one half of all the *Roman* forces unto hazzard of the Dice. For what if *Hannibal* ſhould chance to have notice of this his departure, and either purſue him, or ſet upon the Army that ſtaid behind, much weakned, and without a General? Thus did they talk; yet reſerving their cenſure unto the ſucceſs; with liberty to approve or condemn, according to the iſſue. In the mean time the people filled the Market-place, the Women ran to the Temples with Vows and Prayers; and the Senators were daily in counſel, waiting ſtill ready at hand upon the Magiſtrates; as if ſome great matter were likely to fall out, that would ask every ones help. In brief, they were all ſo full of melancholy, that when the firſt news of victory came, there were not many that would believe it. Afterwards, when Meſſengers arrived from the Conſuls, with Letters containing all that had paſſed, there was not only great and joyful concourſe of all ſorts of men unto the Temples, but the very face of the City was altered; and men from thenceforth began to follow their private buſineſs; making contracts one with another (which they had long forborn to do) & attending their own affairs in ſuch wiſe, as if *Hannibal* were already driven out of *Italy*.

*Nero* returning to his camp, threw forth openly the head of *Aſdrubal* before the *Carthaginians*: and producing his *African* priſoners bound, ſent two of them looſe to give *Hannibal* notice of what had hapned. Theſe two priſoners might have ſerved well enough to certifie *Hannibal* of the miſadventure, without doing wrong to the dead body of *Aſdrubal*: eſpecially ſince *Hannibal*, in honourable, and far different manner, had given burial to *Gracchus* and *Marcellus*; yea, to all the *Roman* Generals, whoſe carkaſſes fell into his hands. But it may ſeem, that howſoever the People of *Carthage* wanted much of the generous diſpoſition, which was found among the *Romans*, in their love unto the Common-weal: yet in dealing with enemies, they were far more civil, and leſs prone to the inſolency of revenge. The beſt excuſe of this outrage done by *Nero*, is that he hoped much more by the ſudden terrour of ſuch a ſpectacle, than by the ſimple relation of that which paſſed, to make a deep impreſſion of fear into the *Carthaginians*. It may alſo be ſaid, That he forgot himſelf, being overjoyed with the greatneſs of his proſperity. For it was the battel of *Metaurus* that weighed down the ballance, and turned the Tide of the *Roman* fortune: which being then at the loweſt Ebbe, ceaſed not afterwards to flow, till it could not be contained within any banks: *Hannibal* having loſt in this unhappy fight (beſides the worthy Gentleman his brother) all the hope that ſo long ſuſtained him in *Italy*, withdrew himſelf into the Country of the *Brutians*: and thither he cauſed all the *Lucans*, that were of his party, to remove; as likewiſe all that dwelt in *Metapontum*. For he wanted men to defend ſo many places, as he held at the preſent, becauſe they lay too far aſunder. Wherefore he drew them all into a leſſer compaſs, in the utmoſt corner of *Italy*, it being a country of much faſtneſs, and the people exceedingly devoted to his ſervice. In this buſineſs *Nero* gave him no memorable impediment: either becauſe *Hannibal* was too ſtrong for him, having all his forces united; or becauſe it is likely that this remove of the *Lucans* and *Metapontines*, was not before the end of Summer, when their harveſt was gathered in: at what time the Senate called him home to *Rome*. *M. Livius* the other Conſul tarried among the *Ciſalpine Gaules* until the end of ſummer; there to ſet things in ſuch order, as he thought requiſite: which done, he wrote unto the Senate, that there was no more need of him and his Army in that Province, but that *L. Porcius*, with the two Legions that were there before, might very well diſcharge the place. For this cauſe he deſired leave to return home; and that he might bring his Army with him. The Senate well underſtood his meaning: which was to have the honour of triumph as he well deſerved. But foraſmuch as it was well known, what intereſt *Nero* had in the late victory: order was ſo given, that not only *Livie* with his Army ſhould come home; but likewiſe *Nero*, though leaving his Army behind him, to confront *Hannibal*. So the honour of triumph was granted to them both: in the pomp whereof, *Livie* made the greater ſhew, as riding in a Chariot, and followed by his Souldiers; becauſe in his Province, and upon his day of command, the victory was gotten: his Army alſo being preſent at the triumph. But *Nero* that rode on horſeback, and without ſuch attendance, was the more extolled by the People and Souldiers; by whom, the victory was in a manner wholly aſcribed unto his great worth. Neither wanted *L. Veturius Philo*, and *Q. Cecilius Metellus*, Lieutenants to the Generals, the due acknowledgement of their good ſervice. For they were commended unto the People, as men worthy to be choſen Conſuls: and Conſuls they were choſen for the year following. But nothing was done by them, worthy of memory in their Conſulſhip. Neither

ther indeed from this year, which was the thirteenth of the preſent war, until the eighteenth year wherein it ended, was there any matter of importance wrought in *Italy*, ſave only the taking of *Locri* from the *Carthaginians* by ſurpriſe. For *Hannibal* wanted ſtrength, wherewith to make any great offer: and the *Romans* had little mind to provoke him; but thought it well that he was quiet. Such opinion had they conceived of him, that though all about him went to ruine, yet in him alone, they thought there was force enough to hold himſelf upright. And ſurely, very notable are the commendations given unto him by *Polybius*, whom *Livie* therein follows. That making war upon a People, of all other the moſt war-like, he obtained ſo many victories by his own good conduct: and that leading an Army, compounded of ſo many ſundry Nations, *Africans*, *Spaniards*, *Gaules*, *Carthaginians*, *Italians* and *Greeks*, which were neither in Language, Laws, Conditions, or any other thing, one like to another; he held them all in ſuch good order, that they never fell to ſedition among themſelves, or againſt their General. But that which *Livie* adds hereto, is yet perhaps of greater admiration: That he ſuſtained his Army, without help from other places, from this time forward, upon the hungry ſoil of the *Brutians*: which when it was beſt manured in time of peace, could hardly ſuffice to nouriſh the Inhabitants. It's therefore apparent, that by his proper worth and vertue, he kept his Army in ſuch order and obedience, rather than by any greatneſs of reward and booty; ſince after the death of *Aſdrubal*, he made no invaſion upon the wealthier parts of *Italy*; but held himſelf ſtill among the poor *Brutians*. Where we muſt leave him; until he be drawn into *Africk* by *Scipio*; whoſe doing will henceforth entertain, and lead us unto the end of this War.

## §. XVII.

### *How* P. Cornelius Scipio *the* Roman *made entire conqueſt of* Spain.

### †. I.

### *How the* Carthaginians *were driven by* Scipio *from the Continent into the Iſle of* Gades.

MAgo and *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Geſco*, took upon them the charge of *Spain*, when *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Amilcar* departed thence into *Italy*. Theſe agreed together, that *Mago* ſhould make a voyage to the *Baleares*; there to levy a ſupply of men; and *Aſdrubal* withdraw himſelf into *Luſitania* (which is now *Portugal*) whither the *Romans* had ill means to follow; being altogether unacquainted in thoſe parts. *Mago* had ſoon ended his buſineſs, and returned into *Spain*: where he met with one *Hanno* (the ſame perhaps that had lately been imployed in *Sicil*) who brought new forces out of *Africk*; and came to ſucceed in place of *Aſdrubal* the *Barchine*. It is not unlikely that *Spain* was now the better, and more readily furniſhed with men and all things needful from *Carthage*: when that ſon of *Amilcar*, whoſe authority had been greateſt, was thence departed. For hereby might the factious diligence of old *Hanno* approve it ſelf, againſt that noble race of Warriors; when it ſhould appear, that things did proſper much the better by being left unto the handling of other men. Whether it were upon deſire to make good ſome ſuch opinion raiſed of him at home, or whether upon confidence in the forces that he brought over: *Hanno* took the field, and led *Mago* with him; as purpoſing afreſh to ſet upon the *Romans*. So he entered into the country of the *Celtiberians*, not very far from new *Carthage*: where, by money and over perſwaſions, he levied above nine thouſand men.

*P. Scipio* in the mean while contained himſelf in the Eaſtern parts of *Spain*: attentive, as it may ſeem to the proceedings of *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Amilcar*; againſt, whom he is reported by ſome Writers to have ſent part of his forces into *Italy*, to the aſſiſtance of *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius* the Conſuls. But hearing of the levy made by *Hanno* and *Mago* among the *Celtiberians*, he ſent *M. Syllanus* the Propretor, with ten thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe. *Syllanus* got intelligence by ſome fugitive *Celtiberians*, who became his guides, that their Countrymen incamped apart from the *Carthaginians* in great diſorder: as men fearing no danger, becauſe they were at home. Wherefore as cloſely as he was able, he drew neer to theſe *Celtiberians*: and falling upon them on the ſudden, gave them ſuch an overthrow, that *Hanno* and *Mago* coming to their ſuccour, inſtead of heartning and re-inforcing them, became partakers of the loſs. *Mago* ſaved himſelf with all the horſe, and old Companies of foot, which were about two thouſand: and in ten dayes journey brought them ſafe to *Aſdrubal*. The reſt of the *Africans* were either ſlain or taken: among whom, *Hanno* had the ill luck to be taken priſoner; though he kept himſelf out of the fight until all was loſt. As for the *Celtiberians*, they knew better how to make ſhift; and



and ſaved moſt of themſelves by running into the woods.

It could no otherwiſe be, but that *Scipio* was much troubled with the danger wherein *Italy* ſtood, by the coming thither of *Aſdrubal*. Ten thouſand foot, and eighteen hundred horſe he did therefore ſend out of *Spain* (as it is reported by ſome Authors to the defence of his own Country; or was perhaps, about to ſend them: and thereupon remained at new *Carthage*, intentive to the neceſſity and ſucceſs of his Country-men at home. But when he had word of the great victory at *Metaurus*, which fell out long before the end of the Summer, then might he well adventure, to take in hand the entire conqueſt of *Spain*; which muſt needs be much alienated from the *Carthaginians*, by the report of ſuch an overthrow. The *Spaniſh* Souldiers that ſerved under *Hannibal*, & thoſe that had been ſent over into *Africk*, were as pledges heretofore, by whom their Country was held obnoxious to the *Carthaginians*. But when it was noiſed abroad, that all which had followed *Aſdrubal* into *Italy*, were fallen into the hands of the *Romans*; and that *Hannibal* with his Army was cloſed up in a ſtraight, whence he could not get out: then did it greatly behove the *Spaniards* to conform themſelves unto the will of the Victors. That it was the ſucceſs of things in *Italy*, which gave ſuch confidence unto *Scipio*; it was the more probable, becauſe he took not this great enterpriſe in hand, until the Summer was almoſt ſpent. *Aſdrubal* therefore uſed the benefit of the ſeaſon; and by diſpoſing his Army into many Garriſons, hindered the Enemy from doing any great exploit before winter. So the very length of way, and the time of the year, cauſed *Scipio* to return back: without any other matter performed, than that his Brother *L. Scipio* took by aſſault the Town of *Oringis*.

Againſt the next years danger, *Aſdrubal* prepared a great Army: and ſpared not coſt, nor travel, in ſtrengthening himſelf, for the tryal of his laſt fortune in *Spain*. With ſeventy thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, and two and thirty Elephants, he took the field: which number I believe, that he could hardly have raiſed, without boldly denying the truth of thoſe reports that came from *Italy*. *Scipio* thought his *Roman* Legions too weak to incounter with ſuch a multitude. Wherefore he judged it needful to uſe the help of his *Spaniſh* friends. But the death of his Father and Uncle, that were caſt away by the treaſon of ſuch falſe Auxiliaries, made him on the other ſide very doubtful of relying upon thoſe, that might perhaps betray him in his greateſt need. Yet ſince one *Colchus*, that was Lord of eight and twenty Towns, had promiſed him the laſt Winter, to raiſe three thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe for his ſervice: he reſolved to make uſe of thoſe, and ſome few others, that might help to make a ſhew; and yet not be able to do any great harm, if they would revolt. So with five and forty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, he fought out the Enemy; near unto whom he incamped. At his firſt coming, *Mago* and *Maſaniſſa* fell upon him; with hope to take him unprepared, whilſt he was making his lodgings. But he laid certain troops of horſe in covert: which, breaking upon them unexpected, cauſed them to fall off. They made at firſt an orderly retreat: but being more hardly preſſed, they ſhortly betook themſelves to plain flight. After this incounter, which added ſome courage to the *Romans*, and abated the preſumption of the *Carthaginians*, there were daily ſkirmiſhes between the horſe and light armature, on both ſides; wherein was nothing done of importance. *Aſdrubal* drew forth his Army, and arranged it before his Trenches: the like did *Scipio*; each of them to ſhew that he durſt fight, yet not proceeding any farther. Thus they continued many dayes: *Aſdrubal* being ſtill the firſt that iſſued forth in the morning; and the firſt that, in the evening, withdrew himſelf into his Trenches. The *Spaniſh* Auxiliaries were placed on both ſides in the wings; the *Carthaginians* were in the midſt, with their Elephants before them; and oppoſite to theſe on the other ſide were the *Roman* Legions. When they had in this order confronted one another, though at far diſtance, many dayes together: it grew to be the common opinion, that they ſhould ſhortly meet in the ſame form; and be matched on each part, with the enemies long before deſigned. But *Scipio*, when he purpoſed indeed to fight, altered the form of his Army; and withall, came forth earlier than he had been wont. He cauſed his men and horſes to be well fed betimes in the morning before day: and then ſent forth his horſe and light armature, to train out the *Carthaginians* with their bellies empty: uſing herein the ſame trick, whereby he might remember that *Hannibal* had beaten his Father in the battel of *Trebia*. His *Roman* Legions he beſtowed in the wings; his *Spaniards* in the battel. *Aſdrubal* ſent forth his horſe in all haſte, to entertain the *Romans*; whilſt he himſelf arranged his men, in their wonted order at the Hill foot, upon which he

incamped. In the skirmishes of the horse it could not be discerned which part had the better: since, being over-prested on either side, they had a safe retrait unto their foot; and one troop seconding another by course, returned to charge. This fight was protracted by *Scipio* to a great length: because his men, having well fed themselves, were like to hold out better than the enemy. But about noon he caused his wings to advance a good pace; leaving their battel of *Spaniards* far behind them, that came on leisurely, according to direction. The *Spanish* Mercenaries that stood in *Asdrubal* his wings, were no way comparable, save only in number, to the *Latine* and *Roman* Souldiers that came against them: for they were fresh Souldiers, levied in haste; and fighting only in respect of their pay. Being therefore charged in front by the Legions, and in flank, at the same time, by the *Roman Velites*, and by some cohorts, that were appointed to wheel about for the same purpose, they were sorely prested, and with much difficulty made resistance. The *Carthaginians* would fain have succoured them; but that they durst not stir out of their places, because of the *Spanish* battel which was coming against them; though it were as yet far off. Thus the best part of *Asdrubal* his Army stood idle, until the wings were broken. For, had he adventured to meet with the *Spaniards*, he must have cast himself into the open space that lay before him between the *Roman* wings: to the depth whereof when he had arrived, he should have found himself inclosed in such sort, as was the Consul *Paulus* at the battel of *Cannæ*. Wherefore he did only imploy his Elephants; which did, according to their manner, no greater harm to his Enemies, than to his friends. When they were chafed with wounds, they could no longer be ruled by their guides: but ran, as chance led them, and troubled both parts; or those perhaps the more, that were the more unwilling to kill them. In process of the fight, the *Romans*, who had well refreshed their bodies in the morning, endured lusty; when the others began to faint with travel and heat of the day. Wherefore perceiving their advantage, they followed it the more hotly; and gave not over, till they had forc't the enemy to change his place, and run from him. *Asdrubal* did his best to have made an orderly retreat; and afterward again to have caused his men turn head at the Hill foot. But the *Romans* would not suffer the victory to be so extorted from them: neither was it easie to put fresh courage into the vanquished, led by the obstinate passion of fear, which hearkens to no perswasion. The Camp of *Asdrubal* had that day been taken, if a storm of rain, which fell violently on the sudden, and bred some superstition in the *Romans*, had not caused them to give over.

The same night *Asdrubal* gave no rest to his men; but caused them, hungry, and over-laboured as they were, to take pains in fortifying the Camp; wherein he feared to be assaulted. But little assurance could he have in the strength of his Trenchess, when he had lost the hearts of his *Spanish* souldiers. One *Attanes*, that was Lord of the *Turdetani*, fled from him to the *Romans*, with a great Band of his subjects: many followed this example; and soon after two strong Towns were yielded up to *Scipio*, and the Garrisons betrayed. It seems that the perverse fortune of this late battel, whereupon *Asdrubal* had set his rest, bred in the *Spaniards a* disposition, to believe the more easily those reports which they heard from *Italy*. For henceforward, they never did good office to the *Carthaginians*. *Asdrubal*, perceiving this, withdrew himself, and marched away faster than ordinary pace, toward the Ocean Sea. *Scipio* followed the next morning, and overtaking the *Carthaginians* with his horse, caused them so often to make stand, that they were at length attached by the *Roman* Legions. Here began a cruel slaughter: for there was no resistance made, but all fell to rout, save only seven thousand that with *Asdrubal* himself recovered a very strong piece of ground, which they fortified in haste. The place he made shift a while to defend: but wanting there necessaries to sustain himself long, he was forsaken by some of those few, that continued hitherto partakers of his fortune. Wherefore he resolved to make shift for one; and stealing from his Company by night away to the Sea side, that was not far thence, he took shipping, and set sail for *Gades*. When *Scipio* understood that *Asdrubal* was thus gone, he left *Syllanus* with ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, to besiege their Camp (which was not taken in haste, for *Mago* and *Masanissa* staid in it) whilst he with the rest of the Army, did what was needful in the Country abroad. It was not long ere *Mago* and *Masanassa* followed *Asdrubal* to *Gades*: and their Army dispersed it self; some flying over to the *Romans*, others taking what way they liked. So upon all the Continent of *Spain*, there were only three Towns left, *Illiturgi*, *Castulo*, and *Astapa*, that made continuance of war against the *Romans*: of which only *Castulo* had a *Carthaginian* Garrison, consisting of



of such as had saved themselves by flight in the late overthrows. Hereby it seems that the report of those Historians was ill grounded, who said, that *Castulo* yielded long since unto the *Romans*; though *Hannibal* took a wife in that City. For this was one of the last three towns that held out on the *Carthaginian* side. *Illiturgi* had sometimes been inclinable to the *Romans*; if not altogether at their devotion. Yet after the death of the two elder *Scipio's*, following too earnestly the *Carthaginian* fortune, it not only rebelled, but with great cruelty betrayed and slew the poor men that escaped thither from the overthrows. *Astapa* was a town that still adhered to the *Carthaginians*; and, which was worse, had thriven by the spoyl of the *Romans* and their Confederates. Wherefore (though not untill the next year) *Scipio* went against these, and took himself *Illiturgi*, and *Castulo*: *Illiturgi* by assault, and with a general slaughter of the Inhabitants; *Castulo*, by treason of one *Cerdubellus*. *Astapa* was taken by *Lucius Marcius*; or rather destroyed by the Inhabitants. For a great pile of wood was raised in the Market-place: whereinto was thrown all the gold, and silver, with whatsoever else was precious; the women and children standing by it under a sure guard, that should kill and burn them if the *Romans* got into the Town. This provision being made, all the Inhabitants that could bear Arms, rushed forth desperately, and fell upon the *Roman* Camp; where striving beyond their power, they were every one slain. Then was the Town forthwith set on fire, by those that had taken charge to do it: and many of the *Romans* consumed with the flame; whilst they rushed over-hastily to catch the gold and silver, which they saw lying on the pile ready to melt.

*Asdrubal* being beaten into the Island of *Gades*, found no cause of long stay there: but returned home to *Carthage*, with seven Gallies: leaving *Mago* behind him, to wait upon occasion, if any should be offered. He visited in his way home, *Syphax*, King of the *Massæsili*, a people of the *Numidians*; hoping to win him to the friendship of the *Carthaginians*. But he met with *Scipio*, as it were with his evil Angel, in the Kings port: who landing at the same time, carried *Syphax* quite another way. For *Scipio* having driven the *Carthaginians* out of *Spain*, did forthwith bethink himself, how to finish the war, by putting them to the like distress in *Africk*. Hereunto it seemed that the help of *Syphax* would be much available: a King that had many times fallen out with the *Carthaginians*, and sustained much hurt by their procurement; of which in all likelihood he might easily be moved to seek revenge. He had also been beholding to *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, that sent him over a Captain into *Africk*; who instructed him so well in marshalling his forces, as he thereby often became victorious. Upon these reasons, the *Numidian* King sent Embassadors to *Rome*, and made league with the City in time of great extremity. So that hereby *P. Scipio* conceived hope of laying a good foundation to the War, which he intended in *Africk*, upon the friendship of this ill neighbour to the *Carthaginians*. For which cause he sent over *C. Lælius* his Embassador, to deal with *Syphax*: who declaring that the *Carthaginians* did very ill in *Italy*, and had nothing now at all to do in *Spain*, easily perswaded the King to take part with those that had the better and were without question his better friends. Only *Syphax* requested that the *Roman* General should visit him in person, to conclude the League; by which he was to enter into conditions of more importance, than in any former Treaty. Hereto *Scipio* condescended; thinking the friendship of so great a King, that was neighbour to *Carthage*, and not far distant from *Spain*, well worthy of the adventure. So with two *Quinquereme* Gallies he took Sea, and arrived in the Kings Port, at the same time with *Asdrubal*. This would have been very dangerous unto him, had he been descryed by his enemies further at Sea: but in the Haven they forbare to make offer one upon the other. *Syphax* might well be proud; seeing at one time, two such Captains of two most powerful Cities, came to desire his friendship. He would have brought them to treat of peace: but the *Roman* excused himself, by want of such Commission from the Senate. He feasted them together: and shortly dismissed *Scipio*, with whom he readily entred into Covenant; which in time of performance, he as readily brake.

## §. II.

*Funeral games held by* Scipio. *A Duel between two Spanish Princes. A digression concerning Duels.*

*Scipio* returning into *Spain*, and resting that Winter, took vengeance the next year, upon those of *Illiturgi*, *Castulo*, and *Astapa*, as hath been said before. The conquest of the Country being then in a manner at an end; he performed at new *Carthage*, with great solemnity, some Vowes that he had made, and honoured the memory of his Father and Uncle, with funeral games, especially

ly of those that fought at sharp, according to the manner of the times. Neither was it needful that he should trouble himself with preparing slaves for that spectacle, to hazard their lives, as was used in the City of *Rome:* for there were enow, that either offered, themselves as Voluntaries, or were sent from their Princes, to give proof in single combat, of the valour that was in their several Countries. Some also there were, that being in contention, which they could not, or would not otherwise end, agreed to refer the decision of their Controversies, to tryal of the sword, in single fight. Among these, the most eminent, were *Corbis* and *Orsua*; Cosen-germans: that contented for the principality of a Town called *Ibes*. *Corbis* was the elder, and the elder brothers son: wherefore he claimed the Lordship, as eldest of the house, after the manner of our *Irish Tamstry*. But the father of *Orsua* stood lately seized of the principality: which though himself received by the death of his elder brother; yet this his son would not let it go back, but claimed to hold it as heir unto his father, and old enough to rule. Fain would *Scipio* have compounded the matter. But they answered peremptorily, That all their friends and kindred had already laboured in vain, to take up that quarrel; and that neither God nor Man, but only *Mars*, their god of battel, should be Umpire between them. So they had their wills: and the elder, who was also the stronger, and more skilful at his weapon, easily vanquished the fool-hardiness of the younger.

Such combats have been very ancient; and perhaps more ancient, than any other kind of fight. We read of many performed before the War of *Troy*; by *Theseus*, *Hercules*, *Pollux*, and others: as also of two more at the War of *Troy*, the one between *Paris* and *Menelaus*; the other between *Hector* and *Ajax*. Neither want there examples of them among the *Hebrews*: whereof that between *David* and *Goliah*; and others performed by some of *Davids* Worthies, against those that challenged them, are greatly celebrated. Unto the same kind appertains the fight between twelve of the Tribes of *Juda*, and as many of the *Benjamites*. The *Romans* had many of them: whereof that was principal, in which they ventured their Dominion upon the heads of three brethren the *Horatii*, against the three brethren, *Curatii*, that were *Albans*. The combat of *Manlius Torquatus*; and shortly after, of *Valerius Corvinus*, with two Champions of the *Gauls*, which challenged any *Roman*; were of less importance, as having only reference to bravery. In *England* there was a great Combat fought between *Edmond Ironside*, and *Canutus* the *Dane*, for no less matter than the Kingdom. The use of them was very frequent in the *Saxon* times; almost upon every occasion, great or small. In the reign of *Edward* the third, who sustained the party of *Mountfort*, against the Earl of *Bloys*, contending for the Dutchy of *Britain*; there was a fight for honour of the Nations, between thirty of the *Britons*, and thirty *English*: two of which *English*, were *Calverlie*, a brave Captain; and that Sir *Robert Knolles*, who afterwards became a renowned Commander in the *French* wars, and did highly honour his blood, whereof the Lord *Knolles* is descended. It were infinite to reckon the examples of the like, found in *English*, *French*, and *Italian* Histories. Most of them have been combats of bravery, and of *gayeté de cœur*, as the *French* term it; for honour of several Nations; for love of Mistresses; or whatsoever else gave occasion unto men, desirous to set out themselves. But besides those of this sort, there are two other natures of combats; which are, either upon accusation for life, or upon trial of Title and Inheritance, as in *Writ of right*. And of this latter kind, was that, of which we spake even now, between *Corbis* and *Orsua*. Unto these (me thinks) may be added, as of different condition from the rest, the combat upon Wager; such as were that between *David* and *Goliah*, or that between the *Horatii* and *Curatii*: in which without regard of Title, the Dominion of Nations, one over the other, is adventured upon the head of Champions. Upon an accusation for life, there was a combat appointed between the Lord *Henry* of *Boulinbrook* Duke of *Hereford*, and *Moubray* Duke of *Norfolk*. There was a combat performed by Sir *John Ansley* and one *Cattrington*: whom *Ansley* charged with treason: and proved it upon him, by being victorious. The like was fought between *Robert* of *Mountfort*, and *Henry* of *Essex*. The like also, between a *Navarrois*, and one *Welsh* of *Grimsby*, whom the *Navarrois* accused of treason: but, being beaten in fight, confessed that he had belyed him, and was therefore drawn and hanged. Whether our tryal by battel do determine, that the false accuser, if he be vanquished, shall suffer the punishment which had been due to the offender, if the accusation had been proved; I cannot affirm. But we every where find, That if he which is accused of treason, or, according to the customs of *Normandy*, of Murder, Rape, or burning of places (offences punished by death) be overcome, He shall suffer the pains appointed for those crimes. In combats for tryal of right, it is not so: neither is the Appellant or Defendant bound to fight in person, but he may try it by his Champion, as did *Paramour* and *Low*, or offered to do, in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. And in this case, he that is beaten or yeeldeth, loseth only his cause, not his life. Neither are the combats upon accusation, or tryal of right, fought in open field, as are those of bravery; but in *Camp close*, that is, within rails. Now this tryal by combat was so ordinary in *France*, before the time of S. *Lewis* and *Philip the fair* his grand-child, as every Lord of Fee, Ecclesiastical or Temporal, had power to grant it within his own Jurisdiction. And it seemeth, that the *French* Kings, and other Lords, made their profit hereby. For in the * *Memorials of the Chamber of Accounts*, is found an Article to this effect; That if a Combat were once accepted, and after, by consent of the Lord, were taken up, each of the parties should pay two shillings six pence; but if it were performed, then should the party vanquished forfeit an hundred and twelve shillings. And upon this custom grew the *French* Proverb, which they use when as any man hath had an hard and unjust judgment; saying, That *He was tryed by the Law of Loray, or Berne; ou le battu paye l' amende*, where he that is beaten gives the recompence. Of these frequent tryals by battel that great learned man *Ivo*, Bishop of *Chartres*, did often complain, and specially against the *French* Church-men: as appears by * his Letters to the Bishop of *Orleans*, to the Arch-deacon of *Paris*, to *Rembert* Archbishop of *Sens*, and to others; wherein he rebukes the judgement of their Churches, that had ratified such challenges of combat. But this liberty and kind of tryal, was retrencht by S. *Lewis*, and *Philip the fair*; so that no man could decree or grant it, save the King himself. It hath since been granted, though more sparingly, by the *French* King, as to the Lord of *Carogues*, against *Jaques le Gris*; and to *Julian Romero* the *Spaniard*, against *Moro* his countriman; wherein Sir *Henry Knevet*, Father to the Lord *Knevet* now living, was Patron to *Romero* that had the victory; and lastly to the Lord of *Chast*. Now in those challenges, upon accusation of Treason, Murder, or other offence deserving death (and in those only) the rule held, That *le defendeur estoit tenu de proposer ces deffences par un dementir*; *The defendant was bound to plead not guilty, by giving the accuser the Lye:* otherwise it was concluded, that the Defendant did *taisiblement confesser le crime*; *silently confess the crime*. But after such time as *Francis* the *French* King, upon some dispute about breach of Faith, had sent the *Lye* unto the Emperor *Charles* the fift, thereby to draw him to a personal combat; every petty companion in *France*, in imitation of their Master, made giving of the *Lye* mortality it self; holding it a matter of no small glory, to have it said, That the meanest Gentleman in *France* would not put up, what the great Emperor *Charles* the fift had patiently endured.

From this beginning is derived a challenge of combat, grounded upon none of those occasions that were known to the Ancient. For, the Honour of Nations, the Tryal of Right, the Wager upon Champions, or the Objection and Refutation of capital offences, are none of them, nor all of them together, the argument of half so many Duels, as are founded upon meer private Anger, yea, or upon matter *seeming* worthy of anger in the opinion of the Duellists. So that in these dayes, wherein every man takes unto himself a Kingly liberty, to offer, accept, and appoint personal combats, the giving of the *Lye*, which ought to be the Negation only in accusations for life, is become the most fruitful root of deadly quarrels. This is held a word so terrible, and a wrong so unpardonable, as will admit no other recompence, than the blood of him that gives it. Thus the fashion, taken up in haste by the *French* Gentlemen, after the pattern of their King, is grown to be a custome: whence we have derived a kind of Art and Philosophy of quarrel; with certain grounds and rules, from whence the points of honour, and the dependencies thereof, are deduced. Yea, there are (among many no less ridiculous) some so mystical curiosities herein, as that it is held a far greater dishonour, to receive from an enemy a slight touch with a Cane, than a sound blow with a Sword; the one having relation to a slave, the other to a souldier. I confess that the difference is pretty: though for my own part, if I had had any such Italianated enemy in former times, I should willingly have made with him such an exchange; and have given him the point of honour to boot.

But let us examine indifferently the offence of this terrible word, the *Lye*; with their conditions who are commonly of all other the most tender in receiving it. I say, that the most of these, who present death on the points of their swords to all that give it them; use nothing so much in their conversation and course of life, as to speak and swear falsly. Yea, it is thereby, that they shift and shuffle

An. 21. Ric. 2.

An. 3. Ric. 2.

An. 9. Hen. 2.

* Si homines de Lo[illegible] vadia[illegible] duellum [illegible], &c.

* Clerici vestri nuper ad nos revertentes, qui causæ Comitis Theobaldi Aurelianis interfuerint, retulerunt nobis, quod quidam miles Domini Rodolphi quendam militem Comitis ad Monomachiam provocaverit, & hanc provocationem Ecclesiæ vestræ judicio confirmaverit, &c.

ſhuffle in the World, and abuſe it. For how few are there among them, which, having aſſumed and ſworn to pay the moneys and other things they borrow, do not break their word and promiſe, as often as they ingage it? Nay, how few are there among them, that are not *Lyars by Record*, by being ſued in ſome Court or other of Juſtice, upon breach of word or bond? For he which hath promiſed that he will pay money by a day, or promiſed any thing elſe, wherein he faileth; hath directly lyed to him to whom the promiſe hath been made. Nay, what is the profeſſion of love that men make now-adayes? What is the vowing of their ſervice, and of all they have, uſed in their ordinary complements, and (in effect) to every man whom they bid not good morrow, or ſalute, other than a courteous and Court-like kind of lying? It is (ſaith a wiſe *French* man, deriding therein the Apiſh cuſtome of his Country) *un marché & complot fait enſemble, ſe mocquer, mentir, & piper les un les autres; A kind of merchandiſe, and complot made among them, to mock, belye, and deride each other:* and ſo far now-adayes in faſhion, and in uſe; as he that uſeth it not, is accounted either dull or Cynical. True it is notwithſtanding (omitting the old diſtinction) that there is great difference between theſe mannerly and complemental lyes, with thoſe which are ſometime perſwaded by neceſſity upon breach of promiſe; and thoſe which men uſe out of cowardize and fear; the latter confeſſing themſelves to be in greater awe of men, than of God; a vice of all other ſtiled the moſt villanous. But now for the *Lye* it ſelf, as it is made the ſubject of all our deadly quarrels in effect: to it I ſay, That whoſoever giveth another man the *Lye*, when it is manifeſt that he hath lyed, doth him no wrong at all; neither ought it to be more hainouſly taken, than to tell him, he hath broken any promiſe which he hath otherwiſe made. For he that promiſeth any thing, tels him, to whom he hath promiſed, that he will perform it; and, in not performing it, he had made himſelf a Lyar. On the other ſide, He that gives any man the *Lye*, when he himſelf knowes that he, to whom it is given, hath not lyed; doth therein give the *Lye* directly to himſelf. And what cauſe have I, if I ſay that the Sun ſhines when it doth ſhine, and that another fellow tels me I lye, for it's midnight; to proſecute ſuch an one to death, for making himſelf a fooliſh Ruffian and a lyar in his own knowledge? For he that gives the *Lye* in any other diſpute, than in defence of his Loyalty, or Life; gives it impertinently, and Ruffian-like. I will not deny but it is an extream rudeneſs to tax any man in publike with an untruth (if it be not pernicious, and to his prejudice againſt whom the untruth is uttered:) But all that is rude, ought not to be civillized with death. That were more to admire and imitate a *French* cuſtome, and a wicked one, than to admire and to follow the counſel of God. But you will ſay, that theſe diſcourſes favour of cowardize. It is true; if you call it cowardize to fear God or hell: whereas he that is truly wiſe, and truly valiant, knowes that there is nothing elſe to be feared. For againſt an Enemies ſword, we ſhall find ten thouſand ſeven-penny-men (waged at that price in the wars) that fear it as little, or perchance leſs, than any profeſt Sword-man in the world. *Diligentiſſima in tutela ſui Fortitudo; Fortitude is a diligent preſerver of it ſelf.* It is (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) a mediocrity between doubting and daring. *Sicut non Martyrem pœna; ſic nec fortem pugna, ſed cauſa: As it is not the puniſhment that makes the Martyr: ſo it is not fighting that declares a valiant man: but fighting in a good cauſe.* In which, whoſoever ſhall reſolvedly end his life, reſolvedly in reſpect of the cauſe, to wit, in defence of his Prince, Religion, or Countrey: as he may juſtly be numbred among the Martyrs of God; ſo may thoſe that die with malicious hearts, in private combats, be called the Martyrs of the Devil. Neither do we indeed take our own revenge, or puniſh the injuries offered us, by the death of the injurious. For the true conqueſt of revenge is, to give him, of whom we would be revenged, cauſe to repent him: and not to lay the repentance of another mans death upon our own conſciences; *Animaſq; in vulnere ponere; And to drown our ſouls in the wounds and blood of our enemies.* Hereupon you will again ask me, if I condemn, in generous and noble ſpirits, the defence of their honours, being preſt with injuries? I ſay that I do not, if the injuries be violent. For the Law of Nature, which is a branch of the Eternal Law: and the Laws of all Chriſtian Kings and States; do favour him that is aſſailed, in the ſlaughter of the aſſailant. Yon will ſecondly ask me, Whether a Noble-man, or a Gentleman, being challenged by *Cartel* by one of like quality, be not bound in point of honour to ſatisfie the challenger in private combat? I anſwer, that he is not: becauſe (omitting the greateſt, which is the point of Religion) the point of the Law is directly contrary and oppoſite to that, which they call the point of honour; The Law which hath dominion over it, which can



can judge it, which can deſtroy it; except you will ſtile thoſe Acts honourable, where the Hang-man gives the Garland. For, ſeeing the Laws of this Land have appointed the Hang-man to ſecond the Conqueror, and the Laws of God appointed the Devil to ſecond the Conquered, dying in malice: I ſay, that he is both baſe and a fool, that accepts of any *Cartel* ſo accompanied. To this, perchance it will be anſwered, That the Kings of *England*, and other Chriſtian Kings, have ſeldome taken any ſuch advantage over men of quality, who upon even terms have ſlain their private enemies. It is true, that as in times of trouble and combuſtion they have not often done it; ſo did our Noble-men and Gentlemen in former ages, in all important injuries, ſue unto the King, to approve themſelves by battel and publike combat. For as they dared not to brave the Law; ſo did they diſdain to ſubmit themſelves unto the ſhameful revenge thereof; the ſame revenge (becauſe it deteſteth murder) that hath declared againſt a common Cut-purſe or other Theeves: Nay let it be granted that a pardon be procured for ſuch offenders: yet is not the man-ſlayer freed from his pardon. For theſe two remedies hath the party grieved notwithſtanding; that is, to require juſtice by Grand Aſſize, or by battel, upon his appeal, which (ſaith Sir *Thomas Smith*) is not denyed; and he further ſaith (for I uſe his own words) That if the Defendant (to wit, the man-ſlayer) be convinced either by great Aſſize or by Battel, upon that appeal; the man-ſlayer) ſhall die notwithſtanding the Princes pardon. So favourable (ſaith the ſame learn-Gentleman) are our Princes, and the Law of our Realm, to juſtice & to the puniſhment of blood violently ſhed. It may further be demanded, how our Noblemen and Gentlemen ſhall be repaired in honour, where an enemy, taking the ſtart either in words or blows ſhall lay on them an infamy unſufferable: I ſay, that a Marſhals Court will eaſily give ſatisfaction in both. And if we hold it no diſgrace to ſubmit our ſelves for the recovery of our Debts, Goods, and Lands; and for all things elſe by which the lives of our ſelves our wives, and children, are ſuſtained, to the Judges of the Law; becauſe it may be felony to take by violence even that which is our own: why ſhould we not ſubmit our ſelves unto the Judges of honour in caſes of honour; becauſe to recover our reputation by ſtrong hand, may be murder? But yet again, it may be objected, That the loſs of honour ought to be much more fearful unto us, than either the loſs of our goods, of our lands, or of our lives; and I ſay ſo too. But what is this honour, I mean honour indeed, and that which ought to be ſo dear unto us: other then a kind of Hiſtory, or fame following actions of vertue, actions accompanied with difficulty or danger, and undertaken for the publick good? In theſe, he that is imployed and truſted, if he fail in the performance, either through cowardize, or any other baſe affection; it is true that he loſeth his honour. But the acting of a private combat, for a private reſpect, and moſt commonly a frivolous one, is not an action of vertue, becauſe it is contrary to the Law of God, and of all Chriſtian Kings: neither is it difficult, becauſe even and equal in perſons and arms: neither for a publick good, but tending to the contrary; becauſe the loſs or mutilation of an able man, is alſo a loſs to the Common-weal.

Sir Thomas Smith in his Com. wealth of England.

Now that a Marſhal of *England* hath power to ſave every mans fame and reputation, as far as reputation may ſuſtain injury by words, I think no man doubteth. For to repent us of any evil words that we have given, and to confeſs that we have done him wrong, unto whom we have given them, is a ſufficient ſatisfaction; and as may fall out, more than ſufficient. For he that gives ill words in choler, and ſuddenly denyes them, or repents himſelf of them upon adviſement hath the diſadvantage in point of reputation. Concerning blows, which are indeed not to be given but to thoſe that are ſervile, whether ſufficient recompence will be made for them, it ſhall appear by a notable example of a moſt worthy Gentleman *Monſier de Pleſſis*, that was ſtricken in *France* not long ſince by a Baron of the ſame Nation. The ſatisfaction which was given him by a judgement of the Conſtable and Marſhals of *France*, was this. In the open Court, wherein the Conſtable gave judgement, *M. de Pleſſis* was ſet in a chair under the degrees where the Conſtable and Marſhals ſate: the Baron, who had given him the blow, did kneel before him on both his knees, holding in his right hand a ſword with the point towards himſelf, and in his left hand the like cudgel or baſtinado, wherewith he had ſtricken *M. de Pleſſis*, both which weapons he delivered into *Pleſſis* hands, ſubmitting himſelf to ſuch revenge, as it ſhould pleaſe him to take with either of thoſe weapons; the Conſtable and Marſhals having formerly left it to the will of *Pleſſis*, to uſe his own diſcretion in the revenge of his own wrongs. Now whether the Baron had reaſon to pleaſe himſelf, as one beforehand in point of honour, (who ſtruck *M. de Pleſſis*

like a Ruffian coming behind him,& having the advantage of company, and his horses ready, shifted himself away on the sudden; but being afterwards taken, was taught to repent himself in this shameful manner:) or whether *Monsier de Plessis* (of whose valour no man doubted) had not far juster cause to rest satisfied, since he might at his pleasure have beaten or wounded his enemy, but forgave him: let any wise man judge. To this, if it be said, That the Baron was constrained to make his submission that his repentance was enforced, and not voluntary; and therefore no disgrace unto him: I answer, that one may say as well, that it is no disgrace to a Thief, when he is brought to the Gallows, to repent him of the Robberies by him committed, because his repentance also is constrained. And it is true, that enforced repentance is no grace in respect of a force, but in respect of the fact: which (but for our sins to God) makes all repentance shameful: because all forced repentance is inflicted upon us for somewhat unworthy of a Gentleman, and of an honest man. Nay, voluntary repentance it self, as it hath relation to men, ariseth either out of the fear of the ill that may befall us, or out of the acknowledgement of our own weakness. Certainly as wise men, and valiant men do rather deride petty injuries or sudden injuries, that are not offered from malice fore-thought, than revenge them: so men, apt to quarrel, do commonly suspect their own valour; and rather desire, that thereby the world should believe them to be of great daring, than know any such resolution in themselves. For he that knows himself indeed to be an honest man, scorns to hunt after opinion.

Now the same power which the Constable and Marshals of *France* have, hath also a Marshal of *England*, or his Deputies: by whose judgement in all disputes of honour, every mans reputation may be preserved; we may therefore as well submit our selves to the Judge of honour in all disputes of honor, as we do submit our selves in all controversies of livelihood and life, to the Judges of the Law. And, out of doubt, the institution of this Court of Chevalrie in *England*, in *France*, and elsewhere: was no less charitable than politick. For the blood of man, violently spilt, doth not bring forth *hony bees* as that of Buls doth, which sting but the fingers, or the face: but it produceth that monstrous beast, *Revenge*, which hath stung to death, and eaten up, of several nations, so many noble personages; as there is nothing more lamentable, nor more threatning the wrath of God upon supream Governours, than the permission.

His Majesty therefore (which *Henry* the IV. of *France* also endeavoured) hath done a most Kingly and Christian-like deed in *Scotland*, which the most renowned of all his Predecessors could never do: in beating down and extinguishing that hereditary prosecution of malice, called *the deadly feud*; a conquest, which shall give him the honour of Prudence and Kingly power for evermore. And we have cause to hope, that his royal care shall be no less happy in preventing the like mischief, which threatens *England*, by the audacious, common, and brave, yet outragious vanity of Duelists.

Unto this that I have spoken of lying, and of man-slaughter, it must be added, That each of these are of great Latitude, and worthy of reproof and vengeance proportionably, more or less, in their several degrees. There is much difference between Lies of necessity upon breach of promise, or complemental lies; and such pernicious lies, as proceed from fear and cowardize, or are uttered by false witnesses: the former sort being excusable by weakness or levity; the latter being altogether detestable. No less, if not more, difference there is, between killing of a man in open field, with even weapons; and that killing, which the Scriptures call *killing by guile*, *dolo* or *per insidias*; though our Laws do not much distinguish them in punishment. For in the latter, God, forsaking his own priviledge, commandeth that the *guilful* murderer be drawn by force, from the protection of his Altar. Neither is every guilefull murder performed by the sword, nor by *overt* violence: but there is a guilful murder also, by poysoning: and by the pen, or by practice. For such distinction is found, between coming presumptuously upon a man, *to slay him with guile*; and *lying in wait for blood, privily, for the innocent, without a cause*, upon hope of spoil, after such manner as *the net is spread before the eyes of the Birds*. *Francis* the first, Queen *Mary* of *England*, and the Kings Majesty now reigning, have given notable testimony of their justice, upon three Noble men, who committed *guilful murder*. Of the first kind, King *Francis* upon the Lord of *Talard*: who being (saith the *French* Historian) *de haute & ancienne lignee, & supporte de plusieurs grandes alliances*; *who being of high and ancient linage, and supported by divers great alliances*, of which the Cardinal of *Bellay* (in especial favour with the King) was one; was notwithstanding delivered over into the hands of the Hangman. *Queen Mary*, upon a Noble man of her own Religion, and in many other respects very dear unto her. *His Majesty*, upon a Baron of *Scotland*; whose house was no less ancient and faithful, than himself valiant, and greatly friended both at home and abroad. Of killing guilfully by poyson, and of punishment following such wicked Artisans, every age hath had too many examples. Of killing guilfully by the pen (that I may not speak of any *English* Judge) the Author of the *French Recherches* gives unto us two notable instances: the one of *des Eshars*, who (saith *Pasquier*) *fit mourir Montaigu grand Maistre de France, pour contenter l'opinion celuy dont il estoit lors idolastre; & Dieu permit que depuis il fut pendu & estrangle*; *Who caused Montaigu great Master of* France *to die to content his mind* (to wit, the Duke of Burgoyne) *whom at that time* Eshars *worshipped as his Idol*; *but God permitted, that he himself was soon after hanged and strangled.* The other was of the Great *Francis* the first, upon his Chancellor *Poyet*: who, to satisfie the Kings passion, practised the destruction of the Admiral *Chabot*; a man most nobly descended, & of great service. For as in other men, so in Kings the passion of love grows old, and wears out by time. So the Kings affection being changed towards the Admiral, he charged him with some offences which he had formerly committed: The Admiral presuming upon the great good service which he had done the King in *Piemont*, and in the defence of *Marseilles* against the Emperour, gave the King other language than became him; and desired nothing so much, as a publick trial. Hereupon the King (it being easie to provoke an ill disposition) gave commission to the Chancellor, as President, and other Judges, upon an information of the Kings Advocate, to question the Admirals life; The Chancellor, an ambitious man, and of a large conscience, (which is not rare in men towards the law) hoping highly to content the King; wrought with some of the Judges with so great cunning; with others with so sharp threats; and with the rest, with so fair promises; as albeit nothing could be proved against the Admiral, worthy of the Kings displeasure, yet the Chancellor subscribed, and got others to subscribe, to the forfeiture of his Estate, Offices, and Liberty, though not able to prevail against his life. But what was the Chancellors reward (the King hating falshood in so great a Magistrate) other than his own degradation, arraignment and condemnation? *Belle les on certes* (saith *Pasquier*) *a tout Juge pur de-meurer toufiours en soy, & ne laisser fluctuer sa conscience debans les vagues d'une imaginare faveur, qui pour fin de jeu le submerge*; *A fair lesson to all Judges, to dwell alwayes in themselves, and not to suffer their consciences to float upon the waves of imaginary favour, which in the end overwhelms them.* And as for the Admiral, though it might have been answered unto his friends, if any bewail his calamity as undeserved, That he was tryed, according to his own desire, by the Laws of his Country, and by the Judges of Parliament; yet the Kings justice, surmounting all other his passions, gave back unto him his Honour, his Offices, his Liberty, and his Estate.

Exod. 21. | Exod. 21. 14 | Prov. 1. 11 | lib. 5. c. 18. & cap. 11.

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### †. III.

*The last Acts of* Scipio *in* Spain, *His return to* Rome, *where he is chosen Consul.*

THe last business that troubled *Scipio* in *Spain*, grew by the rebellion of the people, and mutiny of his Souldiers. He fell dangerously sick, in such sort that the rumour of his death ran current throughout *Spain*. This encouraged *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, petty Kings, that had forsaken the *Carthaginians*, and followed *Scipio* a while before, to take arms against the *Romans*. They were vainly perswaded, that after the *Carthaginians* were driven out; they themselves should become the mightiest in all *Spain*. But seeing now, that things were no way answerable to the greatness of their hopes; they thought it best, to take the present advantage, and hammer out their own fortunes. So they rashly fell upon the *Suessetani* and *Sedetani*, Confederates of the *Romans*; and wasted their Country. Part of the *Roman* Army lying at *Sucro*, instead of making head against these Rebels, grew to be affected with the like distemper. They had not reped such profit of the *Roman* conquests, as might satisfie their desires; or as they thought easie to be gotten if they might be their own Carvers. Wherefore, when the death of *Scipio* was reported, they thought that the time served very well, to enrich themselves with the spoil of the Country. Many outrages they committed: and, which was greatest of all, driving away their Colonels, that should have bridled their fury; they chose out of their own number two base fellows, *Albinus Calenus*, and *Atrius Umber*, to their Commanders. These took upon them all the Ensigns of Pro-consuls, or Pro-pretors; as if this their election had been like to that, wherein *Lucius Marcius* was chosen by the Souldiers after the death of the two *Scipio's*: But whilest they were devising what exploits

ploits they might do, for the enriching of themſelves, in a time of ſuch combuſtion as was expected, there arrived more certain news, that *Scipio* was both alive, and in good health. There came alſo new Colonels, ſent unto them from their General: who mildly rebuking their want of conſideration, and ſeeming to be glad that they had no further over-ſhot themſelves; led them to *Carthagena*, there to receive their pay. Before their coming, *Scipio* had reſolved to do exemplary juſtice on the principal offenders; and to put the whole multitude of them in fear of what they had deſerved. Therefore he cauſed *Syllanus* to make ready the Companies which lay before in the Town, as it were to make an Expedition againſt *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*: he cauſed *Albius* and *Atrius* with ſome thirty other of their Complices, to be ſecretly apprehended in their lodgings: He called the Mutiners to Aſſembly; & having them unarmed as they were, encircled round by *Syllanus* and his companies, prepared for the purpoſe; he bitterly inveighed againſt them all as Traitors. This done, *Albius* and *Atrius*, with the other priſoners were haled to the ſtake; where they were whipt and beheaded, as was the *Roman* cuſtome toward ſuch offenders. The reſt of the Souldiers, to the number of eithgt thouſand, were cauſed to take their oath of obedience anew; and receiued every man his pay, when he was ſworn.

*Mandonius* and *Indibilis* continued in arms: notwithſtanding that they had certain word of *Scipio* his life and health. Well they could have been contented to be quiet: but by the ſeverity uſed to the *Roman* Souldiers, they ſtood in fear, as being *Spaniards*, and greater offenders, of harder meaſure. *Scipio* went againſt them, and found them in a valley, that was ſcarce large enough to hold all their Army. In the entrance thereof he fought with them: and ſending *Lælius* with all his horſe, to fetch a compaſs about the hils, and charge them in rear, he overthrew them. *Indibilis* and *Mandonius* had after this, no hope remaining to preſerve themſelves and their eſtates, otherwiſe than by making ſubmiſſion. *Mandonius* therefore came to *Scipio*: and humbly craving pardon, both for himſelf and for his brother *Indibilis*, obtained his requeſt; yet ſo, that they were taught to acknowledge themſelves leſs free Princes than formerly they had been.

Afterwards *Scipio* went toward *Gades*: and was met on the way by *Maſaniſſa*; who ſecretly promiſed to do him all ſervice, if the people of *Rome* would ſend him to make war in *Africk*. Unto *Mago* that lay in *Gades*, came directions from *Carthage*, that letting all care of *Spain* alone, he ſhould thence depart from his Fleet into *Italy*; & there wage an Army of *Gaules* and *Ligurians*, to joyn with *Hannibal*. For this purpoſe, was money ſent unto him from *Carthage*; and he himſelf laid hold upon all that he could find in the Town of *Gades*; without ſparing either private men, the common treaſury, or the Temples. In his voyage thence, he landed at *Carthagena*; hoping to have taken it by ſurpriſe. But he failed in the attempt, and was ſo beaten to his ſhips, that he returned back to repoſe himſelf a while at *Gades*. The *Gaditanes*, offended with the robberies and ſpoil that he had made at his taking leave of them, would not ſuffer him again to enter into their City. By this he foreſaw, that it would not be long ere they became *Roman*. Wherefore ſending Meſſengers into the Town, to complain of this uncourteous dealing, he allured their Magiſtrates forth unto him; whom, notwithſtanding all the excuſe that they could make, he whipt and crucified. This done, he followed his former intended voyage; bidding *Spain* farewell for ever.

The Iſle and City of *Gades*, was yielded to the *Romans*, preſently after the departure of *Mago*. Then did *Scipio* deliver up the Province, to thoſe that were ſent from *Rome* to ſucceed him therein: & himſelf with ten ſhips returned home. At his coming to *Rome*, he made ſuit for the honour of a triumph. But it was denied him: for that it had as yet been granted unto no Proconſul, excepting to ſuch, as received that dignity after a Conſulſhip, as it were by prorogation. But to make amends for this repulſe, the election of new Conſuls being then in hand, by general voice of the City, *P. Cornelius Scipio* was choſen Conſul, and *P. Licinius Craſſus* joyned with him. This *Craſſus*, being high Prieſt, or Biſhop of the *Romans*, might not by the cuſtome of thoſe times, go far from the City; as being to intend the matters of their ſuperſtition: though *Cæſar*, and other, who in ages following held the ſame office, were ſtayed by no ſuch religious impediment, from being far and long abſent. Hereby it came to paſs, that *Scipio*, deſiring to have the war transferred into *Africk*, was in no danger to loſe that honourable charge, by any miſchance of lot, in the diviſion of Provinces; for that his Colleague was not capable of employment ſo far off.

§. XVIII.



## §. XVIII.

*Scipio obtains leave to make war in Africk. His preparations. Of Maſaniſſa who was joyned with* Scipio. *The victories againſt* Aſdrubal *and* Syphax.

*Pub. Cornelius Scipio*, and *P. Licinius Craſſus*, entring into their Conſulſhip, held a meeting of the Senate in the Capitol: wherein it was decreed, that *Scipio* ſhould be allowed, to beſtow part of the money which he had brought out of *Spain* into the treaſurie; upon the ſetting forth of ſolemn plays, that he had vowed to make whileſt he was buſied in his *Spaniſh* wars. This helped well to revive the memory of his victories already gotten; and to give hope unto the People of greater victories in the war, which he intended to make in *Africk*. To the ſame purpoſe, did the *Spaniſh* Embaſſages avail much in the Senate; eſpecially that of the *Saguntines*: who magnified his actions highly and deſervedly; ſaying, That they were the moſt happy of all their countrimen, ſince they being preſent, had ſeen him choſen Conſul, and ſhould carry home ſuch joyful news. The *Saguntine* Embaſſadors were lovingly entertained by the Senate: as their faith to *Rome* (though coſtly it were both to them and to the *Romans*) had well deſerved. Nevertheleſs, when *Scipio* propoſed, that *Africk* might be decreed unto him for his Province, there wanted not many, even of the principal men, that vehemently gainſaid him. Of theſe was *Q. Fabius Maximus* the chief: who ſeems to have been troubled with that diſeaſe, which too often cauſed men, renowned for long approved vertue, to look aſquint upon the actions of thoſe, that follow them in the ſame kind. He alledged many reaſons againſt the purpoſe of the Conſul; whereof the chief were, That the Treaſury was unable to ſuſtain the charges of a war in *Africk*; and that it was extreamly perillous to hazzard ſo great forces, where they could not at pleaſure be recalled unto the defence of *Rome* it ſelf, if need required. Hereunto he added many words concerning the danger wherein *Italy* ſtood, not only of *Hannibal*, but of *Mago* his brother, that was arming the *Ligurians*: as alſo concerning the honour of the Conſul; which would (he ſaid) be greater in ſetting *Italy* free from enemies, than it could be in doing any harm to *Africk*. Neither did he forget, both to elevate the *Spaniſh* wars, as of leſs moment than the intended voyage againſt *Carthage*, nor withall to lay great blame upon *Scipio*, for having ſuffered *Aſdrubal* to paſs into *Italy*: ſhewing, that it was greatly to be feared, leſt the like might happen again; and that a new Army, notwithſtanding the good ſucceſs of *Scipio*, (if it hapned to be good) might be ſent from *Carthage*, to the utter endangering of *Rome*, whileſt the *Roman* forces were employed abroad. But the main point which he urged, was, That neither the Senate had ordained, nor the People commanded, *Africk* to be that year a Province: which the Conſul nevertheleſs propounded in ſuch wiſe, as if it were a matter already concluded, and no longer to be argued. *Scipio* on the otherſide, inſiſted upon this one point; That it was better to make an offenſive, than a defenſive war, eſpecially againſt ſuch as the *Carthaginians*, who being ill provided of able men at home, did furniſh themſelves, by help of mony, with levies made abroad. As for the care of *Italy*, he doubted not, but *P. Licinius* his Colleague would be as well able to diſcharge it now, as others had done in times of greater danger. So promiſing to draw *Hannibal* into *Africk*, for defence of his own home; and taxing as civilly as he could, the envy of *Fabius*, which withſtood ſuch a gallant enterpriſe, he propoſed the matter again to the Senate. Much altercation there was about the manner of his proceeding: foraſmuch as it was noiſed abroad, that if he could not bring the Senate to his mind, he would carry it by the people. This offended many of the ancients: who reſented in this honourable man, a little ſpice of that arrogancy, which in following ages grew to be much hotter, in thoſe that had commanded long abroad. But in concluſion, *Scipio* referred himſelf wholly to the Senates good will and pleaſure; whereby he obtained thus much, That the Iſle of *Sicil* might be appointed unto him for his Province; with leave to paſs over into *Africk*, if he found it expedient.

Want of money, and no great liking to his voyage, made the *Roman* Senate have little care to furniſh out *Scipio* to the war, by him intended upon *Africk*. Herewithall it fell out, that *Mago*, coming on the ſudden from the *Baleares* to *Genua*, and winning the Town, bred a fear of no leſs terrible invaſion upon *Italy*, than that which *Aſdrubal* had lately made. He could not indeed raiſe any great Army of the *Ligurians*; for that he found them diſtracted with civil wars. Therefore he was driven to make choiſe of his party; and to help thoſe whom he thought fitteſt for his turn, againſt the others. This troubleſome buſineſs, though it occupied more of his time than he could willingly have ſpared: yet it got him reputation by his victories; and made the unſteady *Gauls* ready

dy to enter into his pay. Hereupon the diſperſed Legions of the *Romans*, that under Proconſuls, and Prætors, lay ready to be employed where need ſhould require; were directed unto the borderers of *Lombardy* and *Liguria*, there to make head againſt *Mago*. But all his menaces paſſed away in vapour. For a fleet, either coming to his aid from *Carthage*, or by him ſent thither (the report is uncertain) loaden with the booty that he had taken, fell into the hands of the *Roman* Prætor, that governed in *Sardinia*. This did much diſable him: and though after a while, there came letters from *Carthage*, together with ſtore of mony, heartning him in his proceedings; yet ſome impediments which he found, and that fatal voyage of *Scipio* into *Africk* diſturbed all; and made him be re-called home.

Againſt *Hannibal* was nothing done this year. Neither was any thing done by him, of which the *Roman* Hiſtorians have been pleaſed to take notice. Only it is ſaid, that he ſpent the Summer by the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, where he raiſed an Altar, with a huge Title of all that he had performed, graven in *Punick* and *Greek* letters. Such accompt of winnings paſt, is commonly in Gameſters that are at the height of their fortune, a cauſe of remiſſion and careleſneſs; in thoſe that are upon the loſing hand, a cauſe both of the ſame for the preſent, and ſhortly after of dejection, when they find a notable change. A great peſtilence, infeſting both the *Carthaginian* and the *Roman* Camp, is ſaid to have been the occaſion of this years idleneſs; which fell out not much amiſs for the City of *Rome*, that was marveloufly impoveriſhed by this war; and had already tryed the utmoſt way to defray the charges, which grew inſupportable. To relieve the preſent neceſſity, it was well thought upon, that a great part of *Campania* (not many years ſince confiſcated) ſhould be ſold, or let out: in which bargain, that the City might receive no loſs, the tenth part of the fine was ordained, as a reward unto the detectors of lands concealed.

Of this, or other mony, none was given to *Scipio*. Neither was he allowed to make preſs of Souldiers for his *African* voyage; neither did he over-much labour to obtain it. That which the Senate refuſed, the people did for him: or rather they did it for themſelves; that were therein wiſer then the Senate. It is uſually found in Councels of eſtate, that the buſie, or obſtinate heads of a few, do carry all the reſt. And many times men make a ſurrender of their own judgments, to the wiſdom that hath gotten it ſelf a name, by giving happy direction in troubles forepaſt. Therefore, he that repoſeth himſelf upon the advice of many, ſhall often find himſelf deceived: the counſel of thoſe many being wholly directed by the Empire of a few, that over-ſway the reſt. *Q. Fabius* was accounted the Oracle of his time: for his wary nature ſorted well with the buſineſs, that fell out in the chief of his employment. Unto him therefore *Q. Fulvius* adhered, with other of the Senators, that were grown old in following one courſe; from which they could not ſhift, as the change of times required. But the People (who though they could not well adviſe, and deliberate, yet could well apprehend) embraced the needful reſolution of *Scipio*: in ſuch ſort, that beſides his *Roman* forces, he had from divers parts of *Italy* about ſeven thouſand Voluntaries. He had alſo proviſion from the ſeveral Towns: Corn, Iron, Canvas for ſails, Axes, Beed-hooks, Hand-mils, and the like implements; Firre for building of ſhips, many thouſands of Targets, Helmets, and Spears of all kinds: every place furniſhed him with that commodity, which it beſt could afford.

Unto this willingneſs of the People, the diligence of *Scipio* was correſpondent. In the compaſs of five and forty dayes he had both fell'd his Timber, built, and lanched twenty *Triremes*, and ten *Quinquiremes* Gallies; wherewith he tranſported his Army into *Sicil*. In *Sicil* he found, beſides other forces, two Legions, that had ſerved at *Cannæ*: which were old Souldiers, and (as he himſelf well knew) not guilty of the overthrow; for which they had long undergone a heavy cenſure. They had ſerved under *Marcellus* and *Lævinus*, at the taking of many Cities and ſtrong pieces: in which regard, they were like to be of good uſe to him in *Africk*, where would be ſtore of ſuch employment. For increaſing the number of his horſe, he preſſed three hundred *Sicilians*, all wealthy yoving men, & ſuch as loved well their eaſe. Theſe he afterward diſcharged from the War, highly to their contentment: but with condition, that they ſhould deliver their Horſe and Arms, to as many *Roman* Gentlemen, which he brought over with him for the purpoſe. Whileſt he was providing to have things in a readineſs for *Africk*, the baniſhed *Locrians*, that followed the *Roman* ſide, made him acquainted with an intelligence, whereby they hoped to recover their City. Some handicrafts-men, that wrought for the *Carthaginians* in one of the Citadels of *Locri*, (for there were two in the Town) being taken priſoners by the *Romans*, promiſed to betray the place, if they might be ranſomed and rewarded.

*Scipio*



*Scipio* being advertiſed of this gave order to have the attempt made by night: which happily ſucceeded, and that Citadel was ſurpriſed. The other Citadel was ſtrongly defended by the *Carthaginian* Garriſon, which ſent to *Hannibal* for aid. The *Romans* in like ſort, fearing leſt their own paucity ſhould make them to weak for *Hannibal*, craved help of the Conſul *Scipio*. The Townſ-men were doubtfully affected: but the beſt, and moſt of them inclining to the *Romans*, kept *Hannibal* out; whom the comming of *Scipio* cauſed thence to depart; and cauſed likewiſe the *Carthaginian* Garriſon to abandon the other Citadel. Many outrages were committed by the *Roman* Souldiers, that were left by *Scipio* in cuſtody of the Town. Wherefore a vehement complaint was made by the *Locrians* unto the *Roman* Senate; not only againſt thoſe of the Garriſon: but much more againſt *Pleminius* the Captain, who gave bad example, and was worſe than all the reſt. Beſides many Murders, Robberies, Rapes, and other villanies, the Temple of *Proſerpina*, that had a great fame of ſanctity, was ſpoyled by theſe barbarous Theeves. The *Locrians* therefore adviſed the Senate to make preſent amends to the goddeſs for this ſacriledge: ſaying that the like had never been committed, without notorious revenge by her taken upon the Authors. The Senate gave good ear to this complaint, comforted the *Locrians*, and redreſſed the injuries done unto them; ſent for *Pleminius*, with other principal offenders; whom they caſt into priſon, and uſed according to their deſerts: as alſo they reſtored unto *Proſerpina* her money twice told. But old *Q. Fabius* was not herewithall contented. He laid much of the blame upon *Scipio*, that had placed ſuch a man in *Locri*; and had not carefully hearkened to the complaints made againſt him, but ſuffered him to run on in theſe his wicked courſes. By the ſharp invective that *Fabius* made, others took courage to ſpeak what they pleaſed, as well againſt the demeanour of *Scipio*, as againſt the diſſoluteneſs of his Army; which lay, as they ſaid, idle in *Sicil*, neither mindful of any ſervice toward, nor fit for it if need ſhould require. Finally, things were ſo far urged, that ten Legats were ſent over into *Sicil*, together with the Prætor appointed for that Iſland; two of the Tribunes, and one of the Ædiles; who ſhould examine theſe matters; and either cauſe the General to return into *Italy*, or continue him in his charge, as they thought fit. The end of all was, they found him ſo well prepared againſt *Carthage*, as that they haſtened him on his journey, and gave him high commendations at their return.

*Scipio* had already employed *Lælius* in *Africk*; rather to make diſcovery, than to work any other great effect of war. He took a great booty: and ſtruck no little terror into the *Carthaginians*; who ſaw their affairs to be upon terms of chang. But the greateſt fruit of his journey was, That ſpeaking with *Maſaniſſa*, he well informed himſelf of the ſtate of *Africk*; and knew what was to be expected of theſe two Kings, that had promiſed to joyn with the *Romans* at their landing.

Concerning *Maſaniſſa* his revolt from the *Carthaginians*, and his compact made underhand with the *Romans*, *Livie* doth profeſs, That there was no ſuch evident cauſe thereof at the preſent; but that the long continuance of his faith and conſtancy, in following times, muſt help to prove, that this his change, was not without ſome good cauſe. But *Appianus* (an Hiſtorian far inferiour to *Livie*, both in worth and time) gives one reaſon ſo probable of this, and many accidents thereto belonging, as that it carryes with it a great appearance of neceſſary truth. Only the doubt is. How it could any way come to paſs, that the knowledge of ſuch a matter ſhould have eſcaped the diligence of *Livie*, if it had been true: unleſs we ſhould believe, that he wilfully forbare to rehearſe a Tragedy; the ſorrow whereof would cauſe men to think amiſs of *Scipio*. Howſoever it was, thus * *Appian* tels it: and many circumſtances of things done, confirm it. *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Geſco*, had a fair daughter, whom both King *Syphax* and *Maſaniſſa* loved. *Maſaniſſa*, being brought up at *Carthage*, and being withall a goodly Gentleman of perſon, and excellent in qualities, was choſen by *Aſdrubal* to be his ſon-in-law. When the Virgin was betrothed unto him, he went into *Spain*, and there did great ſervice. But afterwards, the *Carthaginian* Senate thought the marriage of *Aſdrubals* daughter to be a matter of State: and beſtowed her upon *Syphax*, without ſtanding to acquaint her father or *Maſaniſſa* therewithall. This they did, for that *Syphax* was the more mighty Prince; and for that the indignity of the repulſe, had made him become their enemy. Hereof *Maſaniſſa* was advertiſed; and forthwith entred into intelligence with *Scipio*, ſecretly as he thought; yet not ſo ſecretly, but ſome notice was taken of it: which would have coſt him his life, had he not with great circumſpection conveighed himſelf home, into his fathers Kingdom. Thus far forth we may believe *Appianus*: all the narration well cohering with things paſt, and following.

*Liv. lib. 21.*

* *Appian. Alexan. de Bell. Punic.*

ing. Only it ſeems, that howſoever *Sophoniſba*, the daughter of *Aſdrubal*, was promiſed by the *Carthaginians* unto *Syphax*: yet ſince this their courteſie proceeded from fear, he thought it wiſdom to continue and increaſe the ſame their fear, by making fair
529. promiſes to the *Romans*, untill *Aſdrubal had ſent for his daughter from Carthage*, and the marriage was conſummated. In other matters concerning the war it ſelf, wherein *Appian* differs much from *Livie*, and from *Polybius*, whom (as appears by the broken pieces of his works remaining) *Livie* did follow; it will be no offence, to take little heed unto his reports.

*Maſaniſſa* was the ſon of *Gala*, a King of the *Numidians*: whoſe father dying, the Crown deſcended, by order of the Country, unto *Deſalces* the brother, not unto *Maſaniſſa* the ſon. But this Uncle of *Maſaniſſa* ſhortly dyed: and his elder ſon, who took poſſeſſion of the kingdom, was vanquiſhed, and ſlain in battel by a Rebel, that made himſelf Protector over the younger which was a child. The Traitor fortified himſelf againſt *Maſaniſſa*, whoſe return he feared, by Alliances with the *Carthaginians* and *Syphax*. But all would not ſerve: He and his Pupill, were diſpoſſeſſed of their Eſtates by *Maſaniſſa*; that was a ſkilfull Warriour, and well beloved for the memory of his father *Gala*. The *Carthaginians* in reaſon would have been glad, that *Maſaniſſa*, who had done them notable ſervice, was thus confirmed in his Eſtate, had they not been guilty of the injury by them done unto him; whileſt his Uncle or Couſin reigned, and he ſeemed unlikely to ſtand them in any ſtead. But *Syphax*, by their procurement, and perhaps by his own malice, towards his Corrival, warred upon him; and over-charging him with numbers, drave him out of his Kingdom. Nevertheleſs *Maſaniſſa*, ſtill retained the hearts of his people; and thereby remained ſtrong enough, to infeſt both *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*; though he was often put in diſtreſs, by great forces that were ſent againſt him. He therefore keeping much about the leſſer *Syrtis*, between the borders of the *Carthaginians*, and the Nation of the *Garamants*, expected the coming of the *Romans*: yet ſo, as he made long roads over all the Country, even as far as *Hippo*; and when *Lælius* arrived thereabouts, exhorted and encouraged him to haſten on *Scipio* to the invaſion of *Africk*.

But *Syphax*, in whoſe great aid and ſuccour was repoſed more hope of good ſucceſs, than could be expected from the good will of poor *Maſaniſſa*, ſent an Embaſſage into *Sicil* about the ſame time, which was little pleaſing unto *Scipio*. He excuſed himſelf of his promiſe lately made: and ſignified his alliance with the *Carthaginians*; adding, That he could not chooſe but fight for the defence of *Africk*, wherein he was born and reigned; and for the defence of his beloved wives Country, if it were invaded. Nevertheleſs he promiſed to remain a Neuter, ſo long as the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* held war abroad, far enough from *Africk*, as hitherto they had done. This meſſage haſtened *Scipio* in his expedition, much more than any perſwaſion could have done. For, the promiſed aſſiſtance of *Syphax* had not a little advanced his enterpriſe; in procuring both the aſſent of the Senate, and the forwardneſs of many Adventurers. Leſt therefore the failing of this hope, ſhould work too great a change in common opinion, He thought it the beſt way, to prevent all diſcourſe, and ſet the war undertaken immediately on foot. The Embaſſadours he diſmiſſed in haſte, with letters to their King: wherein he willed him to conſider, that what he had promiſed, he had alſo ſworn; and therefore ſhould do well to make it good. Having ſent them away, He called his Souldiers together; and bade them make ready for the voyage, which he intended no longer to defer. For, ſaid he, *Maſaniſſa* hath been with *Lælius*: and *Syphax* hath newly ſent to me; greatly wondring upon what I ſhould thus ſtay; and ſaying, That they will provide for themſelves, if I fail their expectation by tarrying any longer. This fine tale prevented all further inquiſition, that might elſe have been made concerning the meſſage of theſe Embaſſadors: whoſe followers had been ſeen walking up and down *Syracuſe*. And leſt any thing ſhould afterwards break out, that might hinder the buſineſs, *Scipio* immediately ſent about his fleet unto *Lylibæum*: and requeſting by letters *M. Pomponius*, that was Prætor in *Sicil*, to meet him there; haſted thither with his Army. At *Lylibæum* he agreed with the Prætor, about the diviſion of the Legions between them, which to leave behind for defence of the Iſland; and which to carry with him into *Africk*. What numbers he tranſported, it is not certain: ſome Hiſtorians reckoning only ten thouſand foot, and two and twenty hundred horſe; others increaſing them to five and thirty thouſand, horſe and foot. Concerning his directions for embarquing, and other matters belonging to their courſe, I hold it needleſs to ſet them down: ſince they were points of ordinary care, and which it is like that neither he, when he took



took his voyage into *Spain*, nor others upon like occaſions, have omitted; they being alſo word for word ſet down by an Hiſtorian, who borrowed them from *Livie*, and fitted them to a Prince of later age.

This *Roman* Army landed in *Africk*, near to a fore-land then called the *fair Promontorie*: which how far it was from *Carthage*, or toward what point of the Compaſs, I cannot preciſely affirm; becauſe it is uncertain, whether it were that Cape or Head-land which bore the name of *Mercury*, and lay to the North-eaſt of *Carthage*; or whether that of *Apollo*, which lay Northerly from *Carthage*, and by Weſt. The coming of *Maſaniſſa* unto *Scipio* at his firſt arrival, helpt to confirm the opinion of *Xylander*, who thinks the *fair Promontory* to have been the ſame, that was alſo called *Mercuries Cape*, ſince with little difficulty *Maſaniſſa* might come thither from the leſſer *Syrtis*, whereabout was his common abiding. But foraſmuch as without any memorable impediment ſoon after his arrival, *Scipio* encamped before *Utica*, that ſtood Weſtward from *Carthage* beyond the River *Bagradas*: it may rather ſeem, that he landed within the Promontory of *Apollo*; whence the way to *Utica* was not long. This is alſo ſtrongly proved; for that out of *Carthage* were ſent, the next day, five hundred horſe to trouble him in his diſ-embarking. Neither was it ſo hard for *Maſaniſſa*, that roved about the Country with a troop of horſe, to find out the *Romans*, though they landed far from the place to the which he uſually reſorted, like as before he had met with *Lælius* at *Hippo* that was farther off; as it would have been for *Scipio*, with his Army & Carriages, to overcome the trouble of a long journey, and fetch a great compaſs to *Utica*, by Land; when he might have diſembarqued nearer unto it. Nevertheleſs it may paſs as a conjecture, That *Scipio* came firſt of all to *Emporia*, a plentiful Region about the leſſer *Syrtis*; ſince he gave charge to the Maſters of his ſhips, at the ſetting forth from *Lilybæum*, to ſhape their courſe for that coaſt. The Countrey thereabout was very rich, and fit for ſuſtenance of an Army: neither were the Inhabitants warlike, or well provided to make reſiſtance. Thus much perhaps *Maſaniſſa* had ſignified unto *Lælius*, when he ſpake with him at *Hippo*: thinking that the *Romans*, howſoever they made brave promiſes, would not come ſtrong enough to fight *at head*. But when he ſaw their Fleet and Army to be ſuch, as not only ſerved to invade the lands of *Carthage*, but threatned a conqueſt of the City and whole Eſtate: then might he better adviſe them to ſet ſail for *Utica*, and make war upon the Enemies at their own doors.

The *Carthaginians* had at time neither any Captain of great worth at home, nor better Army than of raw Souldiers; that were levied, or to be levied in haſte. *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Geſco*, the ſame that had lately been chaſed out of *Spain* by *Scipio*, was their beſt man of war. And good enough perhaps he was thought by *Hanno* and his fellows, of whoſe faction he was: or if ought were wanting in him, yet his Riches and Nobility, together with the affinity of King *Syphax*, made him paſſable. He was then with the King his ſon-in-law, working him no doubt againſt the *Romans*: when letters were brought from *Carthage*, both to *Syphax* and to him, informing them of the Invaſion: entreating the one of them to give aſſiſtance and commanding the other to make his repair unto the City, where he was choſen General. But ere theſe could be ready, *Scipio* had beaten the troop of *Carthaginian* horſe, that were ſent out of the City to diſturb his landing; and ſlain *Hanno* a young Gentleman, that was their Leader. He had alſo taken and ſacked a Town of the *Carthaginians*: wherein, beſides other booty, he took eight thouſand priſoners; all which he conveighed aboord his Hulks or Ships of burden, and ſent them back loaden into *Sicil*. He took likewiſe a Town called *Salera*, which he held and fortified. In *Salera* lay another *Hanno*, with four thouſand *Numidian* horſe: whoſe ſervice being fitter for the field, than for defence of walled places, made *Scipio* to perceive the unskilfulneſs of their Leader, that had thus houſed them. Wherefore he ſent *Maſaniſſa* before him: who rode up to the gates; and, by making a bravado, trained out the improvident *Hanno* ſo far, that he drew him unto a place, where the *Romans* lay in wait for him. The victory was eaſily gotten, and *Hanno* either taken, or ſlain. With thoſe that fled, the *Romans* entered *pell-mell* into the Town, which preſently they made their own. Thence went *Scipio* to *Utica*, a City of great importance, of which mention hath been formerly made, and ſate down before it. Forty dayes he ſpent about it, aſſailing it both by Land & Sea, & uſing all his engines of battery, whereof he had plenty, yet was in no likelihood of prevailing. And now the Summer was quite ſpent: ſo that it was time for him to choſe a place, and fortifie his Winter-Camp, which muſt be well ſtored againſt the year following. Whileſt thus neceſſity urged him to leave *Utica*: and

shame of taking the repulse in his first great enterprise, rather than any hope of better succeeds, caused him to stay there: *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* gave him the honour of a fair pretence to leave the siege. *Asdrubal* had made a levy of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse: yet adventured not with this ill trained Army to draw near unthe *Romans*, before the coming of *Syphax*. *Syphax* brought with him unto *Carthage* fifty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse: which joyning unto the forces of *Asdrubal*, they marched bravely toward *Scipio*; who thereby took occasion to dislodge. He chose for his Winter-Camp the banks of an In-let, that had good harbour for his Navy. His foot-men he lodged on a Promontory, joyning to the Continent by an arm of Land: his horse-men he bestowed upon lower ground, on the other shoar: in the bottome of the *Creek* he mored his ships; and there he quartered the Mariners, with all that belonged unto the Fleet. The whole camp he strongly fortified, and so attended the season of the year, when it should serve him again to fight. Of cattel and other booty *Masaniſſa* had brought in great store, by driving the Countrey, before the coming of *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*. Corn also he had gotten some: and great store was sent him from *Sicil* and *Sardinia*. Likewise apparel for his Souldiers, was sent from home, or from *Sardinia*: though scarce enough to serve turn, for that it was a matter of more cost. The ships that brought these things, he fraighted homewards with such part of his booty, as he could best spare: especially with captives to be sold for slaves. *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* encamped near unto *Scipio*: not so strongly fortifying themselves, as did the *Romans*, either for that they wanted the severe institution, which the *Romans* used in the discipline of war, or for that they presumed upon their multitude, against which they found in *Scipio* no disposition to issue forth of his strength, and fight. So the Winter passed without action.

When Spring drew near, *Scipio* thought it good to assay his old friend the *Numidian* King, if perhaps he might be won by perswasions to forsake the *Carthaginians*. It was considered, that those *Barbarians* were naturally unconstant; and particularly, that *Syphax* had given proof before this of his much levity. It might therefore be hoped, That having wearied himself by lodging a whole Winter in the Camp: and being peradventure no less weary with satiety of his wife, who had caused him to enter into this war: he might be moved with a little entreaty to withdraw himself home into his Kingdome, and rest a *Neuter*. But it is not unlikely, that such a friend as this King, had been highly entertained and honoured in the City of *Carthage*, which was near at hand, as often as during this Winter it had pleased him, or as he had been invited, to make a step thither and repose himself a while: his wife Queen *Sophoniſba* lying also there at the same time, to cherish him in his resolution. Howsoever it were, *Syphax* did only make an overture of peace: propounding it as reasonable, That *Hannibal* should be recalled out of *Italy* by the *Carthaginians*: and that the *Romans* in like sort should quietly depart out of *Africk*, and so make an end of the war: wherewith now both *Africk* and *Europe* were disquieted. Unto this would not *Scipio* at the first give ear: yet being pressed earnestly by many messages from *Syphax*, and desiring to continue the intercourse of Embassadors; he began to make shew, as if he would consider of the motion. He was given to understand by those whom he had sent unto the King, that the Enemies had their camps without any great defence of earth, full of wooden Cabins, and covered with boughs: and that the *Numidians*, such of them as came first with *Syphax*, used coverings of Mats and Reeds; others, that came later, had thatched their lodgings with dry boughs and leavs: under which they lay carelesly without their Trenches. Upon this advertisement he bethought himself, That it would not be hard for him to set their camps on fire, and thereby give them a notable overthrow. Without help of some such stratagem, he foresaw that it would be a work of great difficulty for him, to proceed in his wars when time should serve. It was a plain open Country wherein he lay: and the Enemies had great advantage of him in number, especially in horse; which, upon such ground, could not be resisted by the *Roman* Legions. The longer therefore that he thought upon the matter; the more needful he found it for himself, to make some sudden attempt upon their Camp. To this end he sent many Embassadours, under pretence of treating about the Peace; but indeed of purpose to discover all that might concern the intended surprise. With these Embassadors he sent, as Attendants, many old Souldiers, disguised like slaves; that wandring (as it were) idle up and down the Camp, might observe the wayes and entrances, with whatsoever else was needful. When he had learned as much as he desired: upon the sudden



sudden he sent word to *Syphax*, that it was vain to hold any longer Treaty, forasmuch as he could not get the consent of his Council of war; without whose approbation, all that himself could do, was no more, than the good will of one man. This he did, to the end that, without any breach of faith, he might put his design in execution. The Truce being thus cut off, *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* were very pensive: as having lately perswaded themselvs, that their trouble was almost at an end. But since it could be no better, they began to devise, by what art they might draw *Scipio* out of his Camp, and provoke him to battel in those Plains. This if they could do, they hoped to make his Council of war repent as greatly the refusal of peace, as did *Marcus Atilius* after the like presumption. But if he should refuse to come forth of his Trenches, what else remained than to besiege him? Which they themselves were well able to do by land; and the *Carthaginian* Fleet should do by Sea, that was making ready for the purpose. By such discourses these two comforted themselves; recompencing (in conceipt) the loss of their hopes past, with that victory to come. But herein they were extreamly and worthily disappointed: for that consulting about the future, they provided not against present danger, but continued in the same negligence, which was grown upon them by the long discourse of peace. As for *Scipio*, he was not idle; but made preparation out of hand, as it were to do somewhat against *Utica*. Two thousand Souldiers he had made ready, and appointed to take the same piece of ground, whereon he lay against *Utica* before. This he did, partly to keep secret that which he had in hand, lest being suspected by his own Souldiers, the Enemy might happen to have notice of it; partly to hinder those of *Utica* from setting upon the few, that he purposed to leave behind him in his Camp. He caused his men that night to sup well, and betimes that they might be ready for the journey. After supper, he appointed such Companies as he thought fit, to the defence of his Camp; all the rest of the Army he led forth, about nine of the clock at night. The *Carthaginians* lay from him seven miles and an half: whom he purposed to undertake himself with the one half of his Army; the other half he committed to *Lælius* and *Masaniſſa*, whom he sent before him to set upon the camp of *Syphax*, that was farther off. It was his meaning, that the camp of *Syphax* should be on a light fire, ere he would meddle with the *Carthaginians*. For the fire might seem to have taken by casualty upon the *Numidians* that lay farther off, whereas if it first appeared in the camp of *Asdrubal*, it would be suspected as the doing of enemies, and give *Syphax* warning to look to himself. To this end therefore *Scipio* marched fair and softly; that *Lælius* and *Masaniſſa*, who had a longer journey, and were to fetch a compass about for fear of being discovered, might have time to get before him, and do their feat. It was about two or three a clock in the morning, when the camp of *Syphax* began to blaze: which not only the *Numidians*, but their King himself, imputed unto casualty; as thinking themselves safe enough from enemies, for that the *Carthaginians* lay interposed between them and the danger. Wherefore as if there were no more to do, some starting half asleep; and others that had sitten up late at drinking, ran out of their Cabbins to quench the fire. But so great was the tumult, that they neither could rightly understand in what case they were, nor give any remedy to the mischance as it was supposed. Many were smothered and burnt into the flame, which grew greater and greater: many, leaping into the Trenches for fear of the sudden mischief, were trampled to death by the multitude that followed them. They that escaped the fire, fell upon the enemies sword, which was ready to receive them. Especially *Masaniſſa*, that best knew the Country, did great execution upon them: having laid all the wayes, by which he foresaw that they would seek to escape. The *Carthaginians* perceiving this fire, thought none other than that it was a pittiful mischance: so that some ran out to help the poor *Numidians*; carrying only what would serve to quench the fire. Others ran up to the Rampart: where fearless of any danger toward themselves, they stood beholding the greatness of the flame, and lamenting the misfortune. This fell out right as *Scipio* would have it. He therefore lost no time: but setting upon those that were running towards the *Numidians*, he killed some, and pursued the rest back into their camp, which in a little while he made to burn as bright, as did that of *Syphax*. *Asdrubal* seeing this, and knowing that the *Romans* were there, did not stand to make resistance, but shifted only for himself, and escaped with a few of his horse about him. If *Hannibal*, or any of the *Barchine* faction, had been taken in such a manner: it is more than probable that old *Hanno* would have judged him worthy to be crucified. It would then have been said, that with less than one half of 30000. men, he might at

leaſt have given ſome bad recompence, to them that were taking pains in kindling theſe fires, had he not been only careful how to ſave his own fearful head. Nevertheleſs *Polybius* acknowledgeth, and it is moſt likely to have been true, That if *Aſdrubal*, or any of thoſe about him, would have ſtricken to ſhew valour, when the Camp was once on fire: He ſhould not thereby have done any manner of good, becauſe of the tumult and conſternation. I ſhall not need to tell what a fearful thing it was, to hear the cries of ſo many thouſands that periſhed by fire and ſword, or to behold the cruel flame that conſumed them; which (as *Polybius* affirms) none *that hath being* is able to deſcribe. It is enough to ſay, That of thoſe many thouſands, very few did eſcape; which accompanied *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax* in their ſeveral wayes of flight. Beſides theſe alſo there were ſome ſcatterers, eſpecially of the *Numidians*, that ſaved themſelves in the dark: but they were not many, as after ſhall appear. Surely it muſt needs have been very hard to tell, how many were burnt or otherwiſe made away, and what numbers eſcaped in the dark of night. Wherefore *Livie*, who in the reſt of this Relation, as often elſewhere, doth follow *Polybius*, may ſeem to have followed ſome leſs worthy Author, and him no good Arithmetician, in caſting up the ſumm. For he reckons only two thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, to have eſcaped; forty thouſand to have periſhed by ſword or fire: and above ſix thouſand to have been taken priſoners: the whole number of all which together, is far ſhort of fourſcore and thirteen thouſand, which were in theſe two Camps.

Except. è Polyb. l. 14.

*Aſdrubal*, putting himſelf into the next Town that was very ſtrongly fortified, thought there to find the *Romans* work, until the *Carthaginians* at good leiſure might repair their Army. He had with him no more than two thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe: which he thought ſufficient to defend the Town; if the Townſ-men would not be wanting to themſelves. But he found the Inhabitants of the place very earneſt in contention, whether it were better to fight, or to yield. Unto this diſputation, he well foreſaw, that the arrival of *Scipio* would ſoon give an end. Wherefore, leſt they ſhould lay hold upon him, and ſeek the Victors favour by delivering him up: he ſhrunk away betimes, and made all haſte to *Carthage*. As for the town which he left; it opened the gates to *Scipio*, at his firſt coming: and thereby preſerved it ſelf from all manner of loſs. The two next Towns adjoyning would needs be valiant, and make countenance of war: but their ſtrength not being anſwerable, they were ſoon taken by *Scipio*, who abandoned them to the pleaſure of his Souldiers. This being done, he returned to the ſiege of *Utica*.

The *Carthaginians* were ſore troubled, as they had good reaſon, when inſtead of either Peace or Victory, which they lately hoped for, they heard news of ſuch a lamentable overthrow. Neceſſity enforced them to make haſty proviſion for the future: but how to do it, few of them ſaw any means. Some gave advice to crave peace of *Scipio*: others, to ſend for *Hannibal* out of *Italy*; but the moſt, and they which finally prevailed, were of opinion, That notwithſtanding the loſs of this Army, they might well defend themſelves againſt the *Romans*, by raiſing new forces: eſpecially, if *Syphax* would not leave them. It was therefore concluded, that they ſhould bend all their care this way, levying in all haſte another Army; and ſending Embaſſadours to deal with *Syphax*, who lay then at a Town called *Abba*, not paſſing eight miles from *Carthage*. Immediately the ſame their unfortunate Commander, *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Geſco*, was employed to make new levies of men: and Queen *Sophonisba* went forth with Embaſſadours to her husband *Syphax*, who having gathered together as many as he could of his ſubjects that had eſcaped from the late ſlaughter, was thinking to return into his own Kingdome. *Sophonisba* laboured ſo with her husband, that at length ſhe won him to her own deſire. And it fell out at the ſame time, that four thouſand *Spaniards*, waged by the *Carthaginians*, were brought over to ſerve in *Africk*. Of theſe were made ſuch brave reports, as if their courage, and the Arms which they uſed, were not to be reſiſted. Even the multitude within *Carthage* believed theſe tales, and were more glad than they had cauſe to be; which is great wonder, ſince in one Age, the whole country of *Spain* had been twice conquered; firſt, by the *Carthaginians* themſelves, and after by the *Romans*. But with *Syphax* theſe tales prevailed much: which the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadors helped with a lye; ſaying, That there were come ten thouſand of theſe terrible *Spaniards*. Upon this confidence, the people of *Carthage* and their friends gathered ſuch ſpirit, that in thirty dayes they made up an Army, conſiſting wel-near of thirty thouſand men, reckoning the *Spaniards* and *Syphax* with his *Numidians* in the number. So they incamped in a Region called, *The*



*The great Fields*, about five dayes journey from *Utica*. *Scipio* hearing of this, came from *Utica* thither, to viſit them: leaving behind him his impediments, with ſome part of his Army, to make a ſhew of continuing the ſiege. Two or three dayes, after the meeting of both armies, paſſed away in ſkirmiſh, without any great thing done. It had now been time for *Aſdrubal* to follow the example of the *Roman Fabius*, and ſeek to weary out the Enemy by delayes. But either (which is likely) he was a far worſe Commander, or elſe, it was not in his power, to give ſuch directions as beſt pleaſed himſelf. The fourth day the Armies met in battel: wherein the *Romans* were marſhalled by *Scipio* after their wonted manner, having their *Italian* horſe in the right wing; and *Maſaniſſa* with his *Numidians* in the left. On the contrary ſide, *Aſdrubal* and his *Carthaginians* had the right wing; *Syphax*, the left; and the *Spaniards*, the battel. The victory was gotten without many blows: for the untrained followers of *Syphax* and *Aſdrubal*, could not ſuſtain the firſt charge of the *Italians*, or of *Maſaniſſa*. Only the *Spaniards* fought a long time, even untill they were all in a manner ſlain: rather as men deſperate, and not hoping for mercy, ſince they were thus come over to fight againſt *Scipio*, who had otherwiſe deſerved of them, than upon any likelihood or conceit of victory. This their obſtinacy was beneficial to thoſe that fled; for that it hindred the *Romans* from making any great purſuit. Hereby *Aſdrubal*, and *Syphax* eſcaped: *Aſdrubal*, to *Carthage*; and *Syphax* home to his own Kingdom: whither his wife was either gone before, or immediately followed him.

*Scipio*, having thus gotten the maſtery of the field, took counſel about the proſecution of the war. It was reſolved upon as the beſt courſe, That he himſelf, with part of the Army, ſhould attempt the Cities round about him: and that *Maſaniſſa*, with his *Numidians*, and *Lælius*, with ſome of the *Roman* Legions, ſhould follow after *Syphax*; not permiting him to take reſt within his own Kingdom, where eaſily elſe he might repair his forces, and put them to new trouble. This advice, it ſeems that *Maſaniſſa* gave: who knew beſt the quality of the *Numidians*; and what good might be done among them, by the reputation of a victory. The leaſt that could be expected, was his reſtitution into his own Kingdom, uſurped by *Syphax*: which to accompliſh, it no leſs concerned the *Romans* at the preſent, than it did himſelf. According to this order concluded, *Lælius* was ſent away with *Maſaniſſa*: and *Scipio* ſtayed behind, carrying the war from town to town. Many places yielded for fear; many were taken by force; and all the ſubjects of *Carthage* wavered in their fidelity, as if the time were now come, wherein they might take notice of thoſe unreaſonable burdens, which their proud Maſters had laid upon them, for maintenance of the war in *Spain* and *Italy*. What to do in this caſe, the *Carthaginians* could hardly reſolve. Fortune was their enemy; they had loſt their Armies and many of their Towns: neither durſt they make bold to trouble their own ſubjects with any violent exaction of men or money; who nevertheleſs of their own free will were likely to give little help. Very much it grieved them to ſend for *Hannibal* out of *Italy*: yet ſince there was no other hope remaining, than in him and his good Army; it was decreed, That Embaſſadors ſhould be forthwith ſent to call him home. Some there were that gave advice, to ſet out a fleet againſt that of *Scipio*, that rode before *Utica*, weakly manned, and eaſie to be taken, whileſt *Scipio* himſelf was buſied in the Iſland Countreys. Some were of opinion, That it ſhould be their principal care, to fortifie by all means the City of *Carthage*: upon the ſafety whereof they ſaid all depended: adding, that whileſt they were true, and at unity among themſelves, they might well enough ſubſiſt, and expect thoſe opportunities, with which Fortune (doubtleſs) would preſent them. Theſe counſels were not rejected; but order was forthwith taken, both for all things concerning the defence of the City, and for the attempt upon the *Roman* fleet at *Utica*. Nevertheleſs, it was conſidered, that thereby they ſhould only protract the war; without any advancing their own affairs towards likelihood of victory, no, though it ſhould fall out, that all the ſhips at *Utica* might be taken, or deſtroyed. Wherefore the determination held concerning *Hannibal*, That he ſhould immediately come over into *Africk*, as the laſt refuge of *Carthage*. The Council was no ſooner broken up, than all the Senators betook themſelves to the execution of that which was decreed: ſome, to the fortification of the Town: ſome, to make ready the Fleet; and ſome, appointed thereunto, forthwith to embarque themſelves for *Italy*.

In this their trepidation *Scipio* came to *Tunes*, a City in thoſe dayes very ſtrong, and ſtanding in proſpect almoſt of every part of *Carthage*. This place, or rather ſome defenſible piece adjoyning, he eaſily took; the garriſon forſaking it, and running away, as ſoon as he drew near. But whileſt he

was

was about there to incamp, and fortifie himself againſt the City, he might perceive the *Carthaginian* Fleet ſetting forth, and making towards *Utica*: What this meant, he readily conceived; and ſtood in great fear, leſt his own ſhips that were very ill prepared for Sea-fight (as being heavily loaden with engines of battery, and wholly diſpoſed in ſuch order, as was moſt convenient for aſſaulting the town) ſhould make bad reſiſtance, againſt a fleet appointed for that ſpecial ſervice. Wherefore he haſted away towards *Utica*, to aſſiſt with his preſence in this needful caſe. It fell out well, that he had ſent his carriages, and all the great booty which he drew along with him, thither before, at his going to *Tunes*. For had not he now made great expedition, he ſhould have come too late. Neither could he indeed have been there in due time, if the *Carthaginians* had uſed ſuch diligence as was convenient. But they reſted one night in harbour by the way: and at their coming to *Utica*, they tarryed a while to make a bravado; preſenting themſelves in order of battel, as if the *Romans* would have put forth to Sea againſt them. But *Scipio* had no ſuch intent: he thought it would be ſufficient, if he could preſerve his Gallies. As for the pleaſure of their bravery at Sea; it ſhould little avail the *Carthaginians*, if they got nothing by it, and loſt their whole eſtate by Land. Wherefore he took his ſhips of burden, and faſtning them together with cables, in four ranks, one behind another, made a four-fold bridge over the Channel of the Haven; whereon he placed a thouſand of his choice men, with ſtore of Darts, and other caſting weapons, to make defence. Some open ſpaces he left, whereat his Frigots, and other ſmall Veſſels, might run out and back again upon any advantage or need: but theſe he covered with planks, uſing the maſts and yards of his ſhips inſtead of rafters, to joyn all together, that his men might help one another, and the bridge it ſelf not be torn aſunder. Scarce was this work finiſhed, when the *Carthaginians*, ſeeing none iſſue forth againſt them, came into the Haven. The fight between them and the *Romans* that were in the Hulks, was rather like to the aſſaulting of a wall, than to any Sea-fight. For they that ſtood upon the bridge, had ſure footing, and threw their weapons downwards, with their whole ſtrength and violence; which the *Carthaginians* out of their Gallies, that were lower and unſteady, could not do, but the *Roman* Frigots and long boats, adventuring forth from behind the bridg, were greatly overborn by the force of the Gallies; and were one occaſion of that ſmall loſs that followed. They that ſtood upon the Bridge were neither able to relieve them, nor yet could freely beſtow their weapons among the *Carthaginians*, as before; for fear of hurting theſe their friends, that were intangled and mixed among the enemies. The *Carthaginians* had brought with them grapplinghooks, hanging at Iron chains. Theſe they threw upon the maſts & yards, which ſerved as arches to joyn the bridge together: then rowing backwards, they tore all aſunder; in ſuch ſort, that one ſhip followed another, and all the firſt rank was broken, or defaced. The Defendants had no other way, than to ſave themſelves as haſtily as they could, by ſhifting into the next rank of ſhips, that lay behind them untouched. Neither did the *Carthaginians* trouble themſelves any further in this laborious work: but having haled away ſix ſhips of burden, and towed them out of the Haven, returned home to *Carthage*. Their welcome was greater than their victory; becauſe among ſo many grievous loſſes, only this exploit had ſucceeded well, though it were of ſmall importance.

Whileſt things thus paſſed about *Carthage*, *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa*, in their journey againſt *Syphax*, found as good ſucceſs as could be deſired. The fame of the victories already gotten, reſtored *Maſaniſſa* to his Kingdom, without farther contention: the *Maſeſſyli*, his ſubjects, joyfully receiving him, and forſaking the uſurpers. But here they ſtayed not: neither indeed would *Syphax* permit them to be quiet. He had ſuch abundance of men and horſes, that he felt not greatly the loſſes paſt: and therefore being ſolicited by *Aſdrubal* and *Sophonisba*, he prepared again for war. But beſide the inſtigation of his beloved wife; the loſs of the *Maſeſſyli* would let him take no reſt: neither was it the purpoſe of *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa*, to give him any breathing time. It is common in men, to depart no leſs unwillingly from that which they have gotten by extortion, than from their proper inheritance; but to think all alike their own, whereof they are in poſſeſſion, be the title unto ſome part never ſo unjuſt. Hereunto alludes the fable of the young Kite; which thought that ſhe had vomitted up her own guts, when it was only the garbage of ſome other fowl, that ſhe had haſtily ſwallowed, and was not able to digeſt. But whether or no, *Syphax*, like the young Kite, believed the Kingdom of the *Maſeſſyli* to be part of his entrails: *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa* will ſhortly give him ſomewhat that ſhall make him caſt his gorge. For to this purpoſe chiefly are they come ſo



ſo far. It concerned the *Romans* to diſpoſſeſs (if it might be) the King, whoſe falſe and hollow friendſhip towards them, had been converted into ſtrong enmity; as alſo to ſet in his place another, who might do them ſuch good offices, as *Syphax* had lately done unto the *Carthaginians*. How eaſily this might be effected, *Maſaniſſa* knew beſt, as being well acquainted with the nature of thoſe Countries; wherein, even to this day though there be many ſtrong Towns, yet the fortune of a battel is enough, to tranſlate the Kingdom from one Competitor to another. So they met with *Syphax*, who came againſt them with no leſs an Army, than his former, and marſhalled in the *Roman* order, according to the skill, which he had learned of the *Roman Centurion*, long ago ſent unto him out of *Spain* from *Cn. Scipio*. But though he could teach his men how to march in order; yet could he not teach them to fight couragiouſly. They were a rabble of all ſorts, gathered up in haſte: and few of them had ſeen war before. Encamping neer unto the *Romans*, it fell out, as commonly, that ſome ſmall troops of horſe on both ſides, encountred one another in the midway: and they that had the worſt, were ſeconded by other of their fellows. By continuance of the ſkirmiſh, more and more were drawn out from either Camp: ſo that at length *Syphax*, unwilling to diſ-hearten his men by taking any foil at their firſt meeting with the Enemy, came up with all his horſe, which were the beſt part of his forces, and therewith over-charged *Maſaniſſa*, whoſe numbers were far leſs. But whileſt he was proſecuting his hope of victory: ſome *Roman* ſquadrons of Foot came againſt him through their own troops of horſe; which fell to the ſides, and made a lane for them. So their battel ſtanding now more firm, than a little before; *Syphax* was unable, though he laboured much in vain, to make them give ground. *Maſaniſſa* likewiſe, and his troops grew confident upon this aſſiſtance: and charging afreſh the Enemy, that could not make way forward, cauſed him to give back. Herewithall the Legions came in ſight: which terrified ſo the *Numidian* horſe, that they began preſently to diſband. Fain would *Syphax* have ſtayed them from flight: and to that end made head in perſon againſt the *Romans*; with hope, that his men would be aſhamed to leave him. But it fell out unhappily, that he was caſt from his horſe, which received a wound, and ſo taken priſoner. Of others that were ſlain or taken, the multitude was not great. It ſufficed, that they forſook the place, and fled, and that their King, upon whom all depended, was in the *Romans* hand. *Maſaniſſa* told *Lælius*, that this victory ſhould make an end of the *Numidian* war, if preſently they haſted away to *Cirta* the chief City of the Kingdom; whither he himſelf deſired to be ſent before with the Horſe, carrying *Syphax* along with him. Hereunto *Lælius* agreed. *Maſaniſſa* coming to *Cirta*, before any news of the Kings miſchance was there arrived, called out the chief of the City to parlee: wherein by many fair promiſes and threats, but eſpecially by ſhewing unto them *Syphax* bound, he prevailed ſo far, that the gates were forthwith opened unto him; and every one ſtrove to get his favour, that was like to be their King hereafter. Among the reſt, Queen *Sophonisba* yielded her ſelf into his hands, and vehemently beſought him, that ſhe might not be delivered up unto the *Romans*. Her youth, and excellent beauty, ſo commended her ſuit, that *Maſaniſſa* forthwith granted it; and to make good his promiſe, marryed her himſelf that very day; thereby to prevent *Lælius* and *Scipio* from determining otherwiſe of her, ſince ſhe was his wife. But *Lælius*, when he came thither, took the matter hainouſly, ſo that at firſt he would have haled her away, together with *Syphax* and other priſoners, and have ſent her unto *Scipio*. But being over intreated by *Maſaniſſa*, he ſuffered the matter to reſt a while as he found it, and referred all to *Scipio*'s diſcretion; to whom he ſent away *Syphax* and other captives immediately; following ſhortly after himſelf with *Maſaniſſa*, when they had done what was needful in the Kingdom.

At the coming of *Syphax*, there was great joy in the *Roman* Camp: the mighty Armies which he had lately brought into the field; and his entertainment of *Scipio* and *Aſdrubal*, both at one time, when *Rome* and *Carthage* together fought his friendſhip; with ſuch other commemoration of his paſt and preſent fortune, miniſtring to every one a large argument of diſcourſe. *Scipio* demanded of him, what had moved him, not only to forſake the *Roman* friendſhip, but to make war upon them, unprovoked. He briefly anſwered, That his wife had moved him ſo to do; calling her a Fury, and a peſtilent creature: and ſaying, that *Maſaniſſa* was no wiſer than himſelf, ſince he had now taken the ſame woman to his wife, who would ſhortly draw him to the ſame courſes. Hereat *Scipio* was greatly troubled: and ſtood in great doubt, leſt this perilous woman ſhould deprive him of *Maſaniſſa*, as ſhe had done of *Syphax*. It was not long, ere

ere *Masanissa* and *Lælius* came unto him: both of whom together he lovingly welcomed; and highly commended in publick, for their notable service in this Expedition. Then taking *Masanissa* apart, he brake with him, as touching *Sophonisba*; letting him understand, that the *Romans* had title to her head, and that she was a mischievous enemy of theirs. Wherefore he intreated him to moderate his affections: and not to deface the memory of his great services already done (for which he should be highly rewarded to his own contentment) by commiting a great offence upon little reason. *Masanissa* blusht, and wept: and finally promised to be governed by *Scipio*, whom he nevertheless intreated, to think upon his faith given to *Sophonisba*, that she should not be delivered into the *Romans* power. So he departed to his own Tent, where, after some time spent in agony, he called unto him a servant of his that had the custody of his poyson (which Princes used then to have in a readiness, against all mischances that might make them unwilling to live:) and tempering a potion for *Sophonisba*, sent it unto her with this message; That gladly he would have had her to live with him as his wife: but since they who had power to hinder him of his desire, would not yield thereto, he sent her a cup, that should preserve her from falling alive into the hands of the *Romans*; willing her to remember her birth and estate, and accordingly to take order for her self.

At the receit of this Message and Present, she only said; That if her husband had no better token to send unto his new wife, she must accept of this; adding, That she might have dyed more honourably, if she had not wedded so lately before her funeral. And herewithall she boldly drank off the poison. Thus *Livie* reporteth. But *Appian* varies from this; and sets it down agreeably to that which hath been spoken before, concerning the præcontract between *Masanissa*, and *Sophonisba*. He saith, That after the taking of *Syphax*, Embassadours from *Cirta* met with *Lælius* and *Masanissa* upon their way thither, yielding up their City, and the Kings Palace: and that *Sophonisba*, for her own private, sent messengers to excuse her marriage with *Syphax*, as made against her will, by compulsion of those in whose power she was. *Masanissa* readily admitted this excuse; and accepted her to wife. But when *Scipio* had received information from *Syphax*, how cunning in perswasion *Sophonisba* was: and that all her thoughts laboured for the good of *Carthage*; he fell out about her with *Masanissa* at his return, and challenged her, as a part of the booty belonging to the *Romans*, *Masanissa* said, she was his own wife, and unto him betrothed many years before. But *Scipio* would not hear of this: or if it were true, yet he said it was no reason, that *Masanissa* should keep her in possession, as long as it was disputable, unto whom she might appertain. Wherefore he willed him first of all to produce her, and then afterwards to make his claim unto her, wherein he should have no wrong. Herewithal he sent to fetch her away: and *Masanissa* accompanied the messengers, as it were to deliver her: but making her acquainted with the necessity, gave unto her a cup of poison, wherewith she ended her life, before they came that should have apprehended her. So he shewed unto the *Romans* her dead body, which he royally interred. The sudden violence of *Masanissa* his love, and the ready consent of *Sophonisba* to marry with him: add not so much credit unto this relation of *Appian*, as doth the want of all other evident cause (which *Livie* notes) of the sudden falling out between him and the *Carthagians*, under whom he had been trained up, and done them great service. Howsoever it were; *Scipio*, hearing of this tragical accident, sent for *Masanissa*, and comforted him as well as he could, lest his melancholy should lead him to some inconvenience. Having therefore gently rebuked him for his rashness, he brought him forth in presence of the Army: where extolling his noble acts, and shewing how highly he had deserved of the City of *Rome*, he proclaimed him King, and gave unto him a Crown of gold, with other Royal ornaments. This was indeed the ready way to divert his thoughts from the sad remembrance of that which was past, unto the more chearful contemplation of good fortune, that began to smile upon him. *Lib. 28.*

This was the first time that the *Romans* took upon them to create or proclaim a King. Which honour though *Masanissa* well deserved: yet would not the Title have redounded unto his great benefit; neither should he have been much beholding to them for it, if he had not by their means recovered possession of his Country, together with the greatest part of *Syphax* his Dominions. It seemeth not unlikely, that had he remained a *Neuter* in these wars, and sustained himself with his troop of horse, in such sort as he did before the coming of the *Romans*; he might nevertheless have recovered his proper inheritance, by the love of his own subjects without other help, when *Syphax* had once or twice been vanquished.



vanquished. As for the inlargement of his Kingdome, it was not more than he deserved: neither were the *Romans* then in case, to make a conquest of *Numidia* for themselves; neither could they have wished a fitter opportunity, than of such a man upon whom to bestow it, that was their assured friend, & passable withal among the *Numidians* as being (for the *Masæsyli* were a *Numidian* Tribe) a great Prince of the same Nation. Yet this liberality of the *Romans*, was noised abroad as very glorious: and the *Romans* themselves, in a politick sort of gravity, took highly upon them; as if even their saluting him by the name of *King*, had been a matter of great consequence. He thrived indeed well after it: & by their maintenance waxed mighty in times following, incroaching upon his neighbours on all sides; but most of all upon the State of *Carthage*, whereat they were little displeased. Hence it grew that *Vermina* the son of *Syphax* (of whom we shall shortly speak more) which held some pieces of his fathers Kingdome, desiring friendship of the *Romans*, and promising by all means to deserve their love, requested therewithal, that they would call him *King*. But though it were so, that never any before him had made this a matter of suit: yet the *Roman* Senate was *puntilious* herein, and answered very gravely, That it was not their custome to give the honour of that appellation, save only unto such Kings, as had greatly deserved of their City. Thus they made it a matter of State; and in process of time grew so proud of this their imaginary prerogative, that they imputed as a singular benefit unto Kings that no way depended upon them, the salutation by *that name, though it were not accompanied with any other favour or profit thence redounding. *Livie lib. 31.* *Cæsar. Comm. l. 1.*

## §. XIX.

### *The* Carthaginians *desire Truce, and break it.*

THe *Carthaginians* were extreamly dismayed, when they heard of the great calamity, that was befaln their good friend *Syphax*, and understood that *Masanissa* their mortal enemy, had got possession of his Kingdome. To increase their fear, *Scipio* returned again to *Tunes* in view of their City: where he made an end of that Fortification, which he had begun at his last being there. The *Carthaginians* had neither forces, nor courage, to withstand him: but their hearts so failed them, that they sent forth unto them thirty Embassadours, Princes of the city, which were their Privy Councel, to make suit for peace. These being admitted into the presence of *Scipio*, did not only prostrate themselves on the ground; but kissed the * feet of him, and of those that sate in Councel with him. *Excerpt. è Polyb. l. 15. Liv. lib. 30.*

Answerable to this base adoration was their speech that followed. They confessed themselves to have unjustly broken the Peace between them and *Rome*; and to have deserved whatsoever punishment it should please the *Romans* to inflict upon them. Yet they humbly besought *Scipio* and the rest, that in common regard of those misfortunes whereto all men are subject, they would shew mercy unto the City of *Carthage*, and let it remain, as a monument of their clemency; which, by the folly of her Citizens, had now twice deserved to be overthrown. Herewithal they did not forget, to lay the blame upon *Hannibal*: who without their appointment had begun the War; and was maintained in his doings by a Faction, without the good liking of the whole City. By this it appears, that these Embassadours were no *Barchines*: but rather, that they were *Hanno*, and the choice of his company; who had now their long desired work in hand, of suing unto the *Romans* for peace. Whatsoever they were, it must needs be that they were most insolent men over those that were subject unto their power, for they would not have made such adoration to the *Romans* in their own necessity, unless they themselves had expected the like, wherein they had the advantage.

It was not unknown to *Scipio*, or to his assistants, in what poor case the City of *Rome* then was; and how unable to defray the charges of continuing the war. Neither were the *Carthaginians*, notwithstanding the loss of so many Armies, in such ill case, as the *Romans* themselves had very lately been. For they had money enough, wherewith to wage more men: they had a City far stronger than *Rome*; and they had the Sea free. But they wanted the *Roman* resolution: and therefore distrusted the wals of *Carthage*; though *Utica*, a weaker City, had all this while held out against *Scipio*, and could not yet be forced by him and his Army, though so often victorious in the field. *Scipio* therefore accepted their submission, and told them, That though he came into *Africk*, to make a conquest, and not Peace: yet having the Conquest as it were in his hand, he would not deny to grant them the Peace which they desired; for thereby should all Nations understand, that the people of *Rome* did follow the rule of Justice, both in making war, and in concluding it. The Conditions

which he impoſed upon them, were theſe; That they ſhould render up unto him all the priſoners that they had taken, together with all *Renegadoes* and fugitive ſlaves: That they ſhould withdraw their Armies out of *Italy* and *Gaule*: That they ſhould not meddle in *Spain*, nor yet in any Iſland between *Italy* and *Africk*: That they ſhould deliver up all their ſhips of war, ſave twenty; and that they ſhould pay a great ſumm of mony, with certain hundred thouſand buſhels of wheat and barley. To conſider of theſe Articles, he gave them three days: and when they had approved them, he granted a Truce; that they might ſend Embaſſadors unto the *Roman Senate*.

This done, *Maſaniſſa* was diſmiſſed, and went home into his Kingdome, as if the war had been already at an end. *Syphax* was a little before ſent with *Lælius* unto *Rome*: where the fame of theſe victories filled men with joy, and gave hope, that the long endured miſeries would be ſhortly at an end. Wherefore all the Temples were ſet open, and an holy day appointed for thankſgiving and ſupplication to their gods. *Lælius* was accompanied with Embaſſadors from King *Maſaniſſa*: who gratulating the happy ſucceſs of the *Romans* in their *African* war, and giving thanks unto the Senate for the benefits done by *Scipio* unto their Maſter, made requeſt for the *Numidians*, ſuch as were now his Subjects and priſoners in *Rome*, that they might be beſtowed upon him, who by rendring them to liberty, ſhould do an act very plauſible, that would make him gracious among his people in the beginning of his reign. The *Roman* Senate were not behind with *Maſaniſſa* in complement: but ſhewing themſelvs to be highly pleaſed with all that *Scipio* had done, and ſhould do for him, they called him King again; releaſed his *Numidians* that were captives; and ſent him two purple Caſſocks, that had each of them one gold button, with ſuch other preſents, as in time of their poverty might ſerve to teſtifie their good will. Scarcely were theſe and *Lælius* gone from *Rome*, when the news came, that Embaſſadors from *Carthage* were arrived to deſire peace. Theſe Embaſſadors were not admitted into the City, but were lodged without: until *Lælius* being ſent for, came back from *Oſtia*, to be preſent when their demands were to be heard. Then was audience given them in the Temple of *Bellona*; that ſtood in the Subburbs. The errand of theſe Embaſſadors, was peace, but the meaning of them and of their City was only to win time, and get reſpite for war; until *Hannibal* and *Mago* ſhould come out of *Italy*, either to chaſe the *Romans* out of *Africk*, or to obtain peace for *Carthage*, by terror of their great Names and Armies, upon more eaſie conditions. Wherefore they made an idle diſcourſe of the League, that was concluded between them and *Lutatius Catulus*, at the end of the former war. This League they ſaid, all things well conſidered, did ſtill remain in force: neither had there ſince been any war at all, between the people of *Rome* and the *Carthaginians*. For it was only *Hannibal*, that without any leave from *Carthage*, had of his own head beſieged and razed the Town of *Saguntum*: and after that adventured in like ſort, without Commiſſion, to paſs the *Alpes*, and trouble (as he had done) the quiet of *Italy*. This being ſo their Meſſage was none other, than to deſire, that the League before ſpoken of, made in the time of *Catulus*, might hereafter ſtand in force; as indeed it hitherto did, and ought to do. The Senators had cauſe to wonder at this tale, hearing theſe Embaſſadors make (as it were) a jeſt of war, that had been ſo terrible. Wherefore they asked them a great many queſtions, concerning that peace made by *Lutatius*, and other paſſages following between the two Cities. But they excuſed themſelves, by their age: (for they were all young men) and ſaid, That thoſe things were beyond their knowledge and remembrance. Forthwith it appeared, That all was but colluſion, and that they ſought no other than to gain time, until they might repair the war. Wherefore they were ſent home in company of *Lælius*, without any concluſion at all of peace, and in effect, without anſwer. This notwithſtanding, we find in *Polybius*, That the Senate received advertiſement from *Scipio*, of that which had paſſed between him and the *Carthaginians* in this Treaty of peace: approved the Conditions by him propounded, and gave him licence thereupon, to proceed unto Concluſion. This may with good reaſon be believed, ſince it was not unknown that if the war continned, all theſe goodly hopes muſt reſt upon the moſt uncertain iſſue of one battel between *Hannibal* and *Scipio*: wherein if fortune ſhould be averſe to them, their forces in *Africk* were no better than quite loſt.

Matters thus hanging in ſuſpence, before the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadours came back from *Rome*, a Fleet out of *Sicil*, wherein were two hundred ſhips of burden, and thirty Gallies, being bound for *Africk*, to victual the *Roman* Camp, was over-taken by foul weather at Sea, and hardly eſcaping wrack, was diſperſed, and driven aground in divers parts of the Bay of *Carthage*, even in view, and under command of the City. There was at that time, as we find in *Appian*, and may gather out of *Polybius*, a great dearth of victuals in *Carthage*, which cauſed the people to cry out upon their Magiſtrates, that they ſhould not let ſuch a booty eſcape them, ſaying, that the danger of famine was greater and worſe, than of breaking Truce. Whether it were ſo, that hunger urged them, or that they yielded to their own greedy deſires: the multitude in *Carthage* underſtood (as it ſeems) that all this diſcourſe of Peace in hand, was no better than meer mockery, and therefore cared not for obſervation of particular points, when they meant deceit in the whole. It was the manner in *Carthage*, as likewiſe in *Alexandria*, for all the raſcality, together with women and boys, to be medling in uproars: the clamors of the boys being in ſuch tumults no leſs violent than of the men. Wherefore it is no marvel, if little regard were had of reaſon, or of honour, in any ſuch commotion. A Fleet was ſent out under *Aſdrubal*, to gather up the diſperſed *Roman* ſhips of burden (for the Gallies, by force of Oars, recovered the ſtation whereto their camp adjoyned) and bring them into *Carthage*; which was done. *Scipio* was hereat much offended: not only for the loſs; and for that the Town was thereby relieved: but for that by this breach of Truce, he foreſaw the intention of the *Carthaginians* to renew the war, and put him to more trouble. Wherefore he ſent Embaſſadors unto them, both to require ſatisfaction for the injury done; and to deterr them from entertaining any other hope, than in the peace which they had ſo much deſired. Theſe gave the *Carthaginians* to underſtand, that Letters were come from *Rome* unto *Scipio*, with allowance to conclude the Peace; upon thoſe conditions which he had propounded. But (ſay they) *we hold it ſtrange, That ye, who ſo lately have caſt your ſelves to the ground before us, and kiſſed our feet after an unuſual manner of hummility, confeſſing your ſelves to have perfidiouſly broken the League that was between us, and thereby to have deſerved ſuch puniſhment as is due unto Rebels; ſhould ſo ſoon forget what ye then uttered, and run headlong again into the ſame crimes for which ye acknowledged your ſelves worthy to be deſtroyed, having only recourſe unto our mercy. We are not ignorant, that it is the confidence which ye repoſe in* Hannibal, *that thus emboldens you. Yet were it not amiſs, that ye ſhould conſider, how long he hath been pent up in a corner of* Italy, *among the* Brutians; *where he is in a manner beſieged, and unable to ſtir: ſo that ye are like to find his help wanting in your greateſt need. Or let it be ſuppoſed that he were now in* Africk, *and ready to give us battel: yet ſhould it well agree with your wiſdome to doubt what might befal, remembring that he is a man, and not invincible. Now if it ſhould happen that he were overcome, what refuge have ye left unto your ſelves againſt hereafter? What gods will ye either ſwear by, to be believed, or call upon in your miſery? What words, and lamentable geſture, will ye henceforth uſe, to move compaſſion? Surely ye have already waſted all your force of perſwaſion, and ſhall not again deceive us, if ye refuſe the grace, whereof at this preſent ye are capable.* It is no marvel though the *Carthaginians* were angry, when they heard themſelves upbraided with the baſe demeanour of their Embaſſadors. For it was not the general opinion of the City, that the Truce was broken by themſelves: though it had pleaſed *Hanno*, or ſuch as were of his faction, to gratifie the *Romans* with all manner of ſubmiſſion; and to renounce not only their hope of the future, but all juſtification of matters paſt. And indeed it ſeems, that the *Roman* Embaſſadors were very much delighted, in the rehearſal of that point which was yeilded unto them, as knowing that thereon depended the juſtice of the quarrel. But the *Carthaginians* took this in ſo ill part, that hardly they could refrain from doing violence unto the men, who had uſed unto them ſuch inſolent ſpeeches. Yet the fury of the multitude was in ſome ſort appeaſed; either by *Hanno*, whom *Appian*, (I know not why) calls *Hanno the Great*: or by the very reverence, due unto the place of thoſe that had uttered ſuch liberal words. So they were diſmiſſed in friendly ſort, although it were without anſwer to their Propoſition. There were alſo two gallies appointed for their ſafe convoy home; though with little intent of good unto their perſons. *Aſdrubal* was then in the mid-way, as men ſailed from *Carthage* towards *Utica*. He, whether only deſirous to pleaſe the multitude, of whoſe diſpoſition he was informed, or whether directed by publick order to cut off theſe Embaſſadours in their way homeward, lay waiting for them behind a Cape, that was a little beyond the mouth of the river *Bagradas*. Their Convoy having brought them on the way, as far as to the mouth of *Bagradas*, wiſhed them a good voyage; and ſo took leave of them, as if they had been then in ſafety, ſince the *Roman* Camp was even in ſight. The Embaſſadors took this in ill part; not as fearing any danger

*App. de bel. a Punico.*

*Excerpt. Polyb. lib. 15.*

ger toward, but thinking themselves too much neglected, forasmuch as their attendants did so abruptly leave them. But no sooner had they doubled the Cape, than *Asdrubel* fell upon them, in such manner, as they might well discern his purpose: which was to have stemmed them. They rowed hard therefore: and being in a *Quinquereme*, that had more banks of Oars, than had any Gallie of *Asdrubal*, they slipt away, and made him over-shoot himself. Yet he gave them chase, and had well-near surprised them. But they discovered some *Roman* Companies on the shoar over against them, and therefore adventured to run their Vessel aground: whereby they saved their own lives, though a great part of their company were slain, or hurt. This practice of the *Carthaginians* was inexcusable: and for the same cause perhaps were the Citizens heartned in such a dishonourable attempt, by those that were desirous to continue the war; that thereby they might be driven to study nothing else, than how to get the victory, as having none other hope remaining. Yet likely it is, that the same fear, which had caused them to make such earnest suit for peace, would also have caused them to be better advised, than thus to abandon all hope of Treaty; had they not been given to understand, that *Hannibal* was already landed in *Africk*, in whom they reposed no small confidence, but verily perswaded themselves, that he would change their fortune, and teach the *Romans* to hold themselves contented with more easie conditions, than were those that *Scipio*, in the pride of his fortune, had of late propounded.

## §. XX.

*In what sort* Hannibal *spent the time after the Battel of* Metaurus: *The doings of* Mago *in* Italy. Hannibal *and* Mago *called out of* Italy. *How the* Romans *were diversly affected by* Hannibals *departure.*

EVer since the loss of that battel at *Metaurus*. *Hannibal* remained in the Country of the *Brutians*, waiting for another supply from *Carthage*. The *Roman* Consuls that succeeded unto *Claudius* and *Livius*, by whom *Asdrubal* was overcome and slain, were contented to be quiet all their year. Neither did *Licinius* the Colleague of *Scipio*, ought worthy of remembrance against *Hannibal*, being hindred by the Pestilence that was in his Army. *Sempronius* the Consul, who followed *Licinius*; and *Cn. Servilius Capio*, who followed *Sempronius*, were earnestly bent to have done somewhat: but their diligence was in a manner fruitless. In some skirmishes with *Hannibal*, they had the better; in some the worse: and a few poor Towns they got from him, as it were by stealth; his care being more to preserve his Army, than to keep those places that were weak.

The *Romans* had at this time so many great pieces of work in hand, that their chief enemy was become not the chief part of their care. Their thoughts were mainly bent upon *Africk*, wherein they were at no small charges to maintain the Army, which (as was hoped) should bring the War to a short and happy conclusion. They stood nevertheless in much fear of *Mago*, the brother of *Hannibal*: who took exceeding pains among the *Ligurians* and *Gaules* to raise an Army, wherewith to kindle anew the War in *Italy*, that began to wax cold. *Mago* solicited also the *Hetrurians*, and found them so ready to stir in his behalf, that if he could have entred their Country strong, it might have proved no less needful for *Scipio* to return home out of *Africk*, than shortly it was for *Hannibal* to make speed unto the defence of *Carthage*. These dangers caused the *Romans* to imploy one of their Consuls or Pro-consuls, with an Army, among the *Hetrurians*; another among the *Gaules*; and a third among the *Ligurians*: forasmuch as it was uncertain, upon which side *Mago* would break out: Being thus busied, it is no wonder though they forbore to overcharge *Hannibal* with any great power.

As for *Mago*, when things were in some readiness for his setting forwards, he met in the Country of the *Insubrians*, which is about *Milan*, with *M. Cornelius* the *Roman* Proconsul, and *P. Quintilius Varrus* one of the Prætors. With these he fought a battel, wherein though his vertue shewed it self worthy of his Father and Brethren: yet his fortune was *Carthaginian*. The fight continued a long while doubtful; in such sort that the *Roman* Commanders began to distrust the issue. Wherefore *Quintilius* the Prætor taking unto him all the *Roman* Horse, thought to have shaken the Enemies to pieces. The Legions at the same time gave a loud shout: and strained themselves hard, as if at that brunt the victory should have been carried before them. But *Mago* opposed his Elephants to the Horse: the service of those beasts being fitter for such use, than against the squadrons of Foot. The figure, sent, and braying of these Elephants, did so affright the Horse, that they started aside, and were scattered



scattered over the field; their Riders being unable to manage them. Hereby the *Numidians* got advantage upon them: whose manner of fight was more available against those that were loose, than against the troops that were close and thick. Then fell the Elephants upon the Legions: which entertained them after the accustomed manner, with a shour of darts, and killed four of them; causing all the rest to give back. This notwithstanding the same Legions were so vehemently pressed by the Enemy; that more for shame of running away, than by any great force to make resistance, they held their ground. The Proconsul therefore brought up those forces, which he had kept unto the last, to succour where need should most require. Against these, *Mago* imployed some of his *Gauls*, whom he had in readiness for the like occasion. But the *Gauls* discharged their parts very ill. They were soon beaten off, and recoiled so hastily, that they brought fear upon all the rest. When *Mago* saw that his men began to shrink, He put himself in the head of his Army; and held them so well to it, that keeping their order, they made a fair Retrait, with their faces toward the Enemy. But at length he received a grievous wound in his thigh; whereof shortly after he dyed. He was taken up, and carryed out of danger by some of his own men: the rest of them, after little further resistance, provided every one for himself: So the *Romans* obtained victory, not without great cost: as purchasing the death of about five thousand enemies, with the loss of two thousand and three hundred of the Prætors Army, besides those that dyed of the Proconsuls Legions; also besides divers Colonels, Captains, and Gentlemen of mark that fell in this hot piece of service. Neither were there any prisoners taken; whereby it may seem that the Enemies did not fall to rout, before they had recovered some ground that might assure them from pursuit. However it were, this victory would have much imported for the assurance of *Italy*, if the State of *Carthage* could longer have permitted these valiant sons of *Amilcar* to abide therein. But *Mago* with-drawing himself (by easie journeys, because of his wound) into *Liguria*, found there Embassadours from *Carthage* attending him: who gave him to understand the pleasure of their City, which was, That both he and *Hannibal* should presently repair home with all their forces; not staying any longer to think upon the conquest of *Italy*, since *Carthage* it self was ready to be lost. He obeyed this Commandment, and imbarqued shortly his Army; but dyed of his wound about *Sardinia*, in the way homewards.

About the same time *Hannibal* received the like command from *Carthage*, to return into *Africk*. He heard it with great impatience; gnashing his teeth, and groaning, and hardly keeping in the tears, that were ready to burst out, whilest the Embassadours were delivering their errand. When their message was done: He told them, That *this was yet plain dealing. For*, said He, *They that now directly bid me come home, have long ago done their best to bale me out of* Italy; *though more closely and crookedly they went to work, by stopping the supply that should have enabled me to manage the War here.* Scipio *therefore shall not need to brag, that he hath drawn me home by the heels: it is* Hanno *that hath wrought this noble feat; and overwhelmed the house of the* Barchines, *for lack of other means to do it, with the ruine of* Carthage. He had before prepared a Fleet in readiness, doubting that which after came to pass: wherein he imbarqued, besides his own men, as many of the *Italians* as were content to be partakers of his fortune. Many there were that shrunk back from him, and refused to do service in this expedition: of whom, such as he could take, he slew; not sparing those that fled into the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, which had been held an inviolable Sanctuary unto that day. He was indeed then wholly transported with rage; and departed out of *Italy* no less passionate, than men are wont to be, when they leave their own Countreys to go into exile. He looked back unto the shoar: accusing both gods and men; and cursing his own dulness, in that he had not led his Army from *Cannæ*, hot and bloodyed as it was, directly unto the walls of *Rome*. With such vexation of spirit He quitted the possession of *Italy*; wherein he had lived almost half his time.

If it could have been foretold unto the *Romans*; in the first beginning of this War, with what exceeding joy in times following they should entertain the news of *Hannibal* his departure out of *Italy*: they would (I think) less earnestly have pressed the *Carthaginians* to send him over thither. When sure advertisement was brought unto the City, that *Hannibal* was gone with all his Army: an Holy-day was appointed for thanksgiving unto their gods; and extraordinary great sacrifices publickly made, for joy of such happy tydings. Yet old *Q. Fabius* was of opinion, That the danger did still remain the same, though the place were changed: for that *Hannibal* at his coming into

*Africk*,

*Africk*, would find *P. Scipio* other manner of work, than he had been troubled with at any time before; and would do greater matters in his own Country, than ever he was able to perform abroad in a land of ſtrangers. The remove of the War from their own doors, and the conceit of that victory for which they hoped; was enough to make them preſume further, than at other times they would have done. When therefore the *Saguntine* Embaſſadors brought unto them a great maſs of Gold and Silver, together with ſome Agents of the *Carthaginians* taken by them in *Spain*: only the *Carthaginian* priſoners were accepted, the treaſure was rendred back unto the *Saguntines* that had ſurpriſed it. Upon like confidence of the future, a little before this, order was taken for the repayment of thoſe moneys that had been borrowed in time of more neceſſity from private men. Hence alſo proceeded the ſevere chaſtiſement laid upon thoſe 12. Colonies, that for want either of means, or of good will, had refuſed to give aid to the *Romans*. They were commanded, and inforced to give double the number of Foot to that which they had been wont to ſet out for the Wars, with a proportion of Horſe anſwerable to the very moſt of their ability. So confident were the *Romans* grown (though their wealth were not as yet ſutable to the greatneſs of their ſpirit) upon the good ſucceſs of the battel at *Metaurus*, and the hopes which they repoſed in *Scipio*. All this notwithſtanding, when they conſidered more nearly of that which might happen: and were informed that the terrible Army, whereof *Italy* had been few dayes ſince diſcharged, was landed ſafe in *Africk*: they began to revolve a thouſand fearful matters in their heads, and to ſtand in doubt, leſt *Q. Fabius* (who died about the ſame time) would be found a true Prophet. For, bethinking themſelves of that which might comfort them in their hopes: they found in the victories againſt *Syphax* and *Aſdrubal* no ſpecialty of ſuch great worth, as might promiſe the like ſucceſs againſt another manner of General, followed by other manner of men, than were either of thoſe two. The *Numidian* King had been wont to bring into the field a raſcal multitude of half skullions, that were good for nothing; being himſelf a fit Captain for ſuch Souldiers. Likewiſe *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Geſco* was a Commander well thought of by the *Carthaginian* Senate, but otherwiſe, one, that in the field was only good at ſaving himſelf by a ſwift retrait. But now there came an Army of men, hardened from their childhood with incredible patience, fleſhed many hundred times in *Roman* blood, and wearing the ſpoils, not only of good Souldiers, but of brave Captains, by them ſlain. Such talk uſed the people of *Rome*, ſaying, That *Scipio* was like to meet in battel with many that had ſlain *Roman* Prætors, yea, and Conſuls with their own hands: with many that had been firſt in getting over the Trenches of ſeveral *Roman* Camps, or in winning the tops of walls at the ſiege of towns; briefly, that he ſhould now be oppoſed by an Army, as good as ever had ſerved in war, and following the dreadful name of *Hannibal*.

## §. XXI.

Hannibal *in Africk prepares to fight with* Scipio; *treats with him about peace in vain: loſeth a battel at Nedagra, and perſwades the Carthaginians to ſue for peace. Of the peace granted from* Rome *to* Carthage.

*Hannibal* diſembarqued his Army at *Leptis*, almoſt an hundred miles from *Carthage*, Eaſtward from the Headland of *Mercury*, and ſomewhat more than one degree to the South. He was ill provided of Horſe; which it was not eaſie for him to tranſport out of *Italy*. Therefore it behoved him to land, as he did, ſomewhat far from the enemy; that he might furniſh himſelf of theſe and the like needful helps againſt the day of battel. From *Leptis* he paſſed on to *Adrumetum*, and ſo along through the Inland Country gathering friends unto him by the way. *Tychæus* a *Numidian* Prince, and familiar friend of *Syphax*, was ſaid to have in thoſe dayes the beſt Horſes of ſervice, that were to be found in *Africk*. Him therefore did *Hannibal* allure unto his party: making him underſtand, that if the *Romans* got the victory, it ſhould be eaſie for *Maſaniſſa*, by their countenance and help to oppreſs both him, and as many other of the neighbour Princes, as hindred his proſpect. This argument, and the fame of him that uſed it, pevailed with *Tychæus*; who ſhortly after brought unto the *Carthaginian* two thouſand Horſe. *Appian* further adds, That *Mezetullus*, (the ſame who had made himſelf Protector over *Maſaniſſa* his Couſins; and was Head of a Family, and adverſe to the *Numidian* Kings of that race) brought to *Hannibal* another thouſand Horſe: as likewiſe, that *Vermina* the Son of *Syphax*, holding a great part of his Fathers Kingdom, began at the ſame time to aſſail the places that yielded obedience to *Maſaniſſa*. This *Vermina*, as we find in *Livie*, came with more than 16. thouſand men (for he loſt more than



than ſo many) to ſuccour *Hannibal* when it was too late.

The *Carthaginians* were at this time in ſuch hard eſtate, or (at leaſt) ſo impatient of the ſtate wherein they were; that they could not attend the leiſure of thoſe prepartions, which would have made the victory aſſured. When they conſidered the worth of *Hannibal*, and the greatneſs of his Acts: it offended them to think, that they had been ſo baſe as to make humble ſuit unto the *Romans* for peace; whileſt they had ſuch a brave Champion alive, to maintain their cauſe by War. But when as they bethought themſelves of their own ſufferings, which, for want of *Roman* magnanimity to endure them, appeared greater than indeed they were: then cryed they out earneſtly that it was no time to linger, but preſently to fight; that ſo they might ſee an end of theſe troubles, either good or bad; and to this purpoſe they ſent their Mandates to *Hannibal*: requiring him without any further protraction, to do what he could do out of hand. *Hannibal* made anſwer, That they were his good Lords, and had power to diſpoſe of him and his Army; but ſince he was General of their forces, He thought it reaſonable that they ſhould ſuffer him to do as a General ought to do; and to chooſe his own times. Nevertheleſs, to give them ſatisfaction, He made great marches to *Zama*; and there encamped.

The breach of Truce made by the *Carthaginians*: The violence done to his Embaſſadours: and the news of *Hannibal* his being landed in *Africk*, made *Scipio* to underſtand the reſolution of the *Carthaginians*, which was, not to yield unto any conditions unprofitable for themſelves, as long as they were able to make reſiſtance. Wherefore he ſent unto *Maſaniſſa*: and informed him of all that was fallen out; praying him to come away with ſpeed, and lay all other buſineſs apart. Ten *Roman* Companies, of Horſe and Foot together, *Maſaniſſa* had with him; that were lent unto him by *Scipio*, to do him ſervice in the eſtabliſhing and inlarging of his Kingdom. But he well underſtood, that thoſe and many more beſides all his own forces, would but little avail him; if *Hannibal* ſhould drive the *Romans* out of *Africk*. Wherefore taking ſuch order as he could upon the ſudden, for the ſafety of his own kingdom; with four thouſand Horſe, and ſix thouſand Foot, he made all haſte unto *Scipio*.

Soon after the beginning of theſe new troubles, the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadours that had been at *Rome*, returned back under the conduct of *Lalius* and *Fulvius*: who brought them ſafe into the *Roman* Camp. There when they arrived and underſtood what had lately paſſed, eſpecially how their Citizens had behaved themſelves towards the *Roman* Embaſſadours: they made little doubt, how their own heads ſhould anſwer for ſuch notorious outrage. To confirm them in this opinion.

*M. Bæbius* one of the late Embaſſadours that had been in *Carthage*, being left by *Scipio* to take charge of the Camp, laid hands upon them and detained them; ſending word unto his General, who was gone abroad to make War in the Country, that he had them in his power, and that now the *Carthaginians* might be repaid in their own Coyn, for the injury by them lately done. *Scipio* was very glad to hear of this; and commanded *Bæbius* to uſe them with all poſſible courteſie, and ſend them ſafe home. By thus doing, He brake the hearts of his enemies; and cauſed them to acknowledge themſelves (which was a great victory) far leſs honourable than the *Romans*. This notwithſtanding, he made more cruel War upon them than before: taking their Towns by force; and putting them to ſack, without hearkning to any Compoſition. It was the manner of the *Romans*, as often as they took a Town by aſſault, to put all that came in their way to the ſword, whatſoever they were, without regard. This they did, to make themſelves terrible: and the better to work ſuch impreſſion in the minds of thoſe, with whom they had to do; they uſed oftentimes to kill the very Dogs and other Beaſts, that ran athwart them in the ſtreets: hewing their bodies aſunder: as men delighted in ſhedding of blood. This being their practice at other times; it is likely that now they omitted no piece of cruelty; when they meant to give proof of their vehement indignation, and revengful minds, for the injuries received. Hence it partly grew, that the *Carthaginians* were ſo earnſt in preſſing *Hannibal* to fight. *Excerpt. è Polyb. lib. 10.*

*Hannibal* being incamped at *Zama*, ſent forth his Scouts and Spies, to diſcover where the *Romans* lay, what they were doing, and as much as might be, of their demeanour. Some of theſe were taken, and brought unto *Scipio*: who inſtead of truſſing them up, gave them free leave to view his Camp at pleaſure, appointing one to conduct them up and down, and ſhew them whatſoever they deſired. This done, He gave them leave to depart; and ſent them away ſafe unto their General. *Hannibal* underſtanding this, admired the bravery and courage

rage of his enemy: with whom on the ſudden he grew ſo deſirous to have an Enterview, and perſonal conference; and ſignified ſo much unto him by a meſſenger ſent of purpoſe. Of this motion the *Roman* liked well: and returned anſwer, that He would meet him ſhortly in a place convenient. The next day *Maſaniſſa* came with his Army: whom *Scipio* taking with him, removed unto a Town called *Nedagara*; near unto which he ſate down, in a place otherwiſe commodious, & cloſe by a water that might opportunely ſerve his Camp. Thence he ſent word unto the *Carthaginian*, That the time and place did fully ſerve, if he had ought to ſay to him. *Hannibal* thereupon removed from *Zama*, and came within four miles of the enemy; where he incamped well to his own good liking in all things elſe; excepting that his men were driven to take much pains, in fetching their water ſomewhat far off. Then was order taken for their meeting: and the two Generals each of them with a troop of Horſe, rode forth of their Camps, till they came unto a piece of ground; which was before well ſearched for fear of ambuſh. There they will their followers to ſtand off: and themſelves with each of them one Interpreter, encountred each other in the mid-way between their Companies. They remained a while ſilent, viewing one the other with mutual admiration. Then began the *Carthaginian*, ſaluting the *Roman*, to deliver his mind to this effect: That it had been better both for *Carthage*, and *Rome*, if they could have limited and contained their ambition within the ſhores of *Africk* and of *Italy*; for that the Countreys of *Sicil* and *Spain*, about which their fathers and themſelves had ſtriven, were no ſufficient recompence for ſo many Fleets as had been loſt, and of ſo much blood as had been ſhed, in making thoſe coſtly purchaſes. But ſince things paſt could not be recalled: He ſaid, That it was meet for them to conſider, unto what extream dangers their own Cities had been expoſed, by the greedy deſire of extending their Empires abroad; and that it was even time for them now at length to make an end of their obſtinate contention, and pray the gods to endue them with greater wiſdom hereafter. And to ſuch peaceable diſpoſition, He affirmed that his own years, and long tryal of Fortune, both good and evil, had made him inclinable. But much he feared, that *Scipio*, by want of the like experience, might rather fix his mind upon uncertain hopes, than upon a contemplation of that mutability, whereto all humane affairs are ſubject. *Yet* (ſaid he) *mine own example may peradventure ſuffice to teach thee moderation. For I am that fame* Hannibal, *who after my victory at* Cannæ, *won the greateſt part of* Italy; *and deviſed with my ſelf, what I ſhould do with your City of* Rome, *which I hoped verily to have taken. Once I brought mine army to your walls, as thou haſt ſince brought thine to ours of* Carthage: *but now, ſee the change! I ſtand here intreating thee to grant us peace. This may ſerve as a document of Fortunes inſtability. I have fought with thy father* Scipio; *He was the firſt of the* Roman *Generals that ever met me in the field. I did then little think, that the time would come, that I ſhould have ſuch buſineſs, as now at the preſent, with his ſon. But this is even one of Fortunes pageants, whereof ſhe hath many. And thou maiſt have experience of the like in thy ſelf, who knows how ſoon? Think upon* M. Atilius: *If he would have hearkned unto ſuch perſwaſions, as I now uſe to thee, he might have returned home to* Rome *an happy man, and ſo maiſt thou do now, if any reaſonable offer will give thee ſatisfaction. How ſaiſt thou? Canſt thou be contented, that all* Spain, Sicil, Sardinia, *and whatſoever Iſlands elſe are ſcituate between* Italy *and* Africk *be abandoned by the* Carthaginians *for ever, and left unto the* Romans, *to bear dominion therein? Thou ſhalt have glory enough by effecting thus much: and the* Romans *may well be glad of ſuch a bargain. As for us, our own quiet ſhall henceforth give us contentment. And the ſame contentment of ours, ſhall make us faithfully obſerve the peace with you. But if thou thinkeſt all too little, I muſt deſire thee to ponder well how great an hazzard thou muſt undergo for obtainining a very little more, than that which thou maiſt have without contention. It is now in thine own power to lay hold upon good fortune, if it pleaſe thee: ſtay but until to morrow night, and thou maiſt take ſuch fortune as it pleaſe the gods. The iſſue of battel is uncertain, and many times beguileth expectation. Men and ſteel we ſhall each of us bring into the field; but of the victory neither of us hath aſſurance. Let us therefore without more ado make peace. And do not tell me that ſome falſe-hearted Citizens of ours dealt frandently of late in the like treaty: It is I* Hannibal *that now deſire peace with thee, which I would never do, if I thought it not expedient for my countrey. And thinking it expedient, I will alwayes maintain it, like as I have maintained, unto my power, as long as the gods did not envy me, the war by me begun.*

Hereunto *Scipio* made anſwer, That it was no ambitious deſire of ruling in *Sicil* and in *Spain* which had moved the *Romans* to enter into this or the former War: but that the defence of the *Mamertines*, and afterwards of the *Saguntines*, their confederates, had cauſed them to put on thoſe arms; which the gods by the final iſſue of the Wars had approved, and would approve to be moſt juſt. As for the mutability of Fortune, he ſaid, that he was not thereof ignorant; and that without any note of inſolence or overweening, he might well refuſe the conditions offered. *For was it not plain that all theſe Countreys, with which the* Carthaginians *now ſo willingly departed, were already won from the* Romans? *If,* ſaid he, *theſe conditions had been propounded whileſt as yet ye detained ſome part of* Italy, *they might peradventure not have been rejected. But as the caſe now ſtands, I ſee no reaſon why I ſhould remit unto you any one piece of theſe my former demands, to which the* Carthaginians *have yielded already, and thought me to be gracious in dealing ſo moderately. Rather I ſay, that the injuries which they have done me ſince, have made them unworthy of obtaining peace upon ſo friendly terms. But I cannot blame thee,* Hannibal, *though thou wouldſt be glad to make thy Citizens underſtand, from how much of their burden they are by thy means eaſed. Only thou muſt think, that in like ſort it concerns me in honour not to let them be gainers or ſavers by the wrongs which they have done of late. Thou knoweſt well, that beſides thoſe offers which thou here haſt made, they were well contented to reſtore unto us ranſome-free, all priſoners that they have of ours, to pay us five thouſand talents, to deliver up their Gallies, and to deliver hoſtages for aſſurance of fair dealing. And muſt they now be diſcharged of all this by their breach of truce, their ſpoiling of our fleet, and their violating our Embaſſadours? Not ſo. But if they can be contented, beſides all this, to make ſuch amends as I ſhall require, for theſe injuries newly done; then will I take advice with my counſel what anſwer to give you; otherwiſe you may even prepare for war, and blame your own ſelves for that I have denied you peace.*

Hereupon they brake off: and returned each to his own Camp, with no other news than war; bidding their Souldiers prepare for a battel, wherein ſhould be decided the quarrel betwen *Rome* and *Carthage*. The next morning at break of day they iſſued into the field: a notable march, and ſuch as hath very ſeldom been found; whether we regard the Generals, their Armies, the two Cities that contended, or the great importance of the battel at hand. *Scipio* ordered his men after the *Roman* manner: placing



firſt the *Haſtati*, divided into their Maniples, or ſmall Battalions, with a reaſonable diſtance between them: Not far behind theſe followed the *Principes*, likewiſe divided; and ſo after them the *Triarii*. But herein *Scipio* altered a little the ordinary cuſtome of the *Romans*: He placed not the Maniples of his *Principes* oppoſite unto the void ſpaces between the *Haſtati*, that ſo the *Haſtati*, as was uſual, might fall back between the *Principes*; but he placed them directly one behind another, as it were, in File. This he did, becauſe of the Elephants, whereof *Hannibal* had many. For of thoſe beaſts the danger was leſs whileſt there was open way to let them through. Therefore he took ſuch order, that when they had paſſed through the ſpaces between the firſt Battalions, they ſhould not come upon the *Principes* in Front. Unto his *Velites*, or thoſe of the light armature that were to begin the fight he gave direction, that when they found themſelves to be overcharged, either by the Enemies, or (which was moſt to be feared) by the Elephants, they ſhould run back through thoſe lanes that were between the Maniples; and that thoſe which were ſwifteſt, or otherwiſe beſt able, ſhould continue on their flight, untill they were got behind all their own Army; thereby leaving room enough unto thoſe that were wounded, or caſt behind, to ſave themſelves on the void ground, that was betwixt the firſt and ſecond, or the ſecond and third battels, without cloying up the way between the Maniples, which he deſired to keep open. His *Italian* horſe he placed in the left wing, under *C. Lælius*. In the right wing was *Maſaniſſa* with his *Numidians*. He himſelf riding up and down, exhorted his men to do valiantly; uſing words, not many, but forcible. He bade them remember what they had atchieved, ſince their coming into *Africk*. He told them, that if this day were theirs, the War was at an end: and that their victory in this War, ſhould make them Lords of all the World, for that afterwards, none would be found able to reſiſt them. On the contrary, if they were beaten, he asked them whither they would flie. They were far from home, yea, and far from their own ſtanding Camp: neither was there any place in *Africk*, that would give them ſhelter: if they fell into the *Carthaginians* hands, they knew what to expect. And therefore there was none other way, but death or victory: unleſs they would live like wretched ſlaves under moſt mercileſs enemies. In ſuch neceſſity he ſaid, that they which conſider themſelves to be, and

take reſolution anſwerable thereereunto, have never been known to fail of getting victory.

*Hannibal* on the other ſide placed his Elephants, that were more than fourſcore in Front of his Battel. Next behind theſe he made his Vant-guard all of Mercenaries, *Ligurians, Gaules, Baleares* and *Moors*. Then followed his Battel; which was of *Carthaginians* and *Africans*, more intereſted in the quarrel than were thoſe Mercenaries; though not ſo good ſouldiers: but to help (if it might be) their want of courage, they had with them four thouſand *Macedonians*, lately ſent from King *Philip*. More than the ſpace of a furlong, behind theſe came his Rereward, conſiſting of thoſe brave Souldiers which had ſerved him in his *Italian* wars; and were the only men, in whom he repoſed any confidence. Oppoſite to *Lælius*, in his own right wing he beſtowed the *Carthaginian* Horſe. *Tychæus* and the *Numidians* he placed in his left wing againſt *Maſaniſſa*. He was indeed far too weak for the Enemy in Horſe, both in number and in goodneſs. For *Tychæus* and *Mezetullus* had no more than three thouſand; and thoſe not ſo well exerciſed, as were the four thouſand of *Maſaniſſa*. The *Carthaginians* alſo were no more, nor none other, than ſuch as could be levied in the haſte of a few days; and the remainder of thoſe, that had of late been often vanquiſhed, and accuſtomed to flye. But it was no time for *Hannibal*, neither had he perhaps authority, to make theſe his companions alight and ſerve on foot, ſetting better men in their ſaddles. All that he could have done, was to ſtay a little longer, and expect more help. Had *Vermina* the ſon of *Syphax* come thither, as he did in a few days after, with ſixteen thouſand and upwards, the moſt of them Horſe, the advantage of number might have ſerved well to ſupply all other defect. Yet ſince the Lords of *Carthage* would brook no delay, *Hannibal* muſt be fain to comfort himſelf with the hope that he repoſed in his old *Italian* ſouldiers; whoſe vertue had wrought greater wonders, when it was more ſtrongly oppoſed. He encouraged therefore his men, with words agreeable to their ſeveral conditions: promiſing unto the Mercenaries bountiful rewards; threatning the *Carthaginians* with inevitable ſervitude if they loſt that day: but eſpecially animating his old fellow-ſouldiers, by the many victories which they had obtained againſt far greater numbers. He bad them to look upon the Enemies and make an eſtimate, whether they were any thing like ſo many, as that huge Army which they had ſlaughtered at *Cannæ*. He willed them to remember, That it was one *P. Scipio*, even the father of this man, whom they had firſt of all compelled to run away. He told them, that theſe Legions, which they yonder beheld, were for the moſt part of them, the very worſt of the *Roman* Souldiers; even ſuch, as for their daſtardly flight out of ſundry battels, could no longer be truſted to bear Arms in their own Countrey. As for the reſt, they were young men, the ſons of Cowards, and bred up in the continual fear of thoſe weapons, by which their fathers were daily ſlain or chaſed. Wherefore he intreated theſe his old companions, upon whoſe vertue he meant wholly to repoſe himſelf, that they would this day ſtrive to make good their honour, and to purchaſe the fame of *men invincible*.

Such exhortations uſed the two Generals before the fight. When they drew near together, the *Numidian* horſemen on both ſides began to skirmiſh. The Trumpets, and other inſtruments of war, ſounded to battel: and *Hannibal* commanded his Elephants to break upon the *Romans*. Of theſe Elephants (as they were alwayes an uncertain kind of help) thoſe that ſtood near unto the point of the left wing, turned back for fear: and ran upon their own *Numidian* horſe; which they affrighted and diſordered. *Maſaniſſa* eſpying this, gave charge upon the ſame *Numidians*; and not ſuffering them to rally themſelves, drave them quite out of the field. The reſt of thoſe beaſts made a great ſpoil of the *Roman Velites*, whom they followed into the ſpaces between the Maniples: but without any harm to the Battalions themſelves; which gave them open way, accordingly as *Scipio* had well provided. Divers of them receiving many wounds, and growing therewith furious, could no longer be governed, but ran back upon the right point of their own battel, and beyond that into the open field. Herewithal they diſordered the *Carthaginian* Horſe, which were in that wing: againſt whom they gave to *Lælius* the ſame advantage that *Maſaniſſa* had againſt the *Numidians*; which he uſed in like ſort. In the mean while, the battels of foot advanced, and drew near together with a ſlow and ſtately pace, till they were almoſt within a weapons caſt: at what time they gave a ſhout and ran one at the other. The Mercenaries for a time ſeemed both in audacity, and in quickneſs to have the better of the *Romans*; wounding many, and doing more harm, than they took. But the *Roman* diſcipline after a while prevailed againſt the boiſterous violence of theſe untrained *Barbarians*. Where-



Whereunto it helped not a little, that the battel of the *Principes*, following ſomewhat near after the *Haſtati*, encouraged their fellows & ſhewed themſelvs ready, if need were, to relieve them. Contrariwiſe, the Mercenaries, received no manner of help or comfort, from thoſe that ſhould have ſeconded them. For the new-levied *Carthagians* and *Africans*, when they ſaw their hired ſouldiers give back, did alſo themſelves retire. This cauſed the *Ligurians, Gaules*, and the reſt, to think themſelves betrayed: whereupon they enclined unto flight. The *Carthaginian* Battel was herewith more terrified than before, ſo as it refuſed to give way unto the Mercenaries for their ſafe retreat; and yet withall forbore to make head againſt the Enemies, that purſued them. It was no time to ask them what they meant by this: Fear and Indignation cauſed thoſe that were at once chaſed by the *Romans*, and betrayed, as they thought, by their own fellows, to turn their arms with an heedleſs fury againſt both the one and the other. Thus were many of the *Carthaginians* beaten down and ſlain, through their own indiſcretion, by their own Mercenaries. The *Roman Haſtati* in like ſort, fighting with deſperate men in a throng, had their hands ſo full of work, that the *Principes* were fain to come up unto them, and help to over-bear this great medley of enemies, that were together by the ears among themſelves. In this place was made a great ſlaughter, both of the Mercenaries and of the *Carthaginians*: which hindering one another, could neither fight, nor eaſily flye. Such of them as eſcaped, ran towards *Hannibal*: who kept his ground, and would not ſtir one foot, to help or ſave theſe Run-awayes. He cauſed his men to bend their Pikes at thoſe of his own ſide, that would have ruſhed upon him: whom he thereby compelled to turn aſide beyond his battel, and ſave themſelves in the open field. The ground over which, the *Romans* were now to march, ere they could meet with *Hannibal*, was covered with heaps of dead bodies and weapons; and ſo ſlippery with blood, that *Scipio* began to ſtand in great doubt, leſt the orders of his Battalions ſhould be diſſolved in paſſing that way. In ſuch caſe, if he ſhould fight with that warlike Army, which he ſaw before him, remainining yet entire, and without fear expecting him; He might be well aſſured to receive a notable overthrow. He cauſed therefore the *Haſtati* to make a ſtand there where they were, oppoſite to the main battel of the *Hannibalians*. Then drawing up his *Principes* and *Triarii*, he placed them, when they had overcome the bad way, all in one Front with the *Haſtati*, and made of them his two Cornets. This done, he advanced towards *Hannibal*: who entertained him after another manner, than ever he had been received in his life before. All the days work till now, ſeemed to have been a matter of paſtime, in regard of the ſharp Conflict, that was maintained between theſe notable Souldiers. The *Romans* were encouraged by their having prevailed all the day before: they were alſo far the more in number. But theſe old Souldiers of *Hannibal* were freſh; (and perhaps the better men.) They fought with ſuch obſtinate reſolution, that no man gave back one foot; but rather choſe to die on the ground whereon he ſtood. So that, after a long time it was uncertain which part had the worſe: unleſs it may ſeem, that the *Romans* were beginning to ſhrink; foraſmuch as the return of *Maſaniſſa* and *Lælius* from purſuit of the Enemies Horſe, is ſaid to have been *moſt happy*, and in a *needful time*. Theſe upon a ſudden charged the *Hannibalians* in the Rear; and over-bearing them by meer violence, compelled them to fall to Rout. *Excerpt. è Polyb. l. 15.

In this battel there dyed of the *Romans* fifteen hundred and upwards: on the *Carthaginian* ſide, above twenty thouſand; beſides as many that were taken; of whom, *Sopater* Captain of the *Macedonians* was one. The ſingular ſkill that *Hannibal* ſhewed in this his laſt fight, is highly commended by *Polybius*; and was acknowledged, as *Livie* reports, by *Scipio* himſelf. But the Enemies were too ſtrong for him in Horſe: and being enjoyned, as he was, by the State of *Carthage*, to take battel with ſuch diſadvantage, he could work no marvels. He ſaved himſelf with a few horſe; and ſtayed not in his journey, till he came *Adrumetum*. Thence he was ſent for to *Carthage*; from which he had been abſent ſix and thirty years. At his coming into the Senate, He ſaid plainly, That there was none other way left, than to take ſuch peace as could be gotten. Wherefore the *Carthaginians* not knowing what other courſe to take, reſolved to ſend Embaſſadors again, and try the favour of *Scipio*, whoſe Arms they could not now reſiſt.

*Scipio* having ſpoiled the Enemies Camp, returned back to *Utica*: where he found *P. Lentulus* newly arrived, with fifty Gallies and an hundred Ships of burden. With this Fleet, and that which he had before, He thought it beſt to make towards *Carthage*: rather of purpoſe to terrifie the City, than with any hope to take it. His Legions he com-

committed unto *Cn. Octavius*; whom he willed to meet him there by land. Then sending *Lælius* away to *Rome* with news of the victory, set sail from *Utica* towards *Carthage*. He was encountred on the way by ten Embassadors from the City: who, bearing up with the Admiral Gally, began to use the pittiful gesture of suppliants. But they received none other answer, than that they should meet him at *Tunes*, where he would give them audience. So rowing along before the City, and viewing it more in bravery, than with meaning to attempt it; he returned back to *Utica*, and called back *Octavius* thither, with whom in person he set forwards to *Tunes*. As they were in their journy thither, they heard the news, that *Vermina* the son of *Syphax*, was coming with an Army of more horse than foot, to the succour of those that were already vanquished. This *Vermina* seems to have been both careless of getting intelligence how things passed, and very defective in all other duties requisite in the Commander of an Army. Part of the *Roman* foot, with all their power of Horse, was sent against him: which did not only beat him, but so compass him in, that he hardly escaped himself with a few; leaving fifteen thousand of his followers dead behind him, and twelve hundred taken prisoners. If this good company had been with *Hannibal* at *Nadagara*, they should have been far better conducted, and might well have changed the Fortune of the day; which the *Carthaginian* lost by default of Horse. But God had otherwise determined. It is not to be doubted, that this victory, though it were no great access unto the former; yet served well to daunt the *Carthaginians*, and imprint in them the greater fear of *Scipio*. When he came to *Tunes*, there met him thirty Embassadors from *Carthage*: whose behaviour, though it was more pittiful than it had been before, yet procured it less commiseration, by reason of their late false dealing, after they had in like sort humbled themselves. Nevertheless it was considered, what a long and laborious work it would prove, to besiege the mighty City of *Carthage*. And particularly, *Scipio* stood in great doubt, lest the honour of this war, if it were protracted, should be taken out of his hands, and given to one of the Consuls. *Cn. Servilius Capio*, that Consul who had charge of the war against *Hannibal* at such time as he departed out of *Italy*: was bold to pass over into the Isle of *Sicil* (as it were in chase of *Hannibal* by him terrified and driven away) with a purpose thence to have proceeded into *Africk*, and taken from *Scipio* the command of the Army there. But a Dictator was chosen of purpose, to restrain the ambition of this Consul *Servilius*. After him followed *Tiberius Claudius*, who made suit for the same Province of *Africk*: and was therein so earnest, that though neither the Senate, nor People, would grant him his desire; yet he needs would be going, procuring only leave of the Senate, that he being Consul might join with *Scipio*, were it with no more than equal authority. But ere he could have his Fleet, and all things in a readiness for the journy, wherein no man cared to further him, Winter came on, and he was only tost at Sea with foul weather; first upon the Coast of *Hetruria*, and afterwards by *Sardinia*; where his Consulship expired, and so he returned home a private man. Then came the joyful news to *Rome*, of the victory obtained against *Hannibal*, and that the war was now even at an end. Yet was *Lentulus* the new Consul so passionate, in desiring *Africk* for his Province, that he said he would suffer nothing to pass in the Senate, until he had first his will. Much ado there was about this: and after many contentions, both in the Senate, and before the people, at last it was ordered, That if peace were granted, it should be granted by *Scipio*; if the war continued, *Scipio* should have command therein by Land, and the Consul at Sea. The ambition of these men, caused *Scipio* to give the more favourable answer unto the *Carthaginian* Embassadors. He willed them to consider what they had deserved: and in regard thereof, to think themselves well dealt withal; in that he was contented to leave unto them their liberty and their own Laws, without appointing any Governour over them, or Garrison to hold them in subjection; leaving also unto them their possessions in *Africk*, such as they were at the beginning of this war. As touching the rest he was at a point, that, before he either granted them peace or truce, they should make satisfaction for wrongs which they had done, whilst the late Treaty was in dependance. Hereunto if they would yield, then required, He, *That immediately they should deliver up to the* Romans *all prisoners, fugitives, and renegado's, that they had of theirs: likewise all their Gallies, excepting ten: and all their Elephants. That they should make no war at all thenceforth out of* Africk, *neither yet within* Africk, *without licence of the* Romans: *That the Countreys, Towns, goods whatsoever, belonging any wise unto* Masanissa, *or to any of his Ancestors, which were in their possession, should be all by them restored unto him: That they should find corn for the* Roman *Army, and wages for their Auxiliaries*



*Auxiliaries, during the time of Truce, untill the Peace were fully concluded; that they should pay ten thousand Talents of Silver, in the term of fifty years, by two hundred Talents a year, and that for observance of Conditions, they should give an hundred hostages: such as* Scipio *would choose, being none of them under fourteen years of age, nor above thirty.*

With these conditions the Embassadors returned home, and reported them unto the City. They were very unpleasing; and therefore one *Gesco* stood up to speak against them: and exhorted the people, who gave good attention, that they should not condescend unto such intolerable demands. But *Hannibal* perceiving this, and noting withal what favourable audience was given to this vain Oratour, by the unquiet, yet unwarlike multitude, was bold to pull him down from his standing, by plain force. Hereat all the people murmured, as if their common liberty were too much wronged, by such insolence of this presumptuous Captain. Which *Hannibal* perceiving, rose up and spake unto them, saying; That they ought to pardon him, if he had done otherwise than the customes of the City would allow; forasmuch as he had been thence absent ever since he was a Boy of nine years old, untill he was now a man of five and forty. Having thus excused himself of the disorder, he discoursed unto them concerning the Peace: and perswaded them to accept it, as wanting ability to defend themselves, had the Demands of the Enemy been yet more rigorous. Finally, upon good advice they resolved to yield unto the Conditions propounded by *Scipio*: to whom they paid out of hand five and twenty thousand pounds weight in Silver, in recompence of damages, and injuries by them done to his Fleet and Embassadours. *Scipio* granted them Truce for three moneths, in which time they might negotiate with the State of *Rome*, about confirmation of the League. But herewithall he gave injunction, that they should neither in the mean while send Embassadours any whither else, nor yet dismiss any Embassadours to them sent, without first making him acquainted what they were, and what their errand was.

At this time *Hanno*, and they of his Faction, were become wise and honourable men, by the miseries whereinto *Carthage* was fallen, through their malicious counsels. *Asdrubal*, surnamed *the Kid*, a venerable man, and a great friend of *Hanno*, was chief of the Embassages which they sent to *Rome* for obtaining peace. They went thither in company of *Scipio* his Embassadours, who related unto the Senate and People these joyful news. About the same time arrived at *Rome* Embassadours from *Philip* King of *Macedon*: who, together with the *Carthaginians*, were fain to wait a while for audience, till the election of new Consuls, then in hand was finished; and order taken, for the Provinces of them, and the new Prætors. Then were the *Macedonian* Embassadours called into the Senate: who first answering unto some points, wherein the *Romans* had lately signified unto their King, that they found themselves grieved; returned the blame upon those *Greeks* themselves, that had made their complaint at *Rome*. Then accused they *Marcus Aurelius*: who being one of the three Embassadours, that had lately been sent from *Rome* unto King *Philip*, tarried in *Greece* behind his fellows, and there levying men, made war upon the King, without any regard at all of the league, that was between him and the *Romans*. Further they desired of the Senate, That one *Sopater*, a *Macedonian* Gentleman, with other of their Countrymen, that had lately served *Hannibal* for Pay; and being taken prisoners in *Africk*, were kept in bonds by *Scipio*, might be released and delivered unto them. Unto all this *M. Furius*, whom *Aurelius* had sent to *Rome* for that purpose, made a sharp answer. He said, that the *Greeks*, which were confederate with *Rome*, enduring so many injuries at the hands of *Philip*, that *M. Aurelius* was fain to stay behind, to help them as he might; which else were like to be brought under the Kings subjection. As for *Sopater*, he affirmed him to be one of the Kings Counsel, and very inward with him: one that served not for money, but carryed money with him, and four thousand men, sent from the King to the aid of *Hannibal*. About these points, when the *Macedonian* Embassadours could make unto the Senate no good answer, they were willed to return, and tell their Master, That war he sought, and war he should find, if he proceeded as he had begun. For in two main points He had broken the League, that was between him and the *Romans*: first, in that he had wronged their Confederates; and secondly, in that he had aided their Enemies against them, with men and money.

These quarrels with *Philip*, that promised to open a way into *Greece* and the Eastern Countreys, helped well the *Carthaginian* Embassadours in their solicitation of Peace. They appeared a very reverend company, when they entred into the Senate: and *Asdrubal* above the rest was much respected, as one;

one, whose good offices had kept the *Romans* from necessity of sending Embassadours to *Carthage*, upon the like errand. He liberally granted, that the justice of the quarrel had been wholly on the *Romans* side; saying, that it was the fault of some violent men, through which the Peace was broken. Yet could he not altogether excuse the City, that had been too vehement in the prosecution of bad counsel. But if *Hanno*, and himself might have had their wills, the *Carthaginians*, even at the best of their Fortune, should have granted the peace, which they now desired. Herewithall he commended the moderation of the *Romans*, as no small argument of their valour; by which always they had been victorious. To the same effect spake the rest of the Embassadours: all of them entreating to have the peace ratified; though some with more lamentable words than others, according to the diversity of their stile. They had patience enough to endure such reproof of Perjury, as they themselves might have laid upon the *Romans*, if their diligence and fortune had been such as the *Romans* was. Among the rest, when one of the Senators demanded, by what gods they would swear to keep the peace hereafter: *Asdrubal* made answer; *Even by the same gods, that are so severe unto those that violate their Leagues.*

*Lentulus* the Consul, interposing the authority of his office, would have hindred the Senate from proceeding unto conclusion of peace; for that hereby he was like to lose the honour, which he purposed to get by making war in *Africk*. But the matter was propounded unto the people, in whom rested the Soveraign Command of *Rome*; and by them referred wholly unto the pleasure of the Senate. So it was decreed, That *Scipio*, with ten Delegates, sent unto him from *Rome* of purpose, should make a League with the *Carthaginians*, upon such Conditions as seemed best: which were none other, than the same which he had already propounded. For this favour the *Carthaginian* Embassadours humbly thanked the Senate; and craved licence, that they might visit their Countrymen, which were prisoners in *Rome*: afterwards, that they might ransome and carry home with them some that were their especial friends; of whom they gave in writing almost two hundred names. Whereupon the Senate ordained, that two hundred of those Prisoners, which the Embassadours would choose, should be sent over into *Africk*, and be freely restored to liberty by *Scipio*, when the peac was fully concluded. So they took leave, and returned home, in company of the ten Delegates, that were appointed by the Senate to joyn with *Scipio* in commission.

At their coming into *Africk*, the peace was given, and accepted, without any controversie or disputation. The Prisoners, Fugitives, and Renegado's, were delivered up to *Scipio*: likewise the Gallies, and the Elephants. *Scipio* took more vengeance upon the Renegado's than upon the Fugitives; and upon those of the *Romans*, than upon the *Latines*, or other *Italians*. The *Latines* he beheaded: the *Romans* he crucified. About the first payment of their money, the *Carthaginians* were somewhat troubled. For though perhaps their common Treasury could have spared two hundred Talents for the present; yet since the pension was annual, and to continue fifty years: it was thought meet to lay the burden upon the Citizens. At the collection of the sum there was piteous lamentation, as if now the *Roman* yoke had begun to pinch them; so as many, even of the Senators, could not forbear weeping. Contrariwise, *Hannibal* could not refrain from laughter. For which, when he was checked by *Asdrubal Hædus*, and told, That it worst of all beseemed him to laugh, since he had been the cause why all others did weep; He answered, *That laughter did not always proceed from joy; but sometimes from extreamity of indignation: Yet*, said He, *My laughter is more seasonable, and less absurd, than your tears. For ye should have wept when ye gave gave up your ships and Elephants, and when ye bound your own hands from the use of arms, without the good leave of the* Romans *first obtained. This miserable condition keeps us under, and holds us in assured servitude. But of these matters ye had no feeling. Now, when a little money is wrung out of your private purses, ye have thereof some sense. God grant that the time come not hereafter, wherein ye shall acknowledge, that it was the very least part of your misery for which ye have shed these tears.* Thus discoursed *Hannibal* unto those, who tasting the bitter fruits of their own malicious counsel, repented when it was too late; and instead of cursing their own disorders, which had bred this grievous disease, accused the Physician, whose noble endevours had been employed in procuring the remedy.

*Scipio* being to take leave of *Africk*, produced *Masanissa*, and magnified him in presence of the Army, with high commendations not undeservedly. To him also he consigned over those towns of King *Syphax*, which the *Romans* at that present held; wherein, to say truth, he gave him but his due; and that



that which otherwise he knew not well how to bestow. But the love of the *Romans*, and friendship of *Scipio*, was fully answerable, now and hereafter, to all the deservings of this *Numidian* King. About *Carthage* there rested no more to be done. Wherefore the *Romans* embarqued themselves for *Sicil*: where when they arrived at *Lylibæum*, *Scipio* with some part of his Army took his way home to *Rome* by land; and sent the rest before him thither by Sea. His journey through *Italy* was no less glorious than any triumph: all the people thronging out of the Towns and Villages, to do him honour as he passed along. He entred the City in Triumph: neither was there ever before, or after, any triumph celebrated with so great joy of the people, as was this of *Scipio*; though, in bravery of the pomp, there were others in time shortly following, that exceeded this. Whether *Syphax* were carryed through the City in this Triumph, and dyed soon after in prison; or whether he were dead a while before: it cannot be affirmed. Thus much may be avowed, That it was a barbarous custome of the *Romans*, to insult over the calamities of mighty Princes, by leading them contumeliously in Triumph; yea, though they were such, as had always made fair and courteous war. But hereof we shall have better example ere the same age pass. It was neither the person of *Syphax*, nor any other glory of the spectacle, that so much beautified the Triumph of *Scipio*; as did the contemplation of that grievous war past, whereof the *Romans* had been in a manner *without hope that ever they should set* Italy *free.* This made them look cheerfully upon the Author of so great a conversion; and filled them with more joy, than they well could moderate. Wherefore they gave to *Scipio* the Title of the *African*: stiling him by the name of that Province, which he had subdued. This honourable kind of surname, taken from a conquered Province, grew afterwards more common, and was usurped by men of less desert: especially by many of the *Cæsars*, who sometimes arrogated unto themselves the title of Countreys, wherein they had performed little or nothing; as if such glorious Attributes could have made them like in vertue unto *Scipio* the *African*.

*Excerpt. è Polyb. lib. 16.*

## CHAP. IV.

### *Of* Philip *the father of* Perseus *King of* Macedon; *his first Acts and War with the* Romans, *by whom he was subdued.*

### §. I.

*How the Romans, grew acquainted in the East-Countreys, and desirous of War there. The beginning of many Princes, with great Wars, at one time. The Ætolians over-run Peloponnesus.* Philip *and his Associates make war against the Ætolians. Alteration of the State in* Sparta. *The Ætolians invade* Greece *and* Macedon, *and are invaded at home by* Philip.

Polyb. lib. 2.

OF the great similitude found in worldly events, the limitation of *matter* hath been assigned as a probable cause. For since Nature is confined unto a subject that is not unbounded; the works of Nature must needs be finite, and many of them resemble one the other. Now in those actions, that seem to have their whole dependance upon the will of man, we are less to wonder, if we find less variety: since it is no great portion of things which are obnoxious unto humane power; and since they are the same affections, by which the wills of sundry men are over-ruled, in managing the affairs of our daily life. It may be observed in the change of Empires, before those times whereof we now write, how the *Assyrians* or *Chaldeans* invaded the kingdom of the *Medes*, with two hundred thousand Foot, and threescore thousand Horse; but failing in their intended conquest, they became subject within a while themselves unto the *Medes* and *Persians*. In like manner *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, fell upon the *Greeks* with such number of men, as might have seemed resistless. But after that the *Persians* were beaten home again, their Empire was never secure of the *Greeks*: who at all times of leisure from intestine War, devised upon that conquest thereof, which finally they made under the great *Alexander*.

If

If *Nabuchodonosor* with his rough old Souldiers, had undertaken the *Medes*: or *Cyrus* with his well-trained Army, had made attempt upon *Greece*; the issue might, in humane reason, have been far different. Yet would it then have been expedient for them, to employ the travel and vertue of their men, rather than the greatness of their names against those people; that were no less valiant, though less renowned, than their own. For the menacing words used by *Cyrus*, and some small displeasures done to the *Greeks* (in which kind it may be, that *Nabuchodonosor* likewise offended the *Medes* and *Persians*) were not so available to victory, as to draw on revenge in the future. Great Kingdoms, when they decay in strength, suffer as did the old Lion, for the oppression done in his youth; being pinched by the Wolf, gored by the Bull, yea and kickt by the Ass. But Princes are often carryed away from reason, by misunderstanding the language of Fame: and despising the vertue that makes little noise, adventure to provoke it against themselves; as if it were not possible that their own glory should be foiled by any of less-noted excellence. Against the same stone, whereat *Xerxes*, and before him (as I take it) *Evilmerodach*, had stumbled, *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot* had dasht his foot. He was not indeed the King of all *Greece*; though most of mark, and a better Souldier than any other *Greekish* King, when he entred into the war against the *Romans*. This war he undertook as it were for his minds sake; having received no injury; but hoping by the glory of his name, and of the *Greeks* that served under him, to prevail so easily against the barbarous *Romans*, that they should only serve as a step to his further intended conquests, of *Sicil* and *Africk*. But when the *Romans* by their victory against *Pyrrhus* had found their own vertue to be of richer metal, than was the more shining valour of the *Greeks*: then did all the bravery of the *Epirot* (his Elephants, and whatsoever else had served to make him terrible) serve only to make the *Romans*, in time following, to think more highly of themselves. * For since they had overcome the best Warrior in *Greece*, even Him, that, being thus beaten by them, could in a year after make himself Lord of *Greece* and *Macedon*: what should hinder them from the conquest of all those unwarlike Provinces, which in compass of 12. years a *Macedonian* King of late memory had won? Certainly there was hereunto requisite no more, than to bring to their own devotion by some good means, the whole Country of *Greece*: all the rest, this done, would follow it self. How to deal with the *Greeks*, *Philip* and *Alexander* had shewed a way: which, or perhaps a better, they might learn, by getting more acquaintance with the Nation.

* The King of *Spains* pretended invincible Navy, being beaten out of the British Seas, invited us to those of *Spain*; and having broken the greatest Fleet that ever the *Spaniards* gathered together, we never made account of any of his preparations after that time.

When therefore the first Punick war was ended, which followed soon after the wars of *Pyrrhus* and of the *Tarentines*: then were the *Romans* at good leisure to hearken after news in *Greece*; and to entertain any good occasion, that should be on that side presented. They had also then a strong Fleet: and were become, though not otherwise very skilfull Marriners, yet good fighters at Sea. So it fell out as happily as could be wished, that the *Illyrian* Queen *Teuta* made at the same time cruel war upon the *Greeks*: wasting their Countrey, and sacking their Towns, only because they were unable to resist, though they had done her none offence. Into this quarrel, if the *Romans* were desirous to enter; the Queen was not slow to give them cause. And their happy accomplishing of that war, which they made with Her, was, in their own opinion, a matter not unworthy to make their Patronage to be desired by the *Greeks*. But no such thing hapned: though they sent Embassadours, as it were to offer themselves; by signifying, that for the love of *Greece* they had undertaken this *Illyrian* war. Thus began the first acquaintance betwixt the *Greeks* and *Romans*: which afterwards encreased very hastily, through the indiscretion of King *Philip* the *Macedonian*; whose business with them, being now the subject of our story, it is meet that we should relate (though somewhat briefly) the beginning of his reign, and his first Actions. It was like to prove a busie time in the world, when, within the space of 4. years, new Kings began to reign in the most of all Countreys known; and 3. of them young boyes, in 3. of the greatest kingdoms. This hapned from the third year of the hundred thirty ninth Olympiad, unto the third of the Olympiad following. For in this time died *Seleucus Ceraunus* King of *Asia* and *Syria*, in whose room succeeded his brother *Antiochus*, afterwards called *the Great*. *Ptolomy Philopater* succeeded in the Kingdom of *Egypt* unto his father *Euergetes*. And *Philip* the son of *Demetrius*, being 16. or 17. years old, received the Kingdom of *Macedon*, together with the Patronage of the *Achæans* and most of the *Greeks*, by the decease of his Uncle *Antigonus Doson*, that was called the Tutor or Protector. About the same time also was the like change in *Cappadocia*, *Lacedæmon*, and the Countreys about Mount *Taurus*. For *Ariarathes* then began his reign in *Cappadocia*. *Lycurgus* found means to make himself King over the *Lacedæmonians*, whose Common-weal, since the flight of *Cleomenes*, had continued in a manner headless; and *Achæus*, a kinsman of *Antiochus*, but a Rebel unto him, occupied the Regions near unto Mount *Taurus*, and kept a while the State of a mighty King. Lastly, in the second and third years of the one hundred and fortieth Olympiad it was, that open war brake out between *Rome* and *Carthage*; and that *Hannibal* began his great Invasion upon *Italy*. Those troubles of the Western world, which were indeed the greatest, we have already followed unto an end: Of *Antiochus*, *Ptolomy*, and the rest; we shall speak hereafter, when the *Romans* find them out.

Lib. 5. ca. fect. 7.

*Philip*, soon after the beginning of his reign, came into *Peloponnesus*; greatly desired of the *Achæans*, and many other his dependants. That Countrey, having freed it self by the help of *Antigonus* from the danger (accounted great) of an easie subjection unto *Cleomenes*; was now become no less obnoxious to the *Macedonian*, than it should have been to the *Spartan*; and therewithal it lay open unto the violence of the *Ætolians*; who despised even the *Macedonian* Kings, that were Patrons thereof. The *Ætolians* were no men to be idle; nor were much addicted unto any other Art than war. Therefore wanting employment, they fell upon the *Messenians* that were their own Clients, and (excepting the *Eleans*, that were anciently of their consanguinity) the only good friends which they had at the present in *Peloponnesus*. Their invasion was no less unexpected, than it was unjust: whereby with greater ease they made spoil of the Countrey; finding none prepared to make resistance. The *Achæans*, were called by the *Messenians* to help: which they did the more willingly: because the *Ætolians* passing without leave through their Territory, had (as was their manner) done what harm they listed. Old *Aratus* could hardly abide these *Ætolians*; as both knowing well their nature, and remembring the injuries, wherewith most ingratefully they had requited no small benefits done to them by the *Achæans*. He was therefore so hasty to fall upon this their Army, that he could hardly endure to stay few dayes until the time of his own Office came; being chosen Prætor of the *Achæans* for the year following. But his anger was greater than his courage: and he shewed himself a man fitter (as hath been already noted of him) for any other service, than leading of Army. He suffered them to pass quietly along with their booty, through a part of the Country, wherein he might very easily have distressed them; and afterwards pressed them so near, when they had recovered ground of advantage, that they easily defeated all his Army. So they departed home rich, and well animated to return again. As for the *Achæans*, they got hereby only the friendship of the *Messenians*: with whom, by licence of King *Philip*, they made Confederacy. Shortly after, the *Ætolians* invaded *Peloponnesus* again: having no more to do, than to pass over the narrow Straights of the *Corinthian* Bay, called now the Gulph of *Lepanto*, where they might land in the Countrey of the *Eleans*. There joyned with them, in this their second invasion, a great number of the *Illyrians*: who neglecting that Condition imposed upon them by the *Romans*, of setting out no ships of war unto the coast of *Greece*: made bold to seek adventures again, and did great mischief. *Demetrius Pharius*, a creature of the *Romans*, commanded a part of these *Illyrians*: who shortly repented him of this his voyage; which caused him to lose his Kingdome, as is shewed before. But this *Demetrius* went another way, and fell upon the Illands of the *Cyclades* in the *Ægean* sea: whence returning, he did some good offices for King *Philip*, or his friends. The rest of the *Illyrians* under *Scerdilaidas*, or *Scerdiletus*, having gotten what they could elsewhere by roving at Sea, accompanied the *Ætolians* into *Peloponnesus*: who made greater havock in the Country now, than in their former Ezpedition, and returned home without finding any resistance.

Of these things great complaint was made unto *Philip*, when he came to *Corinth*. And because men were desirous to satisfie themselves with some speedy revenge: there were that urged to have some grievous punishment laid upon the *Lacedæmonians*; who were thought underhand to have favoured the *Ætolians*, in meer despight of the *Achæans* and *Macedonians*, by whom themselves had lately been subdued. It is true, that the *Lacedæmonians* had been so affected: and (which was worse) at the arrival of *Philip*, they slew such friends of his, as having checked their inclination, seemed likely to appeach them of the intended rebellion. Neither durst they well commit themselves to judgement: but intreated the King, that he would abstain from coming to them with an Army: since their Town was lately much disquieted with civil discord, which they hoped soon to appease, and meant always to

remain at his devotion. *Philip* was easily satisfied with this: not for that he (or rather old *Aratus*, who then wholly governed him) did mis-understand the *Lacedæmonians*: but for that a greater work was in hand, which ought not to be interrupted. There met at *Corinth* in presence of the King, the Embassadors of the *Achæans*, *Bœotians*, *Epirots*, and *Acarnanians*: all complaining upon the *Ætolians*: and desiring to have war decreed against them, by common assent. *Philip* sent his letters unto the *Ætolians*, requiring them to make ready their answer in some convenient time: if they could alledge any thing in excuse of that which they had done. They returned word, that a Diet should be holden at *Rhium* for that purpose: whither if it pleased him to come, or send, he should be well informed of them and their whole meaning. The King prepared to have been there at the day. But when the *Ætolians* understood this for certain, they adjourned the Councel unto a further time: saying, That such weighty matters ought not to be handled, save in the great Parliament of all *Ætolia*. This trick of Law notwithstanding, open war was proclaimed against them. And they, as it were, to shew how well they had deserved it, made election of *Scopas* to be their Prætor, that was Author of these Invasions made on *Peloponnesus*; and the only man, in a sort, upon whom they must have laid the blame of these actions, if they would have shifted it from the publick.

After this, *Philip* went into *Macedon*, where he prepared busily for the war against the year following. He also allayed the *Illyrian*, *Scerdilaidas*, with fair words and promises; whom he easily won from the *Ætolian* side, forasmuch as the *Ætolians* had couzened him of his share, when he was partner with them in their late robberies. In like sort the *Achæans*, who had first of all others proclaimed the war in their own Countrey, sent unto the *Acarnanians*, *Epirots*, *Messenians*, and *Lacedæmonians*: requesting them forthwith to declare themselves, and to denounce war unto the *Ætolians*; without staying (as it were) to await the event. Hereunto they received divers answers according to the qualities of those with whom they dealt. The *Acarnanians*, a free-hearted and valiant, though a small Nation, and bordering upon the *Ætolians*, of whom they stood in continual danger; said, that they could not honestly refuse to shew their faithful meaning in that war, which was concluded by general assent. The *Epirots* that were more mighty, were nevertheless more cunning and reserved: so that they stood upon a needless point, and desired to be held excused, until *Philip* (of whose meaning they needed not to have made any doubt) should first proclaim the war. The *Messenians*, for whose cause the war was undertaken, excused themselves, by reason of a Town which the *Ætolians* held upon their borders, and said, that they durst not be over-bold, until that bridle were taken out of their mouths. As for the *Lacedæmonians*, the chief of them studied only, how to manage the treason for which their City had been so lately pardoned: and therefore dismissed the Embassadors of the Confederates, without any answer at all. They had three years together continued subject against their wils to the *Macedonians*, expecting still when *Cleomenes* should return out of *Egypt* to reign over them again, and maintain, as he was wont, the honour of their City. In this regard they chose not any Kings, but were contented with the rule of *Ephori*. Of these there were some, that thought the publick safety to consist, in holding their faith with the *Macedonian* that had preserved them. And hereto they referred all their counsels: being perhaps a little moved with respect of the benefit, which might redound unto themselves, by adhering firmly to those which at the present bore rule over them. Others, and those the greater part were still devising, how to make all ready for *Cleomenes* against his return; and sought to joyn with the *Ætolians*, which were the most likely to give him strong assistance. The *Macedonian* faction had the more authority, and durst more freely speak their minds: but the contrary side was the more passionate, and spared not by murders or any other violent courses, to set forward their desire. Neither did it suffice, that about these times there came certain report of *Cleomenes* his death. For it was the liberty and honour of *Sparta*, which these intended; fancying unto themselves the glory of their Ancestors in such Ages past, as it were not like to come again. *Cleomenes* was, they knew, the most able man to restore them unto their greatness & lustre; which once he had in a manner performed: But since he was dead, and that, without injury to his well-deserving vertue, they might proceed to the election of new Kings: Kings they would have, and those of the race of *Hercules*, as in former times; for that without such helps, they must continue little better than subjects unto the *Macedonian*, and far less by him respected, then were the *Achæans*. Thus were they transported by contemplation of their old Nobility and fame. Some of the most working spirits among



among them, procured the *Ætolians* to send an Embassie to *Sparta*: which propounded the matter openly unto the people, whereof no one of the Citizens durst have made himself the Author. Much disputation, and hot, there was, between those of the *Macedonian* party, and these their opposites: in such wise that nothing could be concluded; until by massacre or banishment of all, or the chief, that spake against the *Ætolians*: the diversity of opinion was taken quite away. Then forthwith a League was concluded between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Ætolians*: without all regard of the *Macedonians* or *Achæans*, who had spared the City, when they might have destroyed it. Then also they went in hand with the election of new Kings: wherein their diligence was so nice, and so regardful of their ancient Laws, as touching the choosing of the one King, that we may justly wonder, how they grew so careless in making choice of the other. In the one of their Royal Families they found *Agesipolis*, the son of *Agesipolis*, the son of King *Cleombrotus*: and him they admitted to reign over them, as heir apparent to his grandfather. This *Agesipolis* was a young Boy, standing in need of a Guardian; and had an Uncle, his Fathers Brother, that was fit for the Government. Yet because the Law required, that the son, how young soever, should have his fathers whole right and title: the *Lacedæmonians*, though standing in need of a man, were so punctual in observation of the Law, that they made this child their King, and appointed his Uncle *Cleomenes* to be his Protector. But in the other branch of the Royal Family, though there was no want of heirs: yet would not the people trouble themselves about any of them, to examine the goodness of his Claim; but made election of one *Lycurgus*, who having no manner of title to the Kingdome, bestowed upon each of the *Ephori*, a Talent, and thereby made himself be saluted King of *Sparta*, and a Gentleman of the race of *Hercules*. This *Lycurgus* to gratifie his Partisans, and to approve his worth by action, invaded the Country of the *Argives*: which lay open and unguarded, as in a time of peace. There he did great spoil, and won divers Towns; whereof two he retained, and annexed unto the State of *Lacedæmon*. After such open hostility, the *Lacedæmonians* declared themselves on the *Ætolian* side; and proclaimed war against the *Achæans*.

Thus the beginnings of the war fell out much otherwise, than the *Achæans* and their Confedederates had expected, when they first made preparation. *Philip* was not ready: the *Epirots* gave uncertain answer: the *Messenians* would not stir: all the burden must lye upon themselves and the poor *Acarnanians*, whom the *Ætolians*, by favour of the *Eleans*, could invade at pleasure, as they were like to do; and by help of the *Lacedæmonians*, could assail on all parts at once. It was not long ere the *Ætolians*, passing over the Bay of *Corinth*, surprised the Town of *Ægira*: which if they could have held, they should thereby grievously have molested the *Achæans*, for that it stood in the mid-way between *Ægium* and *Sycion*, two of their principal Cities, and gave open way into the heart of all their Country. But as *Ægira* was taken by surprise: so was it presently lost again, through greedines of spoil; whilest they that should have made it their first care, to assure the place unto themselves, by occupying the citadel and other pieces of strength, fell heedlesly to ransack private houses, and thereby gave the Citizens leave to make head, by whom they were driven with great slaughter back unto their Fleet. About the same time, another *Ætolian* Army landing among the *Eleans*, fell upon the Western Coast of *Achaia*; wasting all the Territory of the *Dymæans* and other people, that were first beginners of the *Achæan* Confederacy. The *Dymæans* and their neighbours made head against these Invaders; but were so well beaten, that the enemy grew bolder with them than before. They sent for help unto their Prætor, and to all the Towns of their Society in vain. For the *Achæans* having lately been much weakened by *Cleomenes*, were now able to do little of themselves: neither could they get any strength of Mercenaries; forasmuch as at the end of *Cleomenes* his war they had covetously with-held part of their due from those that served them therein. So through this disability of the *Achæans*, and insufficiency of their Prætor; the *Dymæans*, with others, were driven to with-hold their contribution heretofore made for the publick service, and to convert the money to their own defence. *Lycurgus* also with his *Lacedæmonians*, began to win upon the *Arcadians*, that were confederate with *Philip* and the *Achæans*.

*Philip* came to the borders of the *Ætolians*, whilst their Army was thus employed a far off in *Peloponnesus*. The *Epirots* joined all their forces with him: and by such their willing readines, drew him to the siege of a Frontier piece, which they desired to get into their own hands; for that, by commodity thereof, they hoped shortly to make

themſelves Maſters of *Ambracia*. There he ſpent forty dayes, ere he could end the buſineſs; which tended only to the benefit of the *Epirots*. Had he entred into the heart of *Ætolia* at his firſt coming in, it is thought that he might have had an end of the war. But it happens oft, that the violence of great Armies is broken upon ſmall Towns or Forts: and not ſeldome, that the importunity of Aſſociates, to have their own deſires fulfilled, converts the preparations of great Kings to thoſe uſes for which they never were intended; thereby hindering the proſecution of their main deſigns. Thus was our King *Henry* the eighth led aſide, and quite out of his way, by *Maximilian* the Emperour to the ſiege of *Tournay*: at ſuch time as the *French* King *Lewis* the twelfth, hearing that the ſtrong City of *Terwin* was loſt, and that his Cavallery, wherein reſted his chief confidence, two thouſand were beaten by the Earl of *Eſſex* with ſeven hundred *Engliſh*; was thinking to withdraw himſelf into *Britain*, in fear that *Henry* would have come to *Paris*.

The ſtay that *Philip* made at *Ambrachus*, did wondrouſly embolden the *Ætolians*: in ſuch ſort, as their Prætor *Scopas* adventured to lead all their forces out of the Country; and therewith not only to over-run *Theſſalie*, but to make impreſſion into *Macedon*. He ran as far as to *Dium*, a City of *Macedon* upon the *Ægean* Sea: which, being forſaken by the Inhabitants at his coming, he took, and razed to the ground. He ſpared neither Temple, nor any other of the goodly buildings therein, but overturned all: and among the reſt, he threw down the Statua's that were there erected, of the *Macedonian* Kings. For this he was highly honoured by his Country-men at his return; foraſmuch as hereby they thought their Nation to be grown terrible, not only (as before) unto *Peloponneſus*, but even to *Macedon* it ſelf. But this their pride was ſoon abated; and they rewarded ſhortly at home in their own Country, for their pains taken at *Dium*. *Philip* having diſpatched his work at *Ambracus*, made a ſtrong invaſion upon *Ætolia*. He took *Phœtiæ*, *Metropolis*, *Oeniade*, *Pæanium*, *Elæus*, and divers other Towns and Caſtles of theirs: of which he burnt ſome, and fortified others. He alſo beat the the *Ætolians* in ſundry ſkirmiſhes: and waſted all the Countrey over, without receiving any harm. This done, while he was about to make a cut over the Straights into *Peloponneſus*, and to do the like ſpoil in the Country of the *Eleans*, whereto he was vehemently ſolicited by the *Achæan* Embaſſadors; news came out of *Macedon*, that the *Dardanians* were ready with a great Army to fall upon the Country. Theſe *Dardanians* were a barbarous people, divided by Mount *Hæmus* from the Northern part of *Macedon*, and were accuſtomed to ſeek booty in that wealthy Kingdome, when they found their own times. Having therefore intelligence, that *Philip* was about to make a journey into *Peloponneſus*; they purpoſed in his abſence, which they thought would be long, to get what they could for themſelves in his Countrey: as had been their manner upon the like advantages. This made the King to diſmiſs the *Achæan* Embaſſadors, (whom he ſhould have accompanied home with his Army) and to bid them have patience until another year. So he took his way home-wards: and as he was paſſing out of *Acarnania* into *Epirus*, there repaired unto him *Demetrius Pharius*, with no more than one Ship; that was newly chaſed out of his Kingdom by the *Romans*. This *Demetrius* had lately ſhewed himſelf a friend to *Antigonus Doſon* in the wars of *Cleomenes*: and returning in his laſt Voyage from the *Cyclades*, was ready at their firſt requeſt, to take part with *Philips* Captains. Theſe, or the like conſiderations, made him welcome unto the *Macedonian* King: whoſe Counſellor he was ever after. The *Dardanians* hearing of the Kings return, brake up their Army, and gave over for the preſent their invaſion of *Macedon*, towards which they were already on their way.

All that ſummer following the King reſted at *Lariſſa* in *Theſſalie*, whileſt his people grthered in their Harveſt. But the *Ætolians* reſted not. They avenged themſelves upon the *Epirots*: whom for the harms by them and *Philip* done in *Ætolia*, they requited with all extremities of War, among which, the moſt notable was the ruine of the moſt famous Temple of *Dodona*. When Winter grew on, and all thought of war, until another year, was laid aſide: *Philip* ſtole a journy into *Peloponneſus*, with 5000. Foot, & about 400. Horſe. As ſoon as he was within *Corinth*; He commanded the gates to be ſhut, that no word ſhould be carryed forth of his arrival. He ſent privily for old *Aratus* to come thither unto him: with whom he took order, when, and in what places, he would have the *Achæan* Souldiers ready to meet him. The enemies were then abroad in the Country, without ſomewhat more than two thouſand Foot, and an hundred Horſe;



Horſe; little thinking to meet with oppoſition. Indeed they had little cauſe to fear: ſince the *Achæans* themſelvs were not aware that the King was in their Land with his *Macedonians*; until they heard, that theſe two thouſand *Eleans*, *Ætolians*, and their fellows, were by him ſurprized, and all made priſoners, or ſlain. By this exploit which he did at his firſt coming, *Philip* got very much reputation, and likewiſe he purchaſed both reputation and love, by divers actions immediately following. He won *Pſophis*, an exceeding ſtrong Town, in the borders of *Arcadia*, which the *Eleans* and *Ætolians* then held. He won it by aſſault at his firſt coming: wherein it much availed him, that the Enemy, not believing that he would undertake ſuch a piece of work at ſuch an unſeaſonable time of the year, was careleſs of providing even ſuch ſtore of weapons, as might have ſerved to defend it. The Town was preſerved by the King from ſack; and given to the *Achæans* of his meer motion, before they requeſted it. Thence went he to *Laſion*, which yielded for very fear; hearing how eaſily he had taken *Pſophis*. This Town alſo he gave to the *Achæans*. The like liberality he uſed towards others, that had ancient title unto places by him recovered. Then fell he upon the Country of *Elis*, where was much wealth to be gotten: for that the people were addicted to husbandry, and lived abroad in Villages; even ſuch as were of the wealthier ſort among them. So he came to the City of *Olympia*: where having done ſacrifice to *Jupiter*, feaſted his Captains, and refreſhed his Army three days; He proceeded on to the ſpoil of thoſe, that had taken pleaſure to ſtare with the *Ætolians*, in the ſpoils of their otherwiſe-deſerving neighbours. Great abundance of Cattel he took, with great numbers of ſlaves, and much wealth of all ſorts, ſuch as could be found in rich villages. Then he fell in hand with the Towns, whereinto a great multitude of the Country people were fled. Some of theſe were taken at the firſt aſſault. Some yielded for fear. Some prevented the labour of his journey, by ſending Embaſſadors to yield before he came. And ſome that were held with Garriſons againſt their wils, took courage to ſet themſelves at liberty, by ſeeing the King ſo near: to whoſe Patronage thenceforth they betook themſelves. And many places were ſpoiled by the *Ætolian* Captains; becauſe they diſtruſted their ability to hold them. So the King won more Towns in the Country, than the ſharpneſs of winter would ſuffer him to ſtay there days. Fain he would have fought with the *Ætolians*: but they made ſuch haſte from him, that he could not overtake them, till they had covered themſelves within the Town of *Samicum*; where they thought to have been ſafe. But *Philip* aſſaulted them therein ſo forcibly, that he made them glad to yield the place; obtaining licenſe to depart with their lives and arms. Having performed ſo much in this expedition, the King repoſed himſelf a while in *Megalopolis*, and then removed to *Argos*, where he ſpent all the reſt of the winter.

Before the Kings arrival in *Peloponneſus*, the *Lacedæmonians*, with *Lycurgus* their new King, had gotten ſomewhat in *Arcadia*; and threatned to do great matters. But when they were admoniſhed, by the calamity that fell upon the *Eleans*, of the danger hanging over their own heads; they quitted their winnings, and withdrew themſelves home. This *Lycurgus*, as he had no other right to Kingdome of *Sparta*, than that which he could buy with mony, ſo was he neither free from danger of conſpiracies made againſt him: nor from thoſe jealouſies, with which Uſurpers are commonly perplexed. There was one *Chilon*, of the Royal blood, that thinking himſelf to have beſt right unto the Kingdome, purpoſed to make way thereunto by maſſacre of his oppoſites; and afterwards to confirm himſelf, by propounding unto the multitude ſuch reformation of the State as was moſt popular: namely, by making an equal diſtribution of all the lands among the whole number of the Citizens, according to the ancient inſtitution of that Commonwealth. He won to his party ſome two hundred men; with whom he fel upon the *Ephori*, as they were together at ſupper, & ſlew them all. Then went he to *Lycurgus* his houſe: who perceiving the danger, ſtole away and fled. It remained that he ſhould give account of theſe doings to the people, and procure them to take part with him. But their minds not being hereto prediſpoſed; they ſo little regarded his goodly offers, as even whilſt he was uſing his beſt perſwaſions, they were conſulting how to apprehend him. *Chilon* perceived whereabout they went, and ſhifted preſently away. So he lived afterwards among the *Achæans* a baniſhed man, and hated of his own people. As for *Lycurgus* he returned home: & ſuſpecting thenceforth all thoſe of *Hercules* his race, found means to drive out his fellow-King young *Ageſipolis* whereby he made himſelf Lord alone. His doings grew to be ſuſpected, in ſuch ſort, as once he ſhould have been apprehended by the *Ephori*. But though his actions hitherto might have been defended; yet rather than

than to adventure himself into judgment, he chose to flie for a time, and sojourn among his friends the *Ætolians*. His well-known vehemency in opposition to the *Macedonians*, had procured unto him such good liking among the people, that in his absence they began to consider the weakness of their own surmises against him; and pronouncing him innocent, recalled him home to his Estate. But in time following, he took better heed unto himself: not by amending his condition (for he grew a Tyrant, and was so acknowledged) but by taking order, that it should not be in the power of the Citizens to expell him when they listed. By what actions he got the name of a Tyrant; or at what time it was, that he chased *Agesipolis* out of the City; I do not certainly find. Like enough it is, That his being the first of three usurpers, which followed in order one after another, made him to be placed in the rank of Tyrants; which the last of the three very justly deserved. Whatsoever he was toward some private Citizens, in the war against *Philip*, he behaved himself as a provident man, and careful of his Countreys good.

## §. II.

*How* Philip *was misadvised by ill Counsellors: who afterwards wrought treason against him; and were justly punished. He invadeth the* Ætolians *a second time: and forceth them to sue for peace: which is granted unto them.*

WHileſt the King lay at *Argos* devising upon his business for the year following, some ambitious men that were about him, studied so diligently for their own greatness, as they were like to have spoiled all that he took in hand. *Antigonus Doson* had left unto *Philip* such Counsellors, as to him did seem the fittest men for governing of his youth. The chief of these was *Apelles*; that had the charge of his person, and also the ordering of his Treasures. This man, seeming to himself a great Politician, thought that he should do a notable piece of service to his Prince, if he could reduce the *Achæans* unto the same degree of subjection, wherein the *Macedonians* lived. To bring this to pass; during the late Expedition he had caused some of the *Macedonians* to thrust the *Achæans* out of their lodgings, and to strip them of the booty that they had gotten. Proceeding further, as occasion fell out; he was bold to chastise some of that Nation; causing his Ministers to take and whip them. If any of them offered (as there were some of them that could not refrain) to help their fellows; them he laid by the heels, and punished as Mutiners. Hereby he thought to bring it to pass by little and little, that they should be qualified with an habit of blind obedience; and think nothing unjust that pleased the King. But these *Achæans* were tenderly sensible in matters of liberty: whereof if they could have been contented to suffer any little diminution, they needed not have troubled the *Macedonians* to help them in the war against *Cleomenes*. They bemoaned themselves unto old *Aratus*: and besought him to think upon some good order, that they might not be oppressed by degrees. *Aratus* forthwith dealt earnestly with the King; as in a matter more weighty than at first it might seem. The King bestowed gracious words upon those that had been wronged, and forbade *Apelles* to follow the course begun. Hereat *Apelles* was inwardly vexed, though he dissembled his choler for a time. He thought so well of his own Project, that he could not endure to lay it aside; being perhaps unable to do the King any valuable service, in business of other nature. He purposed therefore hereafter to begin at the head: since, in biting at the tail, the fish had shot away from his mouth. It could not otherwise be than that among the *Achæans* there were some, who bore no hearty affection to *Aratus*. These he enquired out, and sending for them, entertained them with words of Court: promising to become their especial friend, and commend them unto the King. Then brake he his purpose with the King himself: letting him know, that as long as he continued to make much of *Aratus*, he must be fain to deal precisely with the *Achæans*, and as it were by Identure, according to the letter of the Contract: whereas if he would be pleased, to give countenance unto those others whom he himself commended, then should the *Achæans*, and all other *Peloponnesians*, be quickly brought to conform themselves unto the duty of obedient Subjects. By such perswasions, he drew the King to be present at *Æginm*, where the *Achæans* were to hold election of a new Prætor. There with much more labour, than would have been needful in a business of more importance, the King by fair words and threatnings together, obtained so much, That *Epe-ratus*, a very insufficient man, but one of *Apelles* his new favourites, was chosen Prætor, instead of one more worthy, for whom *Aratus* had laboured. This was thought a good



good introduction unto greater matters that should follow. The King from thence passed along by *Patras* and *Dyma*, to a very strong Castle held by the *Eleans*, which was called *Tichos*. The garrison yielded it up for fear, at his first coming: whereof he was glad, for that he had an earnest desire to bestow it upon the *Dymæans*, as he presently did.

The King thought it strange, that all this while he heard of no messengers from the *Eleans*, to sue for peace. For at his departure out of their Country the last Winter, he had let loose one *Amphidamus* a Captain of theirs, that was his prisoner; because he found him an intelligent man, and one that undertook to make them forsake their alliance with the *Ætolians*, and joyn with him upon reasonable terms. This if they could be contented to do, he willed *Amphidamus* to let them understand, That he would render unto them freely all prisoners which he had of theirs; That he would defend them from all forrain invasion; and that they should hold their liberty entire, living after their own Laws, without paying any manner of Tribute, or being kept under by any garrison. These conditions were not to be despised, if they had found credit, as they might have done. But when *Philip* came to the Castle of *Tichos*, and made a new invasion upon their Country: then began the *Eleans*, (that were not before over-hasty to believe such fair promises) to suspect *Amphidamus* as a Traitor, and one that was set on work for no other end, than to breed a mutual diffidence between them and the *Ætolians*. Wherefore they purposed to lay hands upon him, and send him prisoner into *Ætolia*. But he perceived their intent, and got away to *Dyma*: in good time for himself; in better for *Aratus*. For the King (as was said) marvailing what should be the cause, that he heard no news from the *Eleans*, concerning the offers which he had made unto them by *Amphidamus*: *Apelles* his Counsellor, thereby took occasion to supplant *Aratus*. He said that old *Aratus*, and his son together, had such devices in their heads, as tended little to the Kings good: And long of them he said it was, that the *Eleans* did thus hold out. For when *Amphidamus* was dismissed home, the two *Arati*, (the father and the son) had taken him aside and given him to understand, that it would be very prejudicial to all *Peloponnesus*, if the *Eleans* once became at the devotion of the *Macedonian*: And this was the true cause, why neither *Amphidamus* was very careful in doing this message; nor the *Eleans* in hearkning to the Kings offers. All this was a false lye, divised by *Apelles* himself, upon no other ground than his own malice. *Philip* had no sooner heard this tale, but in a great rage he sent for the two *Arati*, and bade *Apelles* rehearse it over again to their faces. *Apelles* did so, and with a bold countenance, talking to them as to men already convicted. And when he had said all the rest, ere either *Philip* or they spake any word; He added this clause, as it were, in the Kings name: Since the King hath found you such ungrateful wretches; it is his meaning to hold a Parliament of the *Achæans*; and therein having made it known what ye are, to depart into *Macedon*, and leave you to your selves. Old *Aratus* gravely admonished the King; That whensoever he heard any accusation, especially against a friend of his own, or a man of worth, He should forbear a while to give credit, untill he had diligently examined the business. For such deliberation was Kingly, and he should never therof repent him. At the present he said there needed no more, than to call in those that had heard his talk with *Amphidamus*, and especially him that had brought this goodly tale to *Apelles*. For it would be a very absurd thing, That the King should make himself the Author of a report in the open Parliament of *Achaia*, whereof there was none other evidence, than one mans *yea*, and anothers *no*. Hereof the King liked well; and said that he would make sufficient inquiry. So passed a few dayes: wherein whileſt *Apelles* delayed to bring in the proof, which indeed he wanted, *Amphidamus* came from *Elis*, and told what had befaln him there. The King was not forgetful, to examine him about the conspiracy of the *Arati*: which, when he found no better than a meer device against his honourable friends; he entertained them in loving manner as before. As for his love to *Apelles*, though it was hereby somewhat cooled; yet by means of long acquaintance and daily employment, no remission therein could be discerned.

The unrestful temper of *Apelles*, having with much vehemency brought nothing to pass, began (as commonly Ambition useth) to swell and grow venemous for want of his free motion. He betakes himself to his cunning again: and as before, being checkt in his doings with those of the vulgar, he had prepared a snare for the *Arati*: so failing of them, he thinks it wisdom to lay for the King himself, and for all at once which were about him. In such manner sometime, the Spider thought to have taken the Swallow which drave away flyes out of the chimny; but

but was carryed (net and all) into the Air by the bird, that was too ſtrong to be caught, and held by the ſubtle workmanſhip of a Cob-web. Of the four that next unto *Apelles* were left by *Antigonus* in chief place about *Philip*; *Taurion*, his Lieutenant in *Peloponneſus*, and *Alexander* Captain of the Guard, were faithful men, and ſuch as would not be corrupted, The other two, *Leontius* Captain of the *Targettiers*, and *Megaleas* chief of the Secretaries, were eaſily won to be at *Apelles* his diſpoſition. This politician therefore ſtudied how to remove the other two from their places, and put ſome Creatures of his own into their rooms. Againſt *Alexander* he went to work the ordinary way, by calumniation and privy detraction. But for the ſupplanting of *Taurion* he uſed more fineneſs; loading him with daily commendations, as a notable man of war, and one, whom for his many vertues the King might ill ſpare from being alwayes in his preſence. By ſuch Art he thought to have removed him, as we ſay, *Out of Gods bleſſing into a warm Sun*. In the mean ſeaſon *Aratus* retired himſelf: and ſought to avoid the dangerous friendſhip of the King, by forbearing to meddle in affairs of State. As for the new Prator of *Achaia*, lately choſen by ſuch vehement inſtance of the King; He was a man of no diſpatch, and one that had no grace with the people. Wherefore a great deal of time was loſt, whileſt *Philip* wanted both the money and the Corn, wherewith he ſhould have been furniſhed by the *Achæans*. This made the King underſtand his own errour: which he wiſely ſought to reform betimes. He perſwaded the *Achæans* to rejourn their Parliament from *Ægium*, to *Sycion*, the Town of *Aratus*. There he dealt with the old man and his ſon, perſwading them to forget what was paſt; and laying all the blame upon *Apelles*, on whom thenceforth he intended to keep a more diligent eye. So by the travel of theſe worthy men, he eaſily obtained what he would of the *Achæans*. Fifty talents they gave him out of hand; with great ſtore of Corn; and further decreed, That ſo long as he himſelf in perſon followed the wars in *Peleponneſus*, he ſhould receive ten talents a moneth. Being thus enabled, he began to provide ſhipping, that ſo he might invade the *Ætolians*, *Eleans*, and *Lacedæmonians*, that were maritime people, at his pleaſure, and hinder their excurſions by Sea.

It vexed *Apelles* beyond meaſure, to ſee things go forward ſo well without his help; even by the miniſtry of thoſe whom he moſt hated. Wherefore he entred into conſpiracy with *Leontius* and *Megaleas*: binding himſelf and them by Oath, to croſs and bring to nought, as well as they were able, all that the King ſhould take in hand. By ſo doing, they thought to bring it to paſs, that very want of ability to do any thing without them; ſhould make him ſpeak them fair, and be glad to ſubmit himſelf to their directions. The King it is like had ſtood in ſome awe of them whileſt he was a child; and therefore theſe wiſe men perſwaded themſelves, that by looking big upon him; and imputing unto him all that fell out ill through their own miſgovernment of his affairs, they might rule him as a child ſtill. *Apelles* would needs go to *Chalcis*, there to take order for the proviſions, which were to come that way out of *Macedon*: The other two ſtaid behind with the King, to play their parts; all more mindful of their wicked oath, than of their duty.

His Fleet and Army being in a readineſs: *Philip* made countenance, as if he would have bent all his forces againſt the *Eleans*; to whoſe aid therefore the *Ætolians* ſent men, little fearing that the miſchief would have fallen, as ſoon after it did, upon themſelves. But againſt the *Eleans* and thoſe that came to help them, *Philip* thought it enough to leave the *Achæans*, with ſome part of his and their Mercenaries. He himſelf with the body of his Army putting to Sea, landed in the Iſle of *Cephalenia*: whence the *Ætolians*, dwelling over againſt it, uſed to furniſh themſelves of ſhipping, when they went to rove abroad. There he beſieged the Town of *Palæa*, that had been very ſerviceable to the Enemy againſt him and his Confederates; and might be very uſeful to him, if he could get it. Whileſt he lay before this Town, there came unto him fifteen ſhips of war from *Scerdilaidas*; and many good Souldiers, from the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, and *Meſſenians*. But the Town was obſtinate; and would not be terrified with numbers. It was naturally fenced on all parts ſave one, on which ſide *Philip* carryed a Mine to the wall, wherewith he overthrew two hundred foot thereof. *Leontius* Captain of the *Targettiers*, was appointed by the King to make the aſſault. But he, remembring his covenant with *Apelles*, did both wilfully forbear to do his beſt: and cauſed others to do the like. So the *Macedonians* were put to foile, and many ſlain, not of the worſt Souldiers: but ſuch as had gotten over the breach, and would have carried the Town, if the Treaſon of their Captain, and ſome by him corrupted, had not hindred the victory. The King was angry with this, but



but there was no remedy: and therefore he thought upon breaking up the ſiege. For it was eaſier unto the Townſ-men to make up the gap in their wall, than for him to make it wider. Whileſt he ſtood thus perplexed and uncertain what courſe to take: the *Meſſenians* and *Acarnanians* lay hard upon him, each of them deſirous to draw him into their own Countrey. The *Meſſenians* alledged, that *Lycurgus* was buſie in waſting their Countrey: upom whom the King might come unawares in one day; the *Eteſian* winds which then blew, ſerving fitly for his Navigation. Hereto alſo *Leontius* perſwaded; who conſidered that thoſe winds, as they would eaſily carry him thither, ſo would they detain him there perforce (blowing all the Dog-dayes) and make him ſpend the Summer to ſmall or no purpoſe. But *Aratus* gave better counſel, and prevailed: he ſhewed how unfitting it were, to let the *Ætolians* over-run all *Theſſaly* again, and ſome part of *Macedon*, whileſt the King withdrew his Army far off to ſeek ſmall adventures. Rather, he ſaid that the time now ſerved well to carry the war into *Ætolia*: ſince the Prætor was gone thence abroad on roving, with the one half of their ſtrength. As for *Lycurgus*, he was not ſtrong enough to do much harm in *Peloponneſus*: and it might ſuffice, if the *Achæans* were appointed to make head againſt them. According to this advice, the King ſet ſail for *Ætolia*, and enters the Bay of *Ambracia*, which divided the *Ætolians* from *Acarnania*. The *Acarnanians* were glad to ſee him on their borders; and joyned with him as many of them as could bear arms, to help in taking vengeance upon their bad neighbours. He marched up into the inland Countrey: and taking ſome places by the way, which he filled with Garriſons to aſſure his Retreat; He paſſed on to *Thermum*, which was the Receptacle of the *Ætolians*, and ſureſt place of defence in all extremities. The Countrey round about was a great faſtneſs, environed with rocky Mountains of very narrow ſteep, and difficult aſcent. There did the *Ætolians* uſe to hold all their chief meetings, their Fairs, their election of Magiſtrates, and their ſolemn Games. There alſo they uſed to beſtow the moſt precious of their goods, as in a place of greateſt ſecurity. This opinion of the natural ſtrength, had made them careleſs in looking unto it. When *Philip* therefore had overcome the bad way, there was nothing elſe to do than to take ſpoil: whereof he found ſuch plenty, that he thought the pains of his journy well recompenced. So he loaded his Army: and conſuming all that could not be carried away, forgot not to raze a goodly Temple, the chief of all belonging unto the *Ætolians*; in remembrance of their like courteſie, ſhewed upon the Temples of *Dium* and *Dodana*. This burning of the Temple, might (queſtionleſs) more for the Kings honour have been forborn. But perhaps he thought, as *Monſieur du Gourgues* the French Captain told the *Spaniards* in *Florida*, That they which had no faith, needed no Church. At his return from *Thermum*, the *Ætolians* laid for him: which that they would do, he believed before, and therefore was not taken unawares. Three thouſand of them there were that lying in ambuſh, fell upon his skirts: but he laid a Counter-ambuſh for them, of his *Illyrians*; who ſtaying behind the reſt, did ſet upon the backs of the *Ætolians*, whileſt they were buſily charging in Rear the Army that went before. So with ſlaughter of the enemy, he returned the ſame way that he came: and burning down thoſe places that he had taken before, as alſo waſting the Country round about him. He ſafely carried all that he had gotten aboard his fleet. Once the *Ætolians* made countenance of fight, iſſuing out of *Stratus* in great bravery. But they were beaten home faſter than they came, and followed to their very gates.

The joy of this victorious expedition being every way compleat, and not deformed (as commonly happens) by any ſiniſter accident; it pleaſed the King to make a great feaſt unto all his friends and Captains. Thither were invited among the reſt *Leontius*, with his fellow *Megaleas*. They came becauſe they could not chooſe: but their heavy looks argued, what little pleaſure they took in the Kings proſperity. It grieved them to think, that they ſhould be able to give no better account unto *Apelles*, of their hindering the Kings buſineſs; ſince *Apelles* himſelf, as will be ſhewed anon, had played his own part with a moſt miſchievous dexterity. Finding *Aratus* on the way home to his Tent: they fell to reviling him, throwing ſtones at him, ſo that they cauſed a great uprore: many running in (as happens in ſuch caſes) to take part with the one or the other. The King ſending to enquire of the matter, was truly informed of all that had paſſed. Which made him ſend for *Leontius* and his fellows. But *Leontius* was gotten out of the way: *Megaleas*, and another with him, came. The King began to rate them for their diſorder: and they, to give him froward anſwers: inſomuch, as they ſaid at length, That they would never give over, till they had rewarded *Aratus* with a miſchief as he deſer-

ved. Hereupon the King committed them to ward. *Leontius* hearing of this comes boldly to the King, with his *Targettiers* at his heels: and with a proud grace demanded, who it was that had dared to lay hands upon *Megaleas*, yea, and to cast him into prison? Why said the King, it was even I. This resolute answer, which *Leontius* had not expected, made him depart both sad and angry; seeing himself out-frowned, and not knowing how to remedy the matter. Shortly after *Megaleas* was called forth to his answer, and was charged by *Aratus* with many great crimes: Among which were, The hinderance of the Kings victory at *Palea*, and the Compact made with *Apelles*: matters no less touching *Leontius*, that stood by as a looker on, than *Megaleas* that was accused. In conclusion, the presumptions against him were so strong, and his answers thereto so weak; that he, and *Crinon* one of his fellows, were condemned in twenty Talents: *Crinon* being remanded back to prison; and *Leontius* becoming Bail for *Megaleas*. This was done upon the way home-wards, as the King was returning to *Corinth*.

*Philip* dispatched well a great deal of business of this year. For as soon as he was at *Corinth*, he took in hand an Expedition against the *Lacedæmonians*. These and the *Eleans* had done what harm they could in *Peloponnesus*, whilest the King was absent. The *Achæans* had opposed them as well as they could; with ill success, yet so, as they hindred them from doing such harm as else they would have done. But when *Philip* came, he over-ran the Country about *Lacedæmon*: and was in a manner at the gates of *Sparta*, ere men could well believe that he was returned out of *Ætolia*. He took not in this Expedition any Cities, but made great waste in the fields: and having beaten the enemy in some skirmishes, carried back with him to *Corinth* a rich booty of cattel, slaves, and other Country spoil. At *Corinth* he found attending him, Embassadors from the *Rhodians* and *Chians*, that requested him to set *Greece* at quiet, by granting peace unto the *Ætolians*. They had gracious audience: and he willed them to deal first with the *Ætolians*, who if they would make the same request, should not find him unreasonable. The *Ætolians* had sped ill that year: neither saw they any likely hopes for the years following. The Army that they had sent forth to waste *Thessaly* and *Macedon*, found such opposition on the way; that not daring to proceed, it returned home without bringing any thing to effect. In the mean season they had been grievously afflicted, as before is shewed, by *Philip* in the centre of their own Countrey. All *Greece* and *Macedon* was up in arms against them, and their weak Allies the *Eleans* and *Lacedæmonians*. Neither was it certain, how long the one or other of these their *Peloponnesian* friends should be able to hold out, since they were not strong enough to keep the field, but had already suffered those miseries of war, which by a little continuance would make them glad, each to seek their own peace, without regard of their Confederates. Wherefore the *Ætolians* readily entertain'd this negotiation of peace: and taking truce for thirty dayes with the King, dealt with him by intercession of the same Embassiadours, to intreat his presence at a Diet of the Nation, that should be held at *Rhium*; whither if he would vouchsafe to come, they promised that he should find them conformable to any good reason.

Whileſt these things were in hand, *Leontius* and *Megaleas* thought to have terrified the King, by raising sedition against him in the Army. But this device sorted to no good effect. The souldiers were easily and quickly incensed against many of the Kings friends, who were said to be the cause, why they were not rewarded with so much of the booty, as they thought to belong of right unto them. But their anger spent it self in a noise, and breaking open of doors, without further harm done. This was enough to inform the King (who easily pacified his men with gentle words) that some about him were very false. Yea, the Souldiers themselves repenting of their insolence, desired to have the Authors of the tumult sought out, and punished according to their deserts. The King made shew as if he had not cared to make such inquisition. But *Leontius* and *Megaleas* were afraid, lest the matter would soon come out of it self to their extream danger. Wherefore they sent unto *Apelles*, the Head and Architect of their treason, requesting him speedily to repair unto *Corinth*, where he might stand between them and the Kings displeasure. *Apelles* had not all this while been wanting to the business, undertaken by him and his treacherous companions. He had taken upon him, as a man that had the Kings heart in his own hand: and thereby was he grown into such credit, that all the Kings Officers in *Macedon* and *Thessaly* addressed themselves unto him, and received from him their dispatch in every business. Likewise the *Greeks* in all their flattering Decrees, took occasion to magnifie the vertue of *Apelles*, making slight mention (only for fashion sake) of the King: who seemed no better



better than the Minister and Executioner of *Apelles* his will and pleasure. Such was the arrogancy of this great man, in setting himself out unto the people: but in managing the Kings affairs, he made it his special care, that money and all things needful for the publick service, should be wanting. Yea, he enforced the King for very need, to sell his own Plate and houshold vessels: thinking to resolve these and all other difficulties, by only saying, *Sir, be ruled wholly by me, and all shall be as you would wish.* Hereto it the King would give assent, then had this Politician obtained his hearts desire. Now taking his journey from *Chalcis* in the Isle of *Euhœa*, to the City of *Corinth* where *Philip* then lay: he was fetcht in with great pomp and royalty, by a great number of the Captains and Souldiers; which *Leontius* and *Megaleas* drew forth to meet him on the way. So entring the City with a goodly train, he went directly to the Court, and towards the Kings chamber. But *Philip* was well aware of his pride, and had vehement suspition of his falshood. Wherefore one was sent to tell him, that he should wait a while, or come another time, for the King was not now at leisure to be spoken with. It was a pretty thing, that such a check as this made all his attendants forsake him, as a man in disgrace; in such sort, that going thence to his lodging, he had none to follow him save his own Pages. After this, the King vouchsafed him now and then some slender graces: but in consultations, or other matters of privacy, he used him not at all. This taught *Megaleas* to look to himself, and run away betimes. Hereupon the King sent forth *Taurion* his Lieutenant of *Peloponnesus*, with all the *Targettiers*, as it were to do some piece of service, but indeed of purpose to apprehend *Leontius* in the absence of his followers. *Leontius* being taken, dispatched away a messenger presently to his *Targettiers*, to signifie what was befaln him: and they forthwith sent unto the King in his behalf. They made request, That if any other thing were objected against him, he might not be called forth to trial before their return: as for the debt of *Megaleas*, if that were all the matter, they said they were ready to make a purse for his discharge. This affection of the souldiers made *Philip* more hasty then else he would have been, to take away the Traitors life. Neither was it long, ere letters of *Megaleas* were intercepted, which he wrote unto the *Ætolians*; vilifying the King with opprobrious words, and bidding them not to hearken after peace, but to hold out a while, for that *Philip* was even ready to sink under the burden of his own poverty. By this the King understood more perfectly the falshood, not only of *Megaleas*, but of *Apelles*; whose cunning head had laboured all this while to keep him so poor. Wherefore he sent one to pursue *Megaleas* that was fled to *Thebes*. As for *Apelles*, he committed both him, his son, and another that was inward with him, to prison; wherein all of them shortly ended their lives. *Megaleas* also, neither daring to stand to trial, nor knowing whither to flie, was weary of his own life; and slew himself about the same time.

The *Ætolians*, as they had begun this war upon hope of accomplishing what they lifted in the Nonage of *Philip*: so finding that the vigour of this young Prince tempered with the cold advice of *Aratus*, wrought very effectually toward their overthrow; they grew very desirous to make an end of it. Never theless, being a turbulent Nation, and ready to lay hold upon all advantages, when they heard what was happened in the Court, the death of *Apelles*, *Leontius*, and *Megaleas*, together with some indignation thereupon conceived by some of the Kings Targettiers, they began to hope anew, that these troubles would be long lasting, and thereupon brake the day appointed for the meeting at *Rhium*. Of this was *Philip* nothing sorry. For being in good hope throughly to tame this unquiet Nation; he thought it much to concern his own honour, that all the blame of the beginning and continuing the War should rest upon themselves. Wherefore he willed his Confederates to lay aside all thought of peace, and to prepare for War against the year following; wherein he hoped to bring it to an end. Then gratified he his *Macedonian* Souldiers, by yielding to let them winter in their own Country. In his return homeward, he called into judgement one *Ptolomy*, a companion with *Apelles* and *Leontius* in their Treasons: who was therefore condemned by the *Macedonians*; and suffered death. These were the same *Macedonians*, that lately could not endure to hear of *Leontius* his imprisonment; yet now they think the man worthy to die that was, but his adherent. So vain is the confidence, on which Rebels use to build, in their favour with the Multitude.

During his abode in *Macedon*, *Philip* won some bordering Towns, from which the *Dardanians*, *Ætolians*, and other his ill neighbours, were accustomed to make rodes into his Kingdom: when he had thus provided for safety of his own; the *Ætolians*

might well know what they were to expect. But there came again Embaſſadors from the *Rhodians* and *Chians*, with others from *Ptolomy* King of *Ægypt*, and from the City of *Byzantium*, recontinuing the former ſolicitation about the peace. This faſhion had been taken up in matters of *Greece*, ever ſince the Kings that reigned after *Alexander*, had taken upon them to ſet the whole Country at liberty: No ſooner was any Province or City in danger to be oppreſſed and ſubdued by force of war, but preſently there were found Interceſſors, who pittying the effuſion of *Greekiſh* blood, would importune the ſtronger to relinquiſh his advantage. By doing ſuch friendly offices in time of need, the Princes and States abroad ſought to bind unto them thoſe people, that were howſoever weak in numbers, yet very good ſouldiers. But hereby it came to paſs, that the more froward ſort, eſpecially the *Ætolians*, whoſe whole Nation was addicted to falſhood and robbery, durſt enter boldly into quarrels with all their neighbours: being well aſſured that if they had the worſt, *The love of Greece* would be ſufficient for to redeem their quiet. They had, ſince the late Treaty of Peace, done what harm they could in *Peloponneſus*: but being beaten by the *Achæans*, and ſtanding in fear to be more ſoundly beaten at home, they deſired now, more earneſtly than before, to make an end of the War as ſoon as they might. *Philip* made ſuch anſwer unto the Embaſſadours, as he had done the former year; That he gave not occaſion to the beginning of this War, nor was at the preſent afraid to continue it, or unwilling to end it: But that the *Ætolians*, if they had a deſire to live in reſt, muſt firſt be dealt withal, to ſignifie plainly their determination, whereto himſelf would return ſuch anſwer as he ſhould think fit.

*Philip* had at this time no great liking unto the Peace, being a young Prince, and in hope to increaſe the honour which he daily got by the War. But it happened in the middeſt of this Negotiation, that he was advertiſed by letters out of *Macedon*, what a notable victory *Hannibal* had obtained againſt the *Romans* in the battel at *Thraſymene*. Theſe letters he communicated unto *Demetrius Pharius*: who greatly encouraged him to take part with *Hannibal*: and not to ſit ſtill, as an idle beholder of the *Italian* War. Hereby he grew more inclinable than before unto Peace with the *Ætolians*: which was concluded ſhortly in a meeting at *Naupactus*. There did *Agelaus* an *Ætolian* make a great Oration: telling, how happy it was for the *Greeks*, that they might at their own pleaſure diſpute about finiſhing War between themſelves, without being moleſted by the *Barbarians*. For when once either the *Romans* or *Carthaginians* had ſubdued one the other; it was not to be doubted, that they would forthwith look Eaſtward, and ſeek by all means to ſet footing in *Greece*. For this cauſe he ſaid it were good, that their Country ſhould be at peace within it ſelf: and that *Philip*, if he were deſirous of War, ſhould lay hold on the opportunity, now fitly ſerving to enlarge his Dominion, by winning ſomewhat in *Italy*.

Such advice could the *Ætolians* then give, when they ſtood in fear of danger threatning them at hand: but being ſoon after weary of reſt, as being accuſtomed to enrich themſelves by pillage, they were ſo far from obſerving and following their own good counſel, that they invited the *Romans* into *Greece*, whereby they brought themſelves and the whole Country (but themſelves before any other part of the Country) under ſervitude of ſtrangers. The Condition of this Peace was ſimple, That every one ſhould keep what they held at the preſent, without making reſtitution, or any amends for dammages paſt.

### §. III.

Philip, *at the perſwaſion of* Demetrius Pharius, *enters into League with* Hannibal *againſt the* Romans. *The tenour of the League between* Hannibal *and* Philip.

THis being agreed upon: the *Greeks* betook themſelves to quiet courſes of life; and *Philip* to prepare for the buſineſs of *Italy*, about which he conſulted with *Demetrius Pharius*. And thus paſſed the time away, till the great battel of *Cannæ*: after which he joyned in league with *Hannibal*, as hath been ſhewed before. *Demetrius Pharius* bore great malice unto the *Romans*; and knew no other way to be avenged upon them, or to recover his own loſt Kingdom, than by procuring the *Macedonian*, that was in a manner wholly guided by his counſel, to take part with their enemies. It had otherwiſe been far more expedient for *Philip*, to have ſupported the weaker of thoſe two great Cities againſt the more mighty. For by ſo doing, he ſhould perhaps have brought them to peace upon ſome equal terms; and thereby, as did *Hiero*, a far weaker



weaker Prince, have both ſecured his own Eſtate, and cauſed each of them to be deſirous of chief place in his friendſhip. The iſſue of the counſel which he followed, will appear ſoon after this. His firſt quarrel with the *Romans*; the trouble which they and the *Ætolians* did put him to in *Greece*; and the Peace which they made with him for a time, upon ſuch Conditions that might eaſily be broken, have been related in another place, as belonging unto the ſecond Punick War. Wherefore I will only here ſet down the tenour of the League between him and *Carthage*, which may ſeem not unworthy to be read, if only in regard of the form it ſelf then uſed: though it had been overlong to have been inſerted into a more buſie piece.

## The Oath and Covenants between HANNIBAL General of the *Carthaginians*, and XENOPHANES, Embaſſadour of PHILIP King of *Macedon*.

*THis is the League ratified by Oath, which* Hannibal *the General, and with him* Mago, Myrcal, *and* Barmocal, *as alſo the Senators of* Carthage *that are preſent, and all the* Carthaginians *that are in his Army, have made with* Xenophanes *the ſon of* Cleomachus Athenian, *whom King* Philip *the ſon of* Demetrius *hath ſent unto us, for himſelf and the* Macedonians, *and his Aſſociates: Before* Jupiter, *and* Juno, *and* Apollo, *before* * the God of the *Carthaginians*, Hercules *and* Tolaus: *before* Mars, Triton, Neptune: *before the* Gods *accompanying Arms, the* Sun, *the* Moon, *and the* Earth: *before* Rivers *and* Meddows, *and* Waters: *before all the* Gods *that have power over* Carthage: *before all the* Gods *that rule over* Macedon, *and the reſt of* Greece: *before all the* Gods *that are Preſidents of War, and preſent at the making of this League.* Hannibal *the General hath ſaid, and all the Senators that are with him, and all the* Carthaginians *in his Army*: Be *it agreed between You and Us, that this Oath ſtand for friendſhip and loving affection, that We become friends, familiar, and brethren, upon Covenant,* that *the ſafety of the Lords the* Carthaginians, *and of* Hannibal *the General, and thoſe that are with him, and of the Rulers of Provinces of the* Carthaginians, *uſing the ſame Laws, and of the* Uticans, *and as many Cities and Nations as obey the* Carthaginians, *and of the Souldiers and Aſſociates, and of all Towns and Nations with which we hold friendſhip in* Italy, Gaule, *and* Liguria, *and with whom we ſhall hold friendſhip, or make alliance hereafter in this Region; be preſerved by King* Philip *and the* Macedonians, *and ſuch of the* Greeks *as are their Aſſociates.* In like manner, *ſhall King* Philip *and the* Macedonians, *and other the* Greeks *his Aſſociates, be ſaved and preſerved by the* Carthaginian *Armies, and by the* Uticans, *and by all Cities and Nations that obey the* Carthaginians, *and by their Aſſociates and Souldiers, and by all Nations and Cities in* Italy, Gaule, *and* Liguria, *that are of our Alliance, or ſhall hereafter joyn with Us in* Italy. We *ſhall not take Counſel one againſt the other, nor deal fraudulently one with the other. With all readineſs and good will, without deceit or ſubtlety, We ſhall be enemies unto the enemies of the* Carthaginians, *excepting thoſe Kings, Towns, and Havens, with which We have already league and friendſhip. We alſo ſhall be enemies to the enemies of King* Philip, *excepting thoſe Kings, Cities, and Nations, with which we have already league and friendſhip. The War that We have with the* Romans, *have ye alſo with them, untill the Gods ſhall give Us a new and happy end. Ye ſhall aid Us with thoſe things whereof we have need, and ſhall do according to the Covenants between Us. But if the* Gods *ſhall not give unto You and Us their help in this War againſt the* Romans *and their Aſſociates; then if the* Romans *offer friendſhip,* We *ſhall make friendſhip in ſuch wiſe, that ye ſhall be partakers of the ſame friendſhip, With Condition,* That *they ſhall not have power to make War upon You: Neither ſhall the* Romans *be Lords over the* Corcyræans, *nor over thoſe of* Apollonia, *nor* Dyrrhachium, *nor over* Pharus, *nor* Dimalle, *nor the* Parthini, *nor* Atintania. *They ſhall alſo render unto* Demetrius Pharius *all that belong unto him, as many as are within the* Romans *Dominions. But if the* Romans (*after ſuch peace made*) *ſhall make War upon You or Us; We will ſuccour one another in that War, as either ſhall have need. The ſame ſhall be obſerved in War made by any other, excepting thoſe Kings, Cities, and States, with whom we hold already league and friendſhip.* To this league, *if We or Ye ſhall think fit to add or detract, ſuch addition or detraction ſhall be made by our common conſent.*

§. IV.

## §. IV.

*How* Philip *yielded to his natural vices, being therein soothed by* Demetrius Pharius. *His desire to tyrannize upon the free States his Associates: With the troubles into which he thereby fell, whilest he bore a part in the second Punick War. He poisoneth* Aratus: *and grows hateful to the* Achæans.

HItherto *Philip* had carried himself as a vertuous Prince. And though with more commendation of his wisdom, he might have offered his friendship to the *Romans*, that were like to be oppressed, than to the *Carthaginians*, who had the better hand: yet this his medling in the Punick War, proceeded from a royal greatness of mind, with a desire to secure and increase his own estate, adding therewithal reputation to his Country. But in this business he was guided (as hath been said) by *Demetrius Pharius*: who looking throughly into his nature, did accommodate himself to his desires: and thereby shortly governed him as he listed. For the vertues of *Philip* were not indeed such as they seemed. He was lustful, bloody, and tyrannical: desirous of power to do what he listed, and not otherwise listing to do what he ought, than so far forth, as by making a fair shew he might breed in men such good opinion of him, as should help to serve his turn in all that he took in hand. Before he should busie himself in *Italy*, he thought it requisite in good policy, to bring the *Greeks* that were his Associates, under a more absolute form of subjection Hereunto *Apelles* had advised him before: and he had liked reasonably well of the course. But *Apelles* was a boysterous Counsellor, and one that referring all to his own glory, thought himself deeply wronged, if he might not wholly have his own way, but were driven to await the Kings opportunity at other times. *Demetrius Pharius* could well be contented to observe the Kings humours: and guided, like a Coach-man, with the reins in his hand, those affections which himself did only seem to follow. Therefore he grew daily more and more in credit: so as, without any manner of contention, he supplanted *Aratus*; which the violence of *Apelles* could never do.

There arose about these times a very hot Faction among the *Messenians*, between the Nobility and Commons: their vehement thoughts being rather diverted (as happens often after a forreign War) unto domestical objects, than allayed and reduced unto a more quiet temper. In process of no long time, the contention among them grew so violent, that *Philip* was intreated to compound the differences. He was glad of this: resolving so to end the matter, that they should not henceforth strive any more about their Government: for that he would assume it wholly to himself. At his coming thither, he found *Aratus* busie among them to make all friends, after a better manner than agreed with his own secret purpose Wherefore he consulted not with this reverend old man: but talked in private with such of the *Messenians* as repaired unto him. He asked the Governours, what they meant to stand thus disputing: and whether they had not Laws to bridle the insolence of the unruly Rabble: Contrariwise, in talking with the heads of the popular Faction, he said it was strange, that they being so many, would suffer themselves to be opposed by a few; as if they had not hands to defend themselves from Tyrants. Thus whilest each of them presumed on the Kings assistance; they thought it best to go roundly to work, ere that he were gone, that should countenance their doings. The Governours therefore would have apprehended some seditious Orators, that were, they said, the stirrers up of the multitude unto sedition. Upon this occasion, the people took Arms: and running upon the Nobility and Magistrates, killed of them in a rage, almost two hundred. *Philip* thought, it seems, that it would be easie to worry the Sheep, when the Dogs their guardians were slain. But his falshood and double dealing was immediately found out. Neither did the younger *Aratus* forbear to tell him of it in publick, with very bitter and disgraceful words. The King was angry at this. But having already done more than was commendable, or excusable: and yet further intending to take other things in hand wherein he should need the help and countenance of his best friends; he was content to smother his displeasure, and make as fair weather as he could. He led old *Aratus* aside by the hand; and went up into the Castle of *Ithome*, that was over *Messene*. There he pretended to do sacrifice: and sacrifice he did. But it was his purpose to keep the place to his own use: for that it was of notable strength, and would serve to command the further parts of *Peloponnesus*, as the Citadel of *Corinth*, which he had already, commanded the entrance into that Country. Whilest he was therefore sacrificing, and had the entrails of the beast delivered into his hands, as was the manner; he shewed them to *Aratus*, and gently asked him, whether the tokens that he



he saw therein did signifie, That being now in possession of this place, he should quietly go out of it, or rather keep it to himself. He thought perhaps, that the old man would have soothed him a little; were it only for desire for to make amends for the angry words newly spoken by his son. But as *Aratus* stood doubtful what to answer, *Demetrius Pharius* gave this verdict: *If thou be a Soothsayer, thou misst go thy ways, and let slip this good advantage; if thou be a King, thou must not neglect the opportunity, but hold the Oxe by both his horns.* Thus he spake; resembling *Ithome* and *Acrocorinthus* unto the two horns of *Peloponnesus*. Yet would *Philip* needs hear the opinion of *Aratus*: who told him plainly, That it were well done to keep the place, if it might be kept without breach of his faith unto the *Messenians*: But if, by seizing upon *Ithome*, he must lose all the other Castles that he held, and especially the strongest Castle of all that was left unto him by *Antigonus*, which was his credit; then were it far better to depart with his souldiers, and keep men in duty, as he had done hitherto, by their own good wills, than by fortifying any strong places against them, to make them of his friends become his enemies.

To this good advice, *Philip* yielded at the present: but not without some dislike thenceforth growing between him and the *Arati*; whom he thought more froward than beseemed them, in contradicting his will. Neither was the old man desirous at all, to deal any longer in the Kings affairs, or be inward with him. For, as he plainly discovered his tyrannous purposes; so likewise he perceived, that in reporting to his house, he had been dishoneſt with his sons wife. He therefore staid at home: where at good leasure he might repent, that in despight of *Cleomenes*, his own Countrey-man, and a temperate Prince, he had brought the *Macedonians* into *Peloponnesus*.

*Philip* made a Voyage out of *Peloponnesus* into *Epirus*, wherein *Aratus* refused to bear him company. In this journey he found by experience what *Aratus* had lately told him, That unhoneſt counsels are not so profitable in deed, as in appearance. The *Epirots* were his followers and dependants; and so they purposed to continue. But he would needs have them so to remain, whether they purposed it or not. Wherefore to make them the more obnoxious unto his will, he seized upon their Town of *Oricum*, and laid siege to *Apollonia*; having no good colour of these doings: but thinking himself strong enough to do what he listed, and not seeing whence they should procure friends to help them. Thus instead of setling the Country, as his intended Voyage into *Italy* required: he kindled a fire in it which he could never quench, until it had laid hold on his own Palace. Whilest he was thus labouring to bind the hands that should have fought for him in *Italy*, *M. Valerius* the *Roman* came into those parts; who not only maintained the *Epirots* against him, but procured the *Ætolians* to break the Peace, which they had lately made with him.

Thus began that War; the occurrents whereof we have related before, in the place whereto it belonged. In managing whereof, though *Philip* did the offices of a good Captain: yet when leisure served, he made it apparent that he was a vicious King. He had not quite left his former desire, of oppressing the liberty of the *Messenians*; but made another journey into their Country, with hope to deceive them as before. They understood him better now than before; and therefore were not hasty to trust him too far. When he saw that his cunning would not serve, he went to work by force; and calling them his enemies, invaded them with open War. But in that War he could do little good; perhaps, because none of his Confederates were desirous to help him in such an enterprise. In this attempt upon *Messene*, he lost *Demetrius Pharius*; that was his Counsellor and Flatterer, not his Perverter; as appears by his growing daily more naught in following times. The worse that he sped, the more angry he waxed against those that seemed not to favour his injurious doings. Wherefore, by the ministery of *Taurion*, his Lieutenant, he poisoned old *Aratus*; and shortly after that, he poysoned also the younger *Aratus*: hoping that these things would never have been known, because they were done secretly, and the poysons themselves were more sure than manifest in operation. The *Sicyonians*, and all the people of *Achaia*, decreed unto *Aratus* more than humane honours, as Sacrifices, Hymns, and Processions, to be celebrated every year twice, with a Priest ordained unto him for that purpose; as was accustomed unto the *Heroes*, or men, whom they thought to be translated into the number of the gods. Hereunto they are said to have been encouraged by an Oracle of *Apollo*: which is like enough to have been true, since the help of the Devil is never failing to the increase of Idolatry.

The loving memory of *Aratus* their Patron, and singular Benefactor, could not but work

work in the *Achæans* a marvellous dislike of that wicked King which had made him thus away. He shall therefore hear of this hereafter, when they better dare to take counsel for themselves. At the present, the murder was not generally known or believed: neither were they in case to subsist, without his help that had committed it. The *Ætolians* were a most outragious people, great darers, and shameless robbers. With these the *Romans* made a league: whereof the Conditions were soon divulged, especially that main point, concerning the division of the purchase which they should make, namely, That the *Ætolians* should have the Country and Towns; but the *Romans* the spoil, and carry away the people to sell for slaves. The *Achæans*, who in times of greater quiet, could not endure to make strait alliance with the *Ætolians*, as knowing their uncivil disposition; were much the more averse from them, when they perceived how they had called in the *Barbarians* (for such did the *Greeks* account all other Nations excep their own) to make havock of the Country. The same consideration moved also the *Lacedæmonians* to stand off a while, before they would declare themselves for the *Ætolians*, whose friendship they had embraced in the late war. The industry therefore of *Philip*, and the great care which he seemed to take of the *Achæans* his Confederates, sufficed to retain them: especially, at such time, as their own necessity was thereto concurrent. More particularly he obliged unto himself the *Dymæans* by an inestimable benefit: recovering their Town, after it had been taken by the *Romans* and *Ætolians*; and redeeming their people wheresoever they might be found, that had been carried away captive, and sold abroad for slaves. Thus might he have blotted out the memory of offences past: if the malignity of his natural condition had not otherwhiles broken out, and given men to understand, that it was the Time, and not his Vertue, which caused him to make such a shew of goodness. Among other foul acts, whereof he was not ashamed, he took *Polycratia* the wife of the younger *Aratus*, and carried her into *Macedon*: little regarding how this might serve to confirm in the people their opinion, that he was guilty of the old mans death. But of such faults he shall be told, when the *Romans* make war upon him the second time: for, of that which happened in this their first Invasion, I hold it superfluous to make repetition.

### §. V.

*Of* Philopœmen *General of the* Achæans: *and* Machanidas, *Tyrant of* Lacedæmon. *A battel between them, wherein* Machanidas *is slain.*

IT happens often, that the decease of one eminent man discovers the vertue of another. In the place of *Aratus* there stood up *Philopœmen*: whose notable valour, and great skill in Arms, made the Nation of the *Achæans* redoubtable among all the *Greeks*, and careless of such protection, as in former times they had needed against the violence of their neighbours. This is that *Philopœmen*, who being then a young man, and having no command, did especial service to *Antigonus* at the battel of *Sellasia* against *Cleomenes*. Thence forward untill now he had spent the most part of his time in the Isle of *Crete*: the Inhabitants whereof being a valiant people, and seldom or never at peace between themselves; he bettered among them his knowledge, and practice in the Art of War. At his return home, he had charge of the Horse: wherein he carried himself so strictly, travelling with all the Cities of the Confederacy to have his followers well mounted, & armed at all pieces; as also he so diligently trained them up in all exercise of service, that he made the *Achæans* very strong in that part of their forces. Being afterward chosen Prætor or General of the Nation, he had no less care to reform their military discipline throughout, whereby his Country might be strong enough to defend it self, and not any longer (as in former times) need to depend upon the help of others. He perswaded the *Achæans* to cut off their vain expence of bravery, in apparel, houshold-stuff, and curious fare, and to bestow that cost upon their Arms: wherein by how much they were the more gallant, by so much were they like to prove the better Souldiers, and sutable in behaviour, unto the pride of their furniture. They had served hitherto with little light Bucklers, and slender Darts, to cast afar off; that were useful in skirmishing at some distance, or for surprises, or sudden and hasty Expeditions, whereto *Aratus* had been most accustomed. But when they came to handy-strokes, they were good for nothing, so long as they were wholly driven to rely upon the courage of their Mercenaries. *Philopœmen* altered this: causing them to arm themselves more weightily, to use a larger kind of shield, with good swords, and strong pikes, fit for service at hand. He taught them also to fight in close order,



order, and altered the form of their embattelling: not making the Files so deep as had been accustomed, but extending the Front, that he might use the service of many hands.

Eight moneths were spent of that year, in which he first was *Prætor* of the *Achæans*; when *Machanidas* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon* caused him to make trial, how his souldiers had profited by his discipline. This *Machanidas* was the successor unto *Lycurgus*, a man more violent than his fore-goer. He kept in pay a strong Army of Mercenaries: and he kept them not only to fight for *Sparta*, but to hold the City in obedience to himself perforce. Wherefore it behoved him not to take part with the *Achæans*, that were favorers of liberty; but to strengthen himself by friendship of the *Ætolians*: who, in making Alliances, took no further notice of vice or vertue, than as it had reference to their own profit. The people also of *Lacedæmon*, through their inveterate hatred unto the *Argives*, *Achæans*, and *Macedonians*, were in like sort (all or most of them) inclinable to the *Ætolian* Faction. Very unwisely. For in seeking to take revenge upon those, that had lately hindered them from getting the Lordship of *Peloponnesus*; they hindered themselves thereby from recovering the Mastery of their own City. This affection of the *Spartans*, together with the regard of his own security, and no small hope of good that would follow, suffered not *Machanidas* to be idle; but alwayes made him ready to fall upon his neighbours backs, and take of theirs what he could, whilest they were enforced, by greater necessity, to turn face another way. Thus had he often done, especially in the absence of *Philip*: whose sudden coming into those parts, or some other opposition made against him, had usually made him fail of his attempts. At the present he was stronger in men, than were the *Achæans*, and thought his own men better Souldiers than were theirs.

Whilest *Philip* therefore was busied elsewhere, he entered the Country of the *Mantinæans*: being not without hope to do as *Cleomenes* had done before him; yea and perhaps to get the * *Lordship of Peloponnesus*, as having stronger friends and weaker opposition, than *Cleomenes* had found. But *Philopœmen* was ready to entertain him at *Mantinæa*; where was fought between them a great battel. The Tyrant had brought into the field upon Carts a great many of engines, wherewith to beat upon the Squadrons of his enemies, and put them in disorder. To prevent this danger, *Philopœmen* sent forth

*Excerpt. e. l. 11. Plut. in Philopœmen.*

his light armature a good way before him; so as *Machanidas* was fain to do the like. To second these, from the one and the other side came in continual supply; till at length all the Mercenaries, both of the *Achæans* and of *Machanidas*, were drawn up to the fight: being so far advanced, each before their own Phalanx, that it could no otherwise be discerned which pressed forward, or which recoyled, than by rising of the dust. Thus were *Machanidas* his engines made unserviceable, by the interposition of his own men; in such manner as the Cannon is hindered from doing execution, in most of the battels fought in these our times. The mercenaries of the Tyrant prevailed at length: not only by their advantage of number, but (as *Polybius* well observeth) by surmounting their opposites in degree of courage; wherein usually the hired Souldiers of Tyrants exceed those that are waged by free States. For as it is true, that a free people are much more valiant than they which live oppressed by Tyranny, since the one, by doing their best in fight, have hope to acquire somewhat beneficial to themselves, whereas the other do fight (as it were) to assure their own servitude: so the Mercenaries of a Tyrant, being made partakers with him in the fruits of his prosperity, have as good cause to maintain his quarrel as their own; whereas they that serve under a free State, have no other motive to do manfully, than their bare stipend. Further than this, when a free State hath gotten the victory, many companies (if not all) of forreign Auxiliaries are presently cast; and therefore such good fellows will not take much pains to bring the war to an end. But the victory of a Tyrant, makes him stand in need of more such helpers; because that after it he doth wrong to more, as having more subjects; and therefore stands in fear of more, that should seek to take revenge upon him. The stipendiaries of the *Achæans*, being forced to give ground, were urged so violently in their retreat by those of *Machanidas*; that shortly they betook themselves to flight: and could not be staid by any perswasions of *Philopœmen*, but ran away quite beyond the battel of the *Achæans*. This disaster had been sufficient to take from *Philopœmen* the honour of the day; had he not wisely observed the demeanour of *Machanidas*, and found in him that error which might restore the victory. The Tyrant with his Mercenaries gave chace unto those that fled: leaving behind him in good order of battel his *Lacedæmonians*; whom he thought sufficient to deal with the *Achæans*, that were already disheartned

*Polyb ibid.*

by the flight of their companions. But when this his rashness had carried him out of fight, *Philopœmen* advanced towards the *Lacedæmonians* that stood before him. There lay between them athwart the Country a long ditch, without water at that time, and therefore passable (as it seemed) without much difficulty, especially for Foot. The *Lacedæmonians* adventured over it, as thinking themselves better souldiers than the *Achæans*; who had in a manner already lost the day. But hereby they greatly disordered their own Battel; and had no sooner the foremost of them recovered the further bank, than they were stoutly charged by the *Achæans*, who drave them headlong into the ditch again. Their first ranks being broken, all the rest began to shrink: so as *Philopœmen* getting over the ditch, easily chaced them out of the Field. *Philopœmen* knew better how to use his advantage, than *Machanidas* had done. He suffered not all his Army to disband and follow the chace, but retained with him a sufficient strength, for the custody of a bridge that was over the ditch, by which he knew that the Tyrant must come back. The Tyrant with his Mercenaries returning from the chace, looked very heavily when he saw what was fallen out. Yet, with a lusty troop of Horse about him, he made towards the bridge: hoping to find the *Achæans* in disorder; and to set upon their backs, as they were carelesly pursuing their Victory. But when he and his Company saw *Philopœmen* ready to make good the bridge against them; then began every one to look, which way he might shift for himself. The Tyrant, with no more than two in his company, rode along the ditch side; and searched for an easie passage over. He was easily discovered by his purple Cassock, and the costly trappings of his Horse. *Philopœmen* therefore leaving the charge of the bridge unto another, coasted him all the way as he rode; and falling upon him at length in the ditch it self, as he was getting over it, slew him there with his own hand. There died in this Battel on the *Lacedæmonians* side about four thousand: and more than four thousand were taken prisoners. Of the *Achæan* Mercenaries, probable it is, that the loss was not greatly cared for; since that War was at an end, and for their money they might hire more when they should have need.

## §. VI.

Philip *having peace with* Rome, *and with all* Greece, *prepares against* Asia. *Of the Kings of* Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, *and their Lineages. Of the* Galatians.

BY this victory the *Achæans* learned to think well of themselves. Neither needed they indeed after a while (such was their discipline and continual exercise) to account themselves in matter of war inferiour to any, that should have brought against them no great odds of number. As for the *Macedonian*, he made no great use of them. But when he had once concluded peace with the *Romans* and *Ætolians*, he studied how to enlarge his Dominion Eastward; since the fortune of his friends the *Carthaginians* declined in the West. He took in hand many matters together, or very neerly together, and some of them not honest: wherein if the *Achæans* would have done him service, they must by helping him to oppress others that never had wronged him, have taught him the way how to deal with themselves. He greatly hated *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, who had joyned with the *Romans* and *Ætolians* in war against him.

This *Attalus*, though a King, was scarce yet a Nobleman, otherwise than as he was ennobled by his own, and by his Fathers vertue. His fortune began in *Philetærus* his Uncle: who being guelded, by reason of a mishap which he had when he was a child, grew afterwards thereby to be the more esteemed: as great men in those times reposed much confidence in Eunuchs, whose affections could not be obliged unto wives or children. He was entertained into the family of *Docimus*, a Captain following *Antigonus the first*; and after the death of *Antigonus*, he accompanied his Master, that betook himself to *Lysimachus* King of *Thrace*. *Lysimachus* had a good opinion of him; and put him in trust with his money and accounts. But when at length he stood in fear of this King, that grew a bloody Tyrant; he fled into *Asia*, where he seized upon the Town of *Pergamus*, and nine thousand talents belonging to *Lysimachus*. The town and money, together with his own service, he offered unto *Seleucus the first*, that then was ready to give *Lysimachus* battel. His offer was kindly accepted, but never performed; for that *Seleucus*, having slain *Lysimachus*, died shortly after himself, before he made use of *Philetærus* or his money. So this Eunuch still retained *Pergamus*, with the Country round about it; and reigned therein twenty years as an absolute King. He





had two brethren: of which the elder is said to have been a poor Carter; and the younger perhaps not much better, before such time, they were raised by the fortune of this Eunuch. *Philetærus* left his Kingdom to the elder of these, or to the son of the elder, called *Eumenes*. This *Eumenes* enlarged his Kingdom; making his advantage of the dissention between *Seleucus Calinicus* and *Antiochus Hierax*, the sons of the *second Antiochus*. He fought a battel with *Hierax*, neer unto *Sardis*, and won the victory. At which time, to animate his men against the *Gaules* that served under his Enemy, he used a pretty device. He wrote the word * *Victory* upon the hand of his Soothsayer, in such colours as would easily come off: and when the hot liver of the beast that was sacrificed, had cleanly taken the print of the letters, He published this unto his Army as a Miracle, plainly foreshewing that the gods would be assistant in that Battel.

* Vid. Front. Strat. l. 1. c. 11.

After this Victory, he grew a dreadful enemy to *Seleucus*: who never durst attempt to recover from him, by War, the Territory that he had gotten and held. Finally, when he had reigned two and twenty years, he died by a surfeit of over-much drink, and left his Kingdom to *Attalus*, of whom we now entreat, that was son unto *Attalus* the youngest brother of *Philetærus*. *Attalus* was an undertaking Prince, very bountiful, and no less valiant. By his own proper forces he restored his friend *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian* into his Kingdom, whence he had been expelled. He was grievously molested by *Achæus*: who setting up himself as King against *Antiochus the Great*, reigned in the lesser *Asia*. He was besieged in his own City of *Pergamus*: but by the help of the *Tectosagæ*, a Nation of the *Gauls*, whom he called over out of *Thrace*, he recovered all that he had lost. When these *Gauls* had once gotten footing in *Asia*, they never wanted employment, but were either entertained by some of the Princes reigning in those quarters, or interposed themselves without invitation; and found themselves work in quarrels of their own making. They caused *Prusias* King of *Bithynia* to cease from his war against *Bizantium*. Whereunto when he had condescended; they nevertheless within a while after invaded his Kingdom. He obtained against them a great victory; and used it with great cruelty, sparing neither age nor sex. But the swarm of them increasing, they occupied the Region about *Hellepont*: where, in seating themselves, they were much beholding unto *Attalus*. Nevertheless, presuming afterwards upon their strength, they forced their Neighbour Princes and Cities to pay them tribute: in the sharp exaction whereof, they had no more respect unto *Attalus*, than to any that had worse deserved of them. By this they compelled him to fight against them: and he being victorious, compelled them to contain themselves within the bounds of that Province, which took name from them in time following, and was called *Galatia*. Yet continued they still to oppress the weakest of their neighbours, and to fill up the Armies of those that could best hire them.

The Kings reigning in those parts, were the posterity of such, as had saved themselves and their Provinces, in the slothful reign of the *Persians*; or in the busie times of *Alexander*, and his *Macedonian* followers. The *Cappadocians* were very ancient. For the first of their line had married with *Atossa*, sister unto the great King *Cyrus*. Their Country was taken from them by *Perdiccas*, as is shewed before. But the son of that King, whom *Perdiccas* crucified, espying his time while the *Macedonians* were at civil wars among themselves; recovered his Dominion, and passed it over to his off-spring. The Kings of *Pontus* had also their beginning from the *Persian* Empire; and are said to have issued from the royal house of *Achæmenes*. The *Paphlagonians* derived themselves from *Pylemenes*, a King that assisted *Priamus* at the war of *Troy*. These, applying themselves unto the times, were alwayes conformable unto the strongest. The Ancestors of *Prusias* had begun to reign in *Bythinia*, some few generations before that of *the great Alexander*. They lay somewhat out of the *Macedonians* way: by whom therefore, having other employment, they were the less molested. *Calantus*, one of *Alexanders* Captains, made an expedition into their Country, where he was vanquished. They had afterwards to do with a Lieutenant of *Antigonus*, that made them somewhat more humble. And thus they shuffled, as did the rest, untill the reign of *Prusias*, whom we have already sometimes mentioned.

## §. VII.

*The Town of* Chios *taken by* Philip, *at the instance of* Prusias, *King of* Bithynia, *and cruelly destroyed. By this and the like actions,* Philip *grows hateful to many of the* Greeks: *and is warred upon by* Attalus *King of* Pergamus, *and by the* Rhodians.

PRusias as a neighbour King, had many quarrels with *Attalus*; whose greatness

he ſuſpected. He therefore ſtrengthened himſelf, by taking to wife the daughter of *Philip*; as *Attalus*, on the contrary ſide, entred into a ſtrict Confederacy with the *Ætolians*, *Rhodians*, and other of the *Greeks*. But when *Philip* had ended his *Ætolian* war, and was deviſing with *Antiochus* about ſharing between them two the Kingdome of *Egypt*, wherein *Ptolomy Philopater*, a friend unto them both, was newly dead; and had left his ſon *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, a young child, his heir: the *Epirotian* entreated this his Father-in-law to come over into *Aſia*, there to win the Town of the *Ciani*, and beſtow it upon him. *Priuſias* had no right unto the Town, nor juſt matter of quarrel againſt it: but it was fitly ſeated for him, and therewithal rich. *Philip* came, as one that could not well deny to help his Son-in-law. But hereby he mightily offended no ſmall part of *Greece*. Embaſſadours came to him whilſt he lay at the ſiege, from the *Rhodians*, and divers other States: intreating him to forſake the enterpriſe. He gave dilatory, but otherwiſe gentle anſwers: making ſhew as if he would condeſcend to their requeſt, when he intended nothing leſs. At length he got the Town: where, even in preſence of the Embaſſadours, of whoſe ſolicitation he had ſeemed ſo regardful, he omitted no part of cruelty. Hereby he rendred himſelf odious to his neighbours, as a perfidious and cruel Prince. Eſpecially his fact was deteſted of the *Rhodians*, who had made vehement interceſſion for the poor *Ciani*: and were advertiſed by Embaſſadours of purpoſe ſent unto them from *Philip*, That howſoever it were in his power to win the Town as ſoon as he liſted, yet in regard of his love to the *Rhodians*, he was contented to give it over. And by this his clemency, the Embaſſadours ſaid, that he would manifeſt unto the world what ſlanderous tongues they were, which noiſed abroad ſuch reports, as went of his falſhood and oppreſſion. Whileſt the Embaſſadours were declaiming at *Rhodes* in the Theater to this effect; there came ſome that made a true relation of what had hapned: ſhewing that *Philip* had ſacked and deſtroyed the Town of *Cios*, and, after a cruel ſlaughter of the Inhabitants, had made ſlaves of all that eſcaped the ſword. If the *Rhodians* took this in great deſpight, no leſs were the *Ætolians* inflamed againſt him: ſince they had ſent a Captain to take charge of the Town; being warned before by his doings at *Lyſimachia* and *Chalcedon* (which he had withdrawn from their Confederacy to his own) what little truſt was to be repoſed in the faith of this King. But moſt of all others was *Attalus* moved with conſideration of the *Macedonians* violent ambition, and of his own eſtate. He had much to loſe; and was not without hope of getting much, if he could make a ſtrong party in *Greece*. He had already, as a new King, followed the example of *Alexanders* Captains, in purchaſing with much liberality the love of the *Athenians*; which were notable Trumpeters of other mens vertue, having loſt their own. On the friendſhip of the *Ætolians* he had cauſe to preſume; having bound them unto him by good offices, many & great, in their late war with *Philip*. The *Rhodians* that were mighty at Sea, and held very good intelligence with the *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, and many other Princes and States, he eaſily drew into a ſtreight alliance with him, by their hatred newly conceived againſt *Philip*.

Upon confidence in theſe his friends, but moſt of all, in the ready aſſiſtance of the *Rhodians*, *Attalus* prepared to deal with the *Macedonian* by open war. It had been unſeaſonable to procraſtinate, and expect whereto the doings of the enemy tended; ſince his deſire to faſten upon *Aſia* was manifeſt, and his falſhood no leſs manifeſt, than was ſuch his deſire. They met with him ſhortly not far from *Chios*, and fought with him a battel at Sea: wherein though *Attalus* was driven to run his own ſhip on ground, hardly eſcaping to land: though the Admiral of the *Rhodians* took his deaths wound: and though *Philip* after the battel took harbour under a Promontory, by which they had fought, ſo that he had the gathering of the wracks upon the ſhore: Yet foraſmuch as he had ſuffered far greater loſs of ſhips, and men, than had the enemy; and ſince he durſt not in few dayes after put forth to Sea, when *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* came to brave him in his Port; the honour of the victory was adjudged to his enemies. This notwithſtanding, *Philip* afterwards beſieged and won ſome towns in *Caria*: whether only in a bravery, and to deſpight his oppoſites: or whether upon any hopeful deſire of conqueſt, it is uncertain. The ſtratagem, by which he won *Prinaſſus*, is worthy of noting. He attempted it by a mine: and finding the earth ſo ſtony, that it reſiſted his work; he nevertheleſs commanded the Pioners to make a noiſe under ground; and ſecretly in the night time he raiſed great mounts about the entrance of the mine, to breed an opinion in the beſieged, that the work went marvellouſly forward. At length he ſent word to the Townſ-men, that by his undermining, two acres of their wall ſtood only upon wooden



wooden props, to which if he gave fire, and entred by a Breach, they ſhould expect no mercy. The *Prinaſſians* little thought, that he had fetch all his earth and rubbiſh by night a great way off, to raiſe up thoſe heaps which they ſaw; but rather that all had been extracted out of the mine. Wherefore they ſuffered themſelves to be out-faced, and gave up the Town as loſt, which the enemy had no hope to win by force. But *Philip* could not ſtay to ſettle himſelf in thoſe parts. *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* were too ſtrong for him at Sea, and compelled him to make haſte back into *Macedon*; whither they followed him all the way in manner of purſuit.

## §. VIII.

*The* Romans, *after their* Carthaginian *war, ſeek matter of quarrel againſt* Philip. *The* Athenians *upon ſlight cauſe, proclaim war againſt* Philip; *moved thereto by* Attalus; *whom they flatter.* Philip *wins divers Towns; and makes peremptory anſwer to the* Roman *Embaſſadour. The furious reſolution of the* Abydeni.

THeſe *Aſiatique* matters, which no way concerned the *Romans*, yet ſerved well to make a noiſe in *Rome*; and fill the peoples heads, if not with a deſire of making war in *Macedon*, at leaſt with a conceit that it were expedient ſo to do. The *Roman* Senate was perfectly informed of the ſtate of thoſe Eaſtern Countries; and knew, that there was none other Nation than the *Greeks*, which lay between them and the Lordſhip of *Aſia*. Theſe *Greeks* were factious, and ſeldome or never at peace. As for the *Macedonian*; though length of time, and continual dealings in *Greece* ever ſince the reigns of *Philip* and *Alexander*, had left no difference between him and the Naturals: yet moſt of them abhorred his Dominion, becauſe he was originally forſooth a *Barbarian*: many of them hated him upon ancient quarrels: and they that had been moſt beholding unto him, were nevertheleſs weary of him, by reaſon of his perſonal faults. All this gave hope, that the affairs of *Greece* would not long detain the *Roman* Armies: eſpecially ſince the diviſions of the Country were ſuch, that every petty Eſtate was apt to take Counſel apart for it ſelf; without much regarding the generality. But the poor Commonalty of *Rome* had no great affection to ſuch a chargeable enterpriſe. They were already quite exhauſted, by that grievous war with *Hannibal*: wherein they had given by Loan to the Republike, all their mony: neither had they as yet received, neither did they receive until fifteen or ſixteen years after this, their whole ſum back again. That part of payment alſo which was already made, being not in preſent mony, but much of it in Land: it behoved them to reſt a while; and beſtow the more diligence in tilling their grounds, by how much they were the leſs able to beſtow coſt. Wherefore they took no pleaſure to hear, that *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* had ſent Embaſſadours to ſolicite them againſt *Philip*, with report of his bold attempts in *Aſia*: or that *M. Aurelius*, their Agent in *Greece*, had ſent letters of the ſame tenour to the Senate, and magnified his intelligence, by ſetting out the preparations of this dangerous enemy; that ſolicited not only the Towns upon the Continent, but all the Iſlands in thoſe Seas, viſiting them in perſon, or ſending Embaſſadours, as one that meant ſhortly to hold war with the *Romans* upon their own ground. *Philip* had indeed no ſuch intent: neither was he much too ſtrong, either of himſelf, or by his alliance in *Greece*, to be reſiſted by *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*; eſpecially with the help of the *Ætolians* their good friends, and (in a manner) his own profeſſed enemies. But ſuch things muſt be publiſhed abroad, if only to predиſpoſe men unto the war, and give it the more honeſt colour.

*Philip* was a man of ill condition; and therefore could not thrive by intermedling in the affairs of thoſe that were more mighty than himſelf. He was too unſkilful, or otherwiſe too unapt, to retain his old friends: yet would he needs be ſeeking new enemies. And he found them ſuch; as he deſerved to have them: for he offered his help to their deſtruction, when they were in miſery, and had done him no harm. It behoved him therefore, either to have ſtrained his forces to the utmoſt in making war upon them; or in deſiſting from that injurious courſe, to have made amends for the wrongs paſt, by doing friendly offices of his own accord. But he, having broken that League of peace, which is of all other the moſt natural, binding all men to offer no violence willingly, unleſs they think themſelves juſtly provoked; was afterwards too fondly perſwaded, that he might well be ſecure of the *Romans*, becauſe of the *written* Covenants of peace between him and them. There is not any form of Oath, whereby ſuch Articles of peace can be held inviolable, ſave only * *by the water of Styx*, that is, by *Neceſſity*: which whileſt it binds one party, or both

* *Sir Francis Bacon de ſap. Veterum.*

both unto performance, making it apparent, that he ſhall be a loſer who ſtarts from the Conditions; it may ſo long (and ſo long only) be preſumed, that there ſhall be no breach. Till *Hannibal* was vanquiſhed, the *Romans* never hearkéned after *Philip*: for neceſſity made them let him alone. But when once they had a peace with *Carthage*; then was the River of *Styx* dryed up: and then could they ſwear as * *Mercury* did in the Comedy, by their own ſelves, even by their good ſwords, that they had good reaſon to make war upon him. The voyage of *Sopater* into *Aſrick*, and the preſent war againſt *Attalus*, were matter of quarrel as much as needed: or if this were not enough; the *Athenians* helped to furniſh them with more.

* *Plaut. Amphitr.*

The *Athenians*, being at this time Lords of no more then their own barren Territory, took ſtate upon them nevertheleſs, as in their ancient fortune. Two young Gentlemen of *Acarnania* entring into the Temple of *Ceres*, in the dayes of Initiation (wherein were delivered the myſteries of Religion, or rather of idolatrous ſuperſtition, vainly ſaid to be available unto felicity after this life) diſcovered themſelves by ſome impertinent queſtions, to be none of thoſe that were initiated. Hereupon they were brought before the officers: and though it was apparent, that they came into the place by meer error, not thinking to have therein done amiſs; yet, as it had been for ſome hainous crime, they were put to death. All their Country-men at home took this in ill part; and ſought to revenge it as a publick injury, by war upon the *Athenians*. Procuring therefore of *Philip* ſome *Macedonians* to help them, they entred into *Attica*: who waſted it with fire and ſword; and carried thence a great booty. This indignity ſtirred up the high-minded *Athenians*; and made them think upon doing more, than they had ability to perform. All which at the preſent they could do, was to ſend Embaſſadors to King *Attalus*; gratulating his happy ſucceſs againſt *Philip*, and intreating him to viſit their City. *Attalus* was hereto the more willing, becauſe he underſtood that the *Roman* Embaſſadors, hovering about *Greece* for matter of intelligence, had a purpoſe to be there at the ſame time. So he went thither, accompanied, beſides his own followers, with ſome of the *Rhodians*. Landing in the *Piræus*, he found the *Romans* there, with whom he had much friendly conference: they rejoycing that he continued enemy to *Philip*; and he being no leſs glad, when he heard of their purpoſe to renew the war. The *Athenians* came out of their City, all the Magiſtrates, Prieſts, and Citizens, with their wives and children, in as ſolemn a pomp as they could deviſe, to meet and honour the King. They entertained the *Romans* that were with him, in very loving manner: but towards *Attalus* himſelf they omitted no point of obſervance which their flattery could ſuggeſt. At his firſt coming into the City, they called the people to Aſſembly: where they deſired him to honour them with his preſence, and let them hear him ſpeak. But he excuſed himſelf; ſaying, That with an evil grace he ſhould recount unto them thoſe many benefits, by which he ſtudied to make them know what love he bore them. Wherefore it was thought fit, that he ſhould deliver in writing, what he would have to be propounded. He did ſo. The points of his Declaration were; firſt, what he had willingly done for their ſake: then, what had lately paſſed between him and *Philip*: laſtly, an exhortation unto them, to declare themſelves againſt the *Macedonian*, whileſt he with the *Rhodians* and the *Romans*, were willing and ready to take their part: which if they now refuſed to do, he proteſted, that afterwards it would be vain to crave his help. There needed little intreaty: for they were as willing to proclaim the war, as he to deſire it. As for other matters, they loaded him with immoderate honours: and obtained, That unto the ten Tribes, whereof the body of their Citizens conſiſted, ſhould be added another, and called after his name; as if he were in part one of their Founders. To the *Rhodians* they alſo decreed a Crown of Gold, in reward of their vertue; and made all the *Rhodians* free Citizens of *Athens*.

Thus began a great noiſe of war, wherein little was left unto the *Romans* for their part; *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* taking all upon them. But while theſe were vainly miſſpending the time, in ſeeking to draw the *Ætolians* to their party: that contrary to their old manner were glad to be at quiet: *Philip* won the Towns of *Maronea* and *Ænus*, with many other ſtrong places about the *Helleſpont*. Likewiſe paſſing over the *Helleſpont*, he laid ſiege unto *Abydus*; and won it, though he was fain to ſtay there long. The Town held out, rather upon an obſtinate reſolution, and hope of ſuccour from *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, than any great ability to defend it ſelf againſt ſo mighty an Enemy. But the *Rhodians* ſent thither only one *Quadrireme* Gallie: and *Attalus* no more than three hundred men, far too weak an aid to make good the place. The *Roman*



*Roman* Embaſſadors wondred much at this great negligence of them that had taken ſo much upon them.

Theſe Embaſſadors, *C. Claudius*, *M. Æmylius*, and *P. Sempronius*, were ſent unto *Ptololomy Epiphanes* King of *Egypt*, to acquaint him with their victory againſt *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginians*; as alſo to thank him for his favour unto them ſhewed in that war; and to deſire the continuance thereof, if they ſhould need it againſt *Philip*. This *Egyptian* King was now in the third or fourth year of his reign, which (as his father *Philopater* had done before him) he began a very young boy. The courteſie for which the *Romans* were to thank him, was that out of *Egypt* they had lately been ſupplied with corn, in a time of extream Dearth; when the miſeries of War had made all their own Provinces unable to relieve them. This meſſage could not but be welcome to the *Egyptian*: ſince it was well know, how *Philip* and *Antiochus* had combined themſelves againſt him, conſpiring to take away his Kingdom. And therefore it might in reaſon be hoped, that he, or his Councel for him, ſhould offer to ſupply the *Romans* with corn: ſince this their *Macedonian* Expedition concerned his Eſtate no leſs than theirs.

But as the errand was for the moſt part complemental; ſo had the Embaſſadors both leiſure and direction from the Senate, to look unto the things of *Greece* by the way. Wherefore they agreed, that *M. Æmylius* the youngeſt of them ſhould ſtep aſide, and viſit *Philip*, to trie if he could make him leave the ſiege of *Abydus*; which elſe he was like to carry. *Emylius*, coming to *Philip*, tells him that his doings are contrary to the League that he had made with the *Romans*. For *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, upon whom he made war, were Confederate with *Rome*: and the Town of *Abydus*, which he was now beſieging, had a kind of dependancy upon *Attalus*. Hereto *Philip* anſwered, That *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* had made war upon him: and that he did only requite them with the like. *Do you alſo* (ſaid *Æmylius*) *requite theſe poor Abydeni with ſuch terrible War, for any the like Invaſion by them firſt made upon you?* The King was angry to hear himſelf thus taken ſhort: and therefore he roundly made anſwer to *Æmylius*: *It is your youth, Sir, and your beauty, and* (*above all,*) *your being a* Roman, *that makes you thus preſumptuous. But I would wiſh ye to remember the League that ye have made with me, and to keep it: If ye do otherwiſe, I will make ye underſtand, that the Kingdome, and Name of* Macedon *is in matter of War, no leſs noble than the* Roman. So he diſmiſſed the Embaſſador; and had the Town immediately yielded to his diſcretion. The people had entertained a reſolution, to have died every one of them, and ſet their Town on fire; binding themſelves hereto by a fearful oath when *Philip* denied to accept them upon reaſonable conditions. But having in deſperate fight, once repelling him from the Breach, loſt the greateſt number of their Youth; it was thought meet by the Governours and Ancients of the City to change this reſolution; and take ſuch peace as could be gotten. So they carried out their Gold and Silver to *Philip*: about which, whileſt they were buſie, the memory of their oath wrought ſo effectually in the younger ſort; that, by exhortation of the Prieſts, they fell to murdering their women, children, and themſelves. Hereof the King had ſo little compaſſion, that he ſaid, he would grant the *Abydeni* three dayes leiſure to die: and to that end forbade his men to enter the town; or hazzard themſelves in interrupting the violence of thoſe mad fools.

## §. IX.

*The* Romans *decree war againſt* Philip, *and ſend one of their Conſuls into* Greece, *as it were in defence of the* Athenians *their Confederates. How poor the* Athenians *were at this time both in quality and eſtate.*

THis calamity of the *Abydeni*, was likened by the *Romans* unto that of the *Saguntines*: which indeed it neerly reſembled: though *Rome* was not alike intereſſed in the quarrel. But to help themſelves with pretence for the War, they had found out another *Saguntum*, even the City of *Athens*: which if the *Macedonian* ſhould win, then reſted there no more to do, than that he ſhould preſently embarque himſelf for *Italy*, whither he would come, not as *Hannibal* from *Saguntum*, in five moneths, but in the ſhort ſpace of five days ſayling. Thus *P. Sulpitius* the Conſul told the multitude, when he exhorted them to make War upon *Philip*; which at his firſt propounding they had denied. The example of *Pyrrhus* was by him alledged; to ſhew, what *Philip*, with the power of a greater Kingdom, might dare to undertake: as alſo the fortunate voyage of *Scipio* into *Aſrick*; to ſhew the difference of making War abroad, and admitting it into the bowels of their own Country. By ſuch arguments was the Commonalty of *Rome* induced to believe, that this War with the *Macedonian* was both juſt and neceſſary. So it was decreed: and

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immediately the same Consul hasted away towards *Macedon*, having that Province allotted unto him before, and all things in a readiness, by order from the Senate; who followed other Motives than the people must be acquainted with. Great thanks were given to the *Athenian* Embassadors, of their constancy (as was said) in not changing their faith at such times as they stood in danger of being besieged. And indeed great thanks were due to them, though not upon the same occasion. For the people of *Rome* had no cause to think it a benefit unto themselves; that any *Greek* Town, refusing to sue unto the *Macedonian* for peace, requested their help against him. But the Senate, intending to take in hand the Conquest of the Eastern parts, had reason to give thanks unt those, that ministred the occasion. Since therefore it was an untrue suggestion, That *Philip* was making ready for *Italy*: and since neither *Attalus*, the *Rhodians*, nor any other State in those quarters, desired the *Romans* to give them protection: these busie-headed *Athenians*, who falling out with the *Acarnanians*, and consequently with *Philip*, a matter of Maygame, (as was shewed before) sent Embassadors into all parts of the World, even to *Ptolomy* of *Egypt*, and to the *Romans*, as well as to *Attalus* and others their neighbonrs; must be accepted as cause of the War, and Authors of the benefit thence redounding.

Nevertheless as it loves to fall out where the meaning differs from the pretence; the doings of *P. Sulpitius* the Consul were such, as might have argued *Athens* to be the least part of his care. He failed not about *Peloponnesus*, but took the ready way to *Macedon*, and landing about the River of *Apsus*, betwee *Dyrrhachium* and *Apollonia*, there began the War. Soon upon his coming, the *Athenian* Embassadours were with him and craved his help: whereof they could make no benefit whilest he was far from them. They bemoaned themselves as men besieged, and intreated him to deliver them. For which cause he sent unto them *C. Claudius* with twenty Gallies, and a competent number of men: but the main of his forces he retained with him, for the prosecution of a greater design. The *Athenians* were not indeed besieged: only some Rovers from *Chalcis*, in the Isle of *Eubœa*, and some bands of adventurers out of *Corinth*, used to take their ships, and spoil their fields, because they had declared themselves against King *Philip*, that was Lord of these two Towns. The robberies done by these Pyrats and Free-booters, were by the more eloquent than war-like *Athenians*, *in this declining Age of their* Fortune and Vertue, called a Siege. From such detriment the arrival of *Claudius*, and shortly after of three *Rhodian* Gallies, easily preserved them. As for the *Athenians* themselves, they that had been wont, in ancient times to undertake the conquests of *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, and *Cicil*; to make war upon the great *Persian* King, and to hold so much of *Greece* in subjection, as made them redoubtable unto all the rest; had now no more than three ships, and those open-ones, not much better than long boats. Yet thought they not themselves a whit the worse men, but stood as highly upon the glory and vertue of their Ancestors, as if it had been still their own.

## §. X.

*The Town of* Chalcis *in* Eubœa *taken and sackt by the* Romans *& their Associates, that lay in Garrison at* Athens. Philip *attempteth to take* Athens *by surprise: wasteth the Country about, and makes a journy into* Peloponnesus. *Of* Nabis *the Tyrant of* Lacedæmon, *and his wife.* Philip *offers to make war against* Nabis *for the* Achæans. *He returneth home through* Attica, *which he spoileth again: and provides against the Enemies. Some exploits of the* Romans. *Divers Princes joyn with them. Great labouring to draw the Ætolians into the war.*

*Philip* returning home from *Abydus*, heard news of the *Roman* Consul his being about *Apollonia*. But ere he stirred forth to give him entertainment, or perhaps before he had well resolved, whether it were best a while to sit still, and try what might be done for obtaining of peace, or whether to make opposition, and resist these Invaders with all his forces: he received advertisement from *Chalcis* of a grievous mishap there befallen him, by procurement of the *Athenians*. For *C. Claudius* with his *Romans*, finding no such work at *Athens* as they had expected, or was answerable to the fame that went abroad, purposed to do somewhat that might quicken the war, and make his own imployment better. He grew soon weary of sitting as a Scar-crow, to save the *Athenians* grounds from spoil; and therefore gladly took in hand a business of more importance. The Town of *Chalcis* was very negligently guarded by the *Macedonian* Souldiers therein, for that there was no Enemy at hand: and more negligently by the Townsmen, who reposed themselves upon their Garrison. Hereof *Claudian* having advertisement, sailed thither by night, for fear of being descried: and arriving there a little before break of day, took it by Scalado. He used no mercy, but slew all that came in his way: and wanting men to keep it, (unless he should have left the heartless *Athenians* to their own defence) he set it on fire; consuming the Kings Magazines of Corn, and all provisions for War, which were plenteously filled. Neither were he and his Associates contented with the great abundance of spoil which they carried aboard their ships, and with inlarging all those, whom *Philip*, as in a place of most security, kept there imprisoned: but to shew their despight and hatred unto the King, they overthrew and brake in pieces the Statues to him there erected. This done, they hasted away towards *Athens*: where the news of their exploit was like to be joyfully welcomed. The King lay then at *Demetrias*, about some 20. miles thence; whither then these tidings, or part of them, were brought him, though he saw that it was too late to remedy the matter; yet he made all haste to take revenge. He thought to have taken the *Athenians*, with their trusty friends, busie at work in ransacking the Town, and loading themselves with spoil: but they were gone before his coming. Five thousand light-armed foot he had with him, and three hundred horse: whereof leaving at *Chalcis* only a few to bury the dead, he marched from thence away speedily toward *Athens*: thinking it not inpossible to take his enemies, in the joy of their Victory, as full of negligence, as they had taken *Chalcis*. Neither had he much failed of his expectation, if a Foot-post that stood Scout for the City upon the borders, had not descried him afar off, and swiftly carried word of his approach to *Athens*. It was mid-night when this Post came thither: who found all the Town asleep, as fearless of any danger. But the Magistrates, hearing this report, caused a trumpet out of their Citadel to sound the Alarm, and with all speed made ready for defence. Within a few hours *Philip* was there; who seeing the many lights, and other signs of busie preparation usual in such a case, understood that they had news of his coming; and therefore willed his men to repose themselves till it were day. It is like, that the paucity of his followers did help well to animate the Citizens, which beheld them from the walls. Wherefore though *Claudius* were not yet returned (who was to fetch a compass about by sea, and had no cause of haste) yet having in the Town some mercenary Souldiers, which they kept of their own, besides the great multitude of Citizens; they adventured to issue forth at a gate, whereto they saw *Philip* make approach. The King was glad of this; reckoning all those his own, that were thus hardy. He therefore only willed his men to follow his example; and presently gave charge upon them. In that fight he gave singular proof of his valour: and beating down many of the Enemies with his own hands, drave them with great slaughter back into the City. The heat of his courage transported him further than discretion would have allowed, even to the very gate. But he retired without harm taking; for that they which were upon the Towers over the gate, could not use their casting weapons against him, without much indangering their own people that were thronging before him into the City. There was a temple of *Hercules*, a place of exercise, with a Grove, and many goodly Monuments besides, neer adjoyning unto *Athens*: of which he spared none; but suffered the rage of his anger to extend, even unto the sepulchres of the dead. The next day came the *Romans*, and some Companies of *Attalus* his men from *Ægina*; too late in regard of what was already past: but in good time to prevent him of satisfying his anger to the full, which as yet he had not done. So he departed from thence to *Corinth*, and hearing that the *Achæans* held a Parliament at *Argos*, he came thither to them unexpected.

The *Achæans* were devising upon war: which they intended to make against *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*: who being started up in the room of *Machanidas*, did greater mischief than any that went before him. This Tyrant relied wholly upon his mercenaries: and of his subjects had no regard. He was a cruel oppressor, a greedy extortioner upon those that lived under him; and one that in his natural condition smelt rankly of the Hangman. In these qualities, his wife *Apega* was very fitly matched with him, since his dexterity was no greater in spoiling the men, then hers in fleecing their wives; whom she would never suffer to be at quiet, till they had presented her with all their *jewels* and *apparel*. Her husband was so delighted with her property, that he caused an Image to be made, lively representing her; and apparelled it with such costly garments as she used to wear. But it was indeed an Engine, serving to torment men. Hereof he made use, when he meant to try the vertue of his Rhetorick. For calling unto him some rich man, of whose money he was desirous; he would bring him into the

*Liv. l. 32.*

*Excerp. è Polyb. l. 13.*

room where this counterfeit *Apega* ſtood, and there uſe all his art of perſwaſion, to get what he deſired, as it were by good will. If he could not ſo ſpeed, but was anſwered with excuſes; then took he the refractory denyer by the hand, and told him, that perhaps his Wife *Apega* (who ſate by in a Chair) could perſwade more effectually. So he led him to the Image, that roſe up and opened the arms, as it were for imbracement. Thoſe arms were full of ſharp iron nails, the like whereof was alſo ſticking in the breaſts, though hidden with her clothes: and herewith the griped the poor wretch, to the pleaſure of the Tyrant, that laughed at his cruel death. Such, and worſe (for it were long to tell all here that is ſpoken of him) was *Nabis* in his government. In his dealings abroad he combined with the *Ætolians*, as *Machanidas* and *Lycurgus* had done before him. By theſe he grew into acquaintance with the *Romans*; and was comprehended in the League which they made with *Philip*, at the end of their former War. Of *Philopœmens* vertue he ſtood in fear: and therefore durſt not provoke the *Achæans*, as long as they had ſuch an able Commander. But when *Cycliades*, a far worſe Captain, was their Prætor, and all, or the greateſt part of their Mercenaries were diſcharged; *Philopœmen* being alſo gone into *Crete*, to follow his beloved occupation of War; then did *Nabis* fall upon their Territory; and waſting all the fields, made them diſtruſt their own ſafety in the Towns.

Againſt this Tyrant the *Achæans* were preparing for War, when *Philip* came among them, and had ſet down what proportion of Souldiers every City of their Corporation ſhould furniſh out. But *Philip* willed them not to trouble themſelvs with the care of this buſineſs; foraſmuch as he alone would eaſe them of this War, and take the burden upon himſelf. With exceeding joy and thanks they accepted of this kind offer. But then he told them, That whileſt he made War upon *Lacedæmon*, he ought not to leave his own Towns unguarded. In which reſpect he thought they would be pleaſed to ſend a few men to *Corinth*, and ſome Companies into the Ile of *Euboea*; that ſo he might ſecurely purſue the War againſt *Nabis*. Immediately they found out his device; which was none other, than to engage their Nation in his War againſt the *Romans*. Wherefore their Prætor *Cycliades* made him anſwer, That their Laws forbade them to conclude any other matters in their Parliament, than thoſe for which it was aſſembled. So paſſing the Decree, upon which they had agreed before, for preparing War againſt *Nabis*, he brake up the Aſſembly, with every mans good liking; whereas in former times, he had been thought no better than one of the Kings Paraſites.

It grieved the King to have thus failed in his purpoſe with the *Achæans*. Nevertheleſs he gathered up among them a few Voluntaries; and ſo returned by *Corinth* back into *Attica*. There he met with *Philocles* one of his Captains, that with two thouſand men had been doing what harm he might unto the Country. With this addition of ſtrength, he attempted the Caſtle of *Eleuſine*, the haven of *Pyreus*, and even the City of *Athens*. But the *Romans* made ſuch haſte after him by Sea, thruſting themſelves into every of theſe places; that he could no more than wreak his anger upon thoſe goodly Temples, with which the Land of *Attica* was at that time ſingularly beautified. So he deſtroyed all the works of their notable Artificers, wrought in excellent Marble; which they had in plenty of their own: or having long ago been Maſters of the Sea, had brought from other places, where beſt choice was found. Neither did he only pull all down: but cauſed his men to break the very ſtones, that they might be unſerviceable to their reparation. His loſs at *Chalcis* being thus revenged upon *Athens*, he went home into *Macedon*: and there made proviſion, both againſt the *Roman* Conſul that lay aboout *Apollonia*; and againſt the *Dardanians*, with other his bad neighbours, which were likely to infeſt him. Among his other cares, he forgot not the *Ætolians*: to whoſe Parliament, ſhortly to be held at *Naupactus*, he ſent an Embaſſage, requeſting them to continue in his friendſhip. Thus was *Philip* occupied.

*Sulpitius* the *Roman* Conſul encamped upon the River of *Apſus*. Thence he ſent forth *Apuſtius* his Lieutenant, with part of the Army, to waſte the borders of *Macedon*. *Apuſtius* took ſundry Caſtles and Towns; uſing ſuch extremity of ſword and fire at *Antipatria*, the firſt good Town which he won by force, that none durſt afterwards make reſiſtance, unleſs they knew themſelvs able to hold out. Returning towards the Conſul with his ſpoil, he was charged in the Reer, upon the paſſage of a brook, by *Athenagoras* a *Macedonian* Captain: but the *Romans* had the better, and killing many of theſe enemies, took priſoners many more, to the increaſe of their booty, with which they arrived in ſafety at their Camp. The ſucceſs of this Expedition, though it



it were not great, yet ſerved to draw into the *Roman* friendſhip thoſe that had formerly no good inclination to the *Macedonian*. Theſe were *Pleuratus*, the ſon of *Scerdilaidas* the *Illyrian*: *Aminander* King of the *Athamanians*, and *Bato* the ſon of *Longarus*, Prince of the *Dardanians*. They offered their aſſiſtance unto the Conſul, who thanked them: and ſaid, That he would ſhortly make uſe of *Pleuratus* and *Bato*, when he entred into *Macedon*: but that the friendſhip of *Aminander*, whoſe Country lay between the *Ætolians* and *Theſſaly*, might be perhaps available with the *Ætolians*, to ſtir them up againſt *Philip*.

So the preſent care was wholly ſet upon the *Ætolian* Parliament at hand. Thither came Embaſſadors from the *Macedonian*, *Romans*, and *Athenians*. Of which, the *Macedonian* ſpake firſt, and ſaid: That as there was nothing fallen out, which ſhould occaſion the breach of peace between his Maſter and the *Ætolians*; ſo was it to be hoped, that they would not ſuffer themſelves, without good cauſe to be carried away after other mens fancies. He prayed them to conſider, how the *Romans* heretofore, had made ſhew, as if their war in *Greece* tended only to the defence of the *Ætolians*; and yet notwithſtanding had been angry, that the *Ætolians*, by making peace with *Philip*, had no longer need of ſuch their Patronage. What might it be that made them ſo buſie, in obtruding their protection upon thoſe that needed it not? Surely it was even the general hatred, which theſe *Barbarians* bore unto the *Greeks*. For even after the ſame ſort had they lent their help to the *Mamertines*: and afterwards delivered *Syracuſe*, when it was oppreſſed by *Carthaginian* Tyrants; but now both *Syracuſe* and *Meſſana*, were ſubject unto the Rods and Axes of the *Romans*. To the ſame effect he alledged many examples, adding, That in like ſort it would happen to the *Ætolians*: who if they drew ſuch maſters into *Greece*, muſt not look hereafter to hold, as now, free Parliaments of their own, wherein to conſult about War and Peace: the *Romans* would eaſe them of this care, and ſend them ſuch a Moderator, as went every year from *Rome* to *Syracuſe*. Wherefore he concluded, that it was beſt for them, whilſt as yet they might, and whilſt one of them as yet could help the other, to continue in their League with *Philip*: with whom if at any time, upon light occaſion, they hapned to fall out, they might as lightly be reconciled: and with whom they had three years ago made the peace which ſtill continued; although that the very ſame *Romans* were then againſt it, who ſought to break it now. It would have troubled the *Romans*, to frame a good anſwer to theſe objections. For the *Macedonian* had ſpoken the very truth, in ſhewing whereunto this their Patronage, which they offered with ſuch importunity, did tend. Wherefore the *Athenians* were ſet on by them to ſpeak next: who had ſtore of eloquence, and matter of recrimination enough, to make *Philip* odious. Theſe affirmed, that it was a great impudence in the *Macedonian* Embaſſador, to call the *Romans* by the name of *Barbarians*; knowing in what barbarous manner his own King had, in few dayes paſt, made War upon the gods themſelves, by deſtroying all their Temples in *Attica*. Herewithal they made a pittiful reherſal of their own calamities: and ſaid, that if *Philip* might have his will, *Ætolia*, and all the reſt of *Greece*, ſhould feel the ſame that *Attica* had felt; yea, that *Athens* it ſelf, together with *Minerva*, *Jupiter*, *Ceres*, and other of the gods, were like to have felt, if the Walls and the *Roman* arms had not defended them.

Then ſpake the *Romans*: who excuſing, as well as they could, their own oppreſſion of all thoſe, in whoſe defence they had heretofore taken Arms, went roundly to the point in hand. They ſaid, that they had of late made War in the *Ætolians* behalf, and that the *Ætolians* had without their conſent made peace: whereof ſince the *Ætolians* muſt excuſe themſelves, by alledging that the *Romans*, being buſied with *Carthage*, wanted leiſure to give them aid convenient; ſo this excuſe being now taken away, and the *Romans* wholly bent againſt their common Enemy, it concerned the *Ætolians* to take part with them in their war & victory, unleſs they had rather periſhed with *Philip*.

It might eaſily be perceived, that they which were ſo vehement, in offering their help ere it was deſired, were themſelves carried unto the War by more earneſt motives, than a ſimple deſire to help thoſe friends, with whom they had no great acquaintance. This may have been the cauſe, why *Dorymachus* the *Ætolian* Prætor ſhifted them off a while with a dilatory anſwer: though he told his Country-men, That by reſerving themſelves, till the matter were inclined one way or other, they might afterwards take part with thoſe that had the better fortune. His anſwer was, firſt, in general terms; That over-much haſte was an enemy to good counſel: for which cauſe they muſt further deliberate, ere they concluded. But coming nearer to the matter in hand, he paſſed a Decree, *That the*

Prætor *might at any time call an Assembly of the States, and therein conclude upon this business; any Law to the contrary notwithstanding*: whereas otherwise it was unlawful to treat of such affairs, excepting two of their great Parliaments, that were held at set times.

## §. XI.

*The meeting of* Philip *with the* Romans, *and skirmishing with them on his borders. The* Ætolians *invade his Dominions, and are beaten home. Some doings of* Attalus *and the* Roman *Fleet.*

PHilip was glad to hear, that the *Romans* had sped no better in their solicitation of the *Ætolians*. He thought them hereby disappointed in the very beginning, of one great help; and meant himself to disappoint them of another. His son *Perseus*, a very boy, was sent to keep the Streights of *Pelagonia* against the *Dardanians*; having with him some of the Kings Councel, to govern both him and his Army. It was judged, as may seem, that the presence of the Kings son, how young soever, would both encourage his Followers, and terrifie the Enemies, by making them at least believe, that he was not weakly attended. And this may have been the reason, why the same *Perseus*, a few years before this, was in like manner left upon the borders of *Ætolia* by his father; whom earnest business called thence another way. No danger of enemies being left on either hand; it was thought that the *Macedonian* Fleet under *Heraclides*, would serve to keep *Attalus*, with the *Rhodians* and *Romans*, from doing harm by Sea, when the Kings back was turned: who took his journey Westward against *Sulpicius* the Consul.

The Armies met in the Country of the *Dessaretii*, a people in the utmost borders of *Macedon* towards *Illyria*, about the Mountains of *Candavia*; that running along from *Hæmus* in the North, until they joyn in the South with *Pindus*, inclose the Western parts of *Macedon*. Two or three dayes they lay in sight the one of the other, without making offer of battel. The Consul was the first that issued forth of his Camp into the open field. But *Philip* was not confident in the strength which he had then about him; and therefore thought it better to send forth some of his light-armed Mercenaries, and some part of horse, to entertain them with skirmish. These were easily vanquished by the *Romans*, and driven back into their Camp. Now although it was so, that the King was unwilling to hazzard all at first upon a Cast, and therefore sent for *Perseus* with his Companies, to increase his own forces: yet being no less unwilling to lose too much in reputation; he made shew a day after, as if he would have fought. He had found the advantage of a place fit for ambush, wherein he bestowed as many as he thought meet of his Targettiers: and so gave charge to *Athenagoras*, one of his Captains, to provoke out the *Romans* to fight; instructing both him and his Targettiers, how to behave themselves respectively, as opportunity should fall out. The *Romans* had no mistrust of any ambush, having fought upon the same ground a day before. Wherefore perhaps they might have sustained some notable detriment, if the Kings directions had been well followed. For when *Athenagoras* began to fall back, they charged him so hotly, that they drave him to an hasty flight, and pursued him as hard as they were able. But the Captains of the Targettiers, not staying to let them run into the danger, discovered themselves before it was time; and thereby made frustrate the work to which they were appointed. The Consul hereby gathered, that the King had some desire to try the fortune of a battel: which he therefore presented the second time: leading forth his Army, and setting it in order, with Elephants in the front: a kind of help which the *Romans* had never used before, but had taken these of late from the *Carthaginians*. Such are the alterations wrought by Time. It was scarce above fourscore years ere this, that *Pyrrhus* carried Elephants out of *Greece* into *Italy*, to affright the *Romans*, who had never seen any of those beasts before. But now the same *Romans* (whilst possibly some were yet alive, which had known that Expedition of *Pyrrhus*) come into *Macedon*, bringing Elephants with them: whereof the *Macedonians* and *Greeks* have none. *Philip* had patience to let the Consul brave him at his Trenches: wherein he did wisely; for the *Roman* had greater need to fight, than he. *Sulpicius* was unwilling to lose time: neither could he without great danger, lying so near the Enemy, that was strong in horse, send his men to fetch in corn out of the fields. Wherefore he removed 8. miles off: presuming that *Philip* would not adventure to meet him on even ground: and so the more boldly he suffered his Foragers to over-run the Country. The King was nothing sorry of this: but permitted the *Romans* to take their good pleasure: even till their presumption, and his own



own supposed fear, should make them careless. When this was come to pass, he took all his horse, and light-armed foot, with which he occupied a place in the mid-way, between the Forragers and their Camp. There he stayed in covert with part of his forces, to keep the passages that none should escape. The rest he sent abroad the Country, to fall upon the straglers: willing then to put all to the sword, and let none run home with news to the Camp. The slaughter was great: and those which escaped the hands of them that were sent abroad to scowre the fields, lighted all or most of them upon the King and his companies in their flight: so as they were cut off by the way. Long it was ere the Camp had news of this. But in the end there escaped some: who, though they could not make any perfect relation how the matter went: yet by telling what had hapned to themselves, raised a great multitude. *Sulpicius* hereupon sends forth all his horse, and bids them help their fellows where they saw it needfull: He himself with the Legions followed. The companies of horse divided themselves, accordingly as they met with advertisements upon the way, into many parts: not knowing where was most of the danger. Such of them as lighted upon *Philips* Troops, that were canvassing the field, took their task where they found it: But the main bulk of them fell upon the King himself. They had the disadvantage; as coming fewer, and unprepared, to one that was ready for them. So they were beaten away; as their fellows also might have been, if the King had well bethought himself, and given over in time. But while, not contented with such an harvest, he was too greedy about a poor gleaning; the *Roman* Legions appeared in sight: which emboldened their horse to make a re-charge. Then the danger apparent, enforced the *Macedonians* to look to their own safety. They ran which way they could: and (as men that lie in wait for others, are seldom heedfull of that which may befall themselves) to escape the Enemy, they declined the fairest way; so as they were plunged in Marishes and Bogs, wherein many of them were lost. The Kings horse was slain under him: and there had been cast away, if a loving subject of his he had not alighted, mounted him upon his own horse, and delivered him out of perill, at the expence of his own life, that running on foot was overtaken and killed.

In the common opinion *Philip* was charged with improvident rashness; and the Consul with as much dulness, for his dayes service. A little longer stay would have delivered the King from these enemies without any blow: since when all the fields about them were wasted, they must needs have retired back to the Sea. On the other side, it was not thought unlikely, That if the *Romans* following the King, had set upon his Camp, at such time as he fled thither, half amazed with either being slain or taken, they might have won it. But that noble Historian, *Livie*, (as is commonly his manner) hath judiciously observed, That neither the one, nor the other, were much too blame in this days work. For the main body of the Kings Army lay safe in his Camp; and could not be so astonished with the loss of two or three hundred horse, that it should therefore have abandoned the defence of the Trenches. And as for the King himself, he was advertised, that *Pleuratus* the *Illyrian*, and the *Dardanians*, were fallen upon his Country; when they found the passage thereinto open, after *Perseus* was called away from custody of the Streights. This was it which made him adventure to do somewhat betimes; that he might set the *Romans* going the sooner, and afterwards look unto his troublesome neighbours. In confideration of this, *Philip* was desirous to clear himself of the *Romans*, as soon as he might, And to that purpose he sent unto the Consul; requesting a day of truce for burial of the dead. But instead of so doing, he marched away by night, and left fires in his Camp to beguile the enemy, as if he had not stirred out of the place. *Sulpicius*, when he heard of the Kings departure, was not slow to follow him. He overtook the *Macedonians* in a place of strength, which they had fenced (for it was a woody ground) by cutting down trees, and laying them athwart the way where it was most open. In making of such places good, the *Macedonian Phalanx* was of little use; being a square battel of pikes, not fit for every ground. The Archers of *Crete* were judged, and were indeed, more serviceable in that case. But they were few; and their arrows were of small force against the *Roman* shields. The *Macedonians* therefore helped them by flinging of stones. But to no purpose. For the *Romans* got within them; and forced them to quit the place. This victory (such as it was) laid open unto the Consul some poor Towns thereabout; which partly were taken by strong hand, partly yielded for fear. But the spoil of these, and of the fields adjoyning, was not sufficient to maintain his Army; and therefore he returned back to *Apollonia*.

The

The *Dardanians*, hearing that *Philip* was come back, withdrew themselves apace out of the Country. The King sent *Athenagoras* to wait upon them home; whileſt he himſelf went againſt the *Ætolians*. For *Damocritus* the Prætor of the *Ætolians*, who had reſerved himſelf and his Nation unto the event of things, hearing report, that *Philip* was beaten once and again: as alſo that *Pleuratus* and the *Dardanians* were fallen upon *Macedon*; grew no leſs buſie on the ſudden, than before he had been wiſe. He perſwaded his Nation to take their time: and ſo, not ſtaying to proclaim War, joyned his forces with *Aminander* the *Athamanian*; and made invaſion upon *Theſſaly*. They took, and cruelly ſacked a few Towns: whereby they grew confident; as if, without any danger, they might do what they liſted. But *Philip* came upon them ere they looked for him: and killing them as they lay diſperſed, was like to have taken their Camp, if *Aminander* more warie than the *Ætolians*, had not helped at need, and made the Retrait through his own mountainous Country.

About the ſame time the *Roman* Fleet, aſſiſted by *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, had taken ſome ſmall Illands in the *Ægean* Sea. They took likewiſe the Town of *Oreum* in the Iſle of *Eubœa*: and ſome other places thereabout. The Towns were given unto *Attalus*, after the ſame Compact that had formerly been made with the *Ætolians*: the goods therein found were given unto the *Romans*: and the people, for ſlaves. Other attempts on that ſide were hindred: either by foul weather at Sea: or by want of daring, and of means.

## §. XII.

Villius *the Roman Conſul waſtes a yeer to no effect. War of the Gaules in Italy. An Embaſſadour of the Romans to Carthage*, Maſaniſſa, *and* Vermina. *The Macedonian prepares for defence of his Kingdom: and* T. Quintius Flaminius *is ſent againſt him.*

THus the time ran away: and *P. Villius* a new Conſul, took charge of the War in *Macedon*. He was troubled with a mutiny of his oldeſt Souldiers: whereof two thouſand, having ſerved long in *Sicil* and *Africk*, thought themſelves much wronged, in that they could not be ſuffered to look unto their own eſtates at home. They were (belike) of the Legions that had ſerved at *Cannæ*: as may ſeem by their complaint, of having been long abſent from *Italy*: whither fain they would have returned, when by their Colonels they were ſhipped for *Macedon*. How *Villius* dealt with them, it is uncertain. For the Hiſtory of his yeer is loſt: whereof the miſs is not great, ſince he did nothing memorable. *Valerius Antias*, as we finde in *Livie*, hath adorned this *Villius* with a great exploit againſt *Philip*. Yet ſince *Livie* himſelf, an Hiſtorian to whom few of the beſt are matchable, could finde no ſuch thing recorded in any good Author: we may reaſonably believe, that *Villius* his year was idle.

In the beginning of this *Macedonian* war, the *Romans* found more trouble than could have been expected with the *Gauls*. Their Colony of *Placentia*, a goodly and ſtrong Town, which neither *Hannibal*, nor after him *Aſdrubal*, had been able to force: was taken by theſe *Barbarians*, and burnt in a manner to the ground. In like ſort *Cremona* was attempted: but ſaved her ſelf, taking warning by her neighbours calamity. *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian*, that ſtayed behind *Aſdrubal*, or *Mago* in thoſe parts: was now become Captain of the *Gaules*, in theſe their enterpriſes. This when the *Romans* heard, they ſent Embaſſadours to the *Carthaginians*: giving them to underſtand, That if they were not weary of the peace, it behoved them to call home, and deliver up, this their Citizen *Amilcar*; who made war in *Italy*. Hereunto it was added (perhaps leſt the meſſage might ſeem otherwiſe to have ſavoured a little of ſome fear) That of the fugitive ſlaves belonging to the *Romans*, there were ſome reported to walk up and down in *Carthage*: which if it were ſo, then ought they to be reſtored back to their Maſters: as was conditioned in the late peace. The Embaſſadonrs that were ſent on this errand, had further charge to treat with *Maſaniſſa*, as alſo with *Vermina* the ſon of *Syphax*. Unto *Maſaniſſa*, beſides matter of complement, they were to ſignifie what pleaſure he might do them, by lending them ſome of his *Numidian* Horſe, to ſerve in their war againſt the *Macedonian*. *Vermina* had entreated the Senate, to vouchſafe unto him the name of King: and promiſed thereafter to deſerve it, by his readineſs in doing them all good offices. But they were ſomewhat ſcrupulous in the matter: and ſaid, That having been, and being ſtill (as they took it) their Enemy, He ought firſt of all to deſire peace; for that the name of King, was an honour which they uſed not to confer upon any, ſave only upon ſuch as had royally deſerved it at their hands. The au-



authority to make peace with him; was wholly committed unto theſe Embaſſadors, upon ſuch termes as they ſhould think fit; without further relation to the Senate and People: For they were then buſied with greater cares. The *Carthaginians* made a gentle anſwer, That they wholly diſclaimed *Amilcar*: baniſhing him, and confiſcating his goods. As for the Fugitives, they had reſtored as many as they could finde; and would in that point, as far as was requiſite, give ſatisfaction to the Senate. Herewithall they ſent a great proportion of Corn to *Rome*; and the like unto the Army that was in *Macedon*. King *Maſaniſſa* would have ſent unto the *Romans* two thouſand of his *Numidian* horſe: but they were contented with half the number; and would accept no more. *Vermina* met with the Embaſſadours, to give them entertainment, on the borders of his Kingdom; and without any diſputation, agreed with them upon terms of peace.

Thus were the *Romans* buſied in taking order for their *Macedonian* War, that they might purſue it ſtrongly, and without interruption. As for *Amilcar* and his *Gaules*, they laid ſiege unto *Cremona*; where *L. Furius* a *Roman* Prætor came upon them, fought a battel with them, and overcame them. *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian* died in this battel: and the fruit of the victory was ſuch, as both made amends for loſſes paſt, and left the work eaſie to thoſe, that afterwards ſhould have the managing of war among thoſe *Gaules*. So was there good leiſure to think upon the the buſineſs of *Macedon*: where *Philip* was carefully providing to give contentment unto his Subjects, by puniſhing a bad Counſeller whom they hated: as alſo to aſſure unto himſelf the *Achæans*, by rendring unto them ſome Towns that he held of theirs; and finally to ſtrengthen his Kingdom, not only by exerciſing and training his people, but by fortifying the paſſages that led thereinto out of *Epirus*. This was in doing when *Villius*, having unprofitably laboured to finde way into *Macedon*, taking a journey (as *Sulpicius* had done before him) wherein he could not be ſupplied with victuals, determined at length to trie a new courſe. But then came advertiſement, that *T. Quintius Flaminius* was choſen Conſul, and had *Macedon* allotted him for his Province; whoſe coming was expected; and he very ſhortly arrived at the Army.

## §. XIII.

*The Romans begin to make war by negotiation.* T. Quintius *wins a paſſage againſt* Philip. *Theſſaly waſted by* Philip, *the Romans, and Ætolians. The Achæans forſaking the Macedonian, take part with the Romans. A treaty of peace, that was vain.* Philip *delivers Argos to* Nabis *the Tyrant, who preſently enters into League with the Romans.*

THe *Romans* had not been wont in former times, to make War after ſuch a trifling manner. It was their uſe, to give battel to the enemie, as ſoon as they met with him. If he refuſed it, they beſieged his Towns: and ſo forced him to try the fortune of a day, with his diſadvantage in reputation, when he had long forborn it (as it would be interpreted) upon knowledge of his own weakneſs. But in this their War with *Philip*, they began to learn of the ſubtle *Greeks*, the art of Negotiation: wherein hitherto they were not grown ſo fine, as within a little while they proved. Their Treaſury was poor, and ſtood indebted, * many years after this unto private men, for part of thoſe moneys that had been borrowed in the ſecond Punick War. This had made the Commonalty averſe from the *Macedonian* War; and had thereby driven the Senators, greedy of the enterprize, to make uſe of their cunning. Yet being weary of the ſlow pace wherewith their buſineſs went forward, they determined to increaſe their Army, that they might have the leſs need to relie upon their Confederates. So they levied eight thouſand Foot, and eight hundred Horſe (the greater part of them of the *Latines*) which they ſent with *T. Quintius Flaminius*, the new Conſul, into *Macedon*. Their Navie, and other means could well have ſerved, for the ſetting forth and tranſportarion of a greater Army; but by ſtraining themſelves to the moſt of their ability, they ſhould (beſides other difficulties incident unto the ſuſtenance of thoſe that are too many and too far from home) have bred ſome jealouſie in their friends of *Greece*, and thereby have loſt ſome friends, yea, perhaps have increaſed the number of their enemies, more than of their own Souldiers. This preſent augmentation of the forces was very requiſite; for that *Attalus*, about the ſame time, excuſed himſelf unto them by his Embaſſadour; requeſting that either they would undertake the defence of his Kingdom againſt *Antiochus*, who invaded it; or elſe that they would not take it unto courteouſly;

* *Liv. lib.* 34.

courteously, that he quitted the War with *Philip*, and returned home, to look unto that which most concerned him. Their answer was remarkable. They said, That it was not their manner to use the aid of their friends, longer then their friends had good opportunity, and could also be well contented to affoord it; That they could not honestly take part with *Attalus*, their good friend, though he were against *Antiochus*, whom they held in the like account; but, That they would deal with *Antiochus* by Embassadors, and (as common friends unto both of the Kings) do their best to perswade an atonement between them. In such loving fashion did they now carry themselves, towards their good friend the King *Antiochus*; who reciprocally at their intreaty, withdrew his Army from the kingdom of *Attalus*. But how little they regarded these terms of friendship, after that once they had made an end with *Philip*, it will very soon appear.

*T. Quintius* hasting away from *Rome*, came betimes into his Province, with the supply decreed unto him; which consisted for the most part, of old Souldiers, that had served in *Spain* and *Africk*. He found *Villius* the old Consul, (whom at his coming he presently discharged) and King *Philip* of *Macedon*, encamped one against the other, in the Streights of *Epirus*; by the river of *Apsus*, or *Aous*. It was manifest, that either the *Romans* must fetch a compass about, and seek their way into *Macedon*, through the poor Country of the *Dassaretians*; or else win, by force, that passage which the King defended. In taking the former way, they had already two years together mis-spent their time, and been forced to return back without profit, for want of victuals: whereof they could neither carry with them store sufficient, nor find it on the way. But if they could once get over these Mountains, which divided the South of *Epirus* from *Thessaly*, then should they enter into a plentiful Country; and, which by long dependance on the *Macedonian*, was become (in a manner) part of his Kingdom, whereof it made the South border. Nevertheless, the desire of winning this passage, was greater than the likelihood. For the river of *Apsus* running along through that valley which alone was open between the Mountains, made it all a deep *Marish* and unpassable Bogge: a very narrow way excepted, and a path cut out of the main rock by mans hand. Wherefore *Quintius* assailed to climb in the Mountains: but finding himself disappointed of this hope, through the diligence of his enemy, who neglected not the guard of them that was very easie; he was compelled to sit still, without doing any thing for the space of forty dayes.

This long time of rest gave hope unto *Philip*, that the war might be ended by composition, upon some reasonable terms. He therefore so dealt with some of the *Epirots*, (among whom he had many friends) that He and the Consul had a meeting together. But nothing was effected. The Consul would have him to set all Towns of *Greece* at liberty; and make amends for the injuries, which he had done to many people in his late Wars. *Philip* was contented to give liberty to those whom he had subdued of late: but unto such, as had been long subject unto him and his Ancestors, He thought it against all reason, that he should relinquish his claim and dominion over them. He also said, That as far forth as it should appear that he had done wrong unto any Town or people whatsoever, He could well be pleased to make such amends, as might seem convenient in the judgement of some free State, that had not been interessed in those quarrels. But herewithall *Quintius* was not satisfied. There needed (he said) no judgement or compromise; forasmuch as it was apparent, that *Philip* had alwayes been the invader; and had not made War, as one provoked, in his own defence. After this altercation, when they should come to particulars: and when the Consul was required to name those Towns, that he would have to be set at liberty; the first that he named were the *Thessalians*: These had been subjects (though conditional) unto the *Macedonian* Kings, ever since the dayes of *Alexander* the Great, and of *Philip* his Father. Wherefore, as soon as *Flaminius* had named the *Thessalians*; the King in a rage demanded what sharper condition He would have laid upon him, had he been but vanquished. And herewithall abruptly he flang away: refusing to hear any more of such discourse.

After this the Consul strove in vain two or three dayes together, to have prevailed against the difficulties of that passage which *Philip* kept. When he had well wearied himself, and could not resolve what course to take: there came to him an Heardsman sent from *Charopus* a Prince of the *Epirots* that favoured the *Romans*, who having long kept beasts in those Mountains, was throughly acquainted with all by-paths, and therefore undertook to guide the *Romans*, without any danger, to a place where they should have advantage of the Enemy. This guide,



guide, for fear of treacherous dealing, was fast bound: and being promised a great reward, in case he made good his word, had such Companies as was thought fit, appointed to follow his directions. They travelled by night (it being then about the full of the Moon) and rested in the day-time, for fear of being discovered. When they had recovered the hill-tops, and were above the *Macedonians*, (though undiscovered by them, because at their banks) they raised a great smoke, whereby they gave notice of their success unto the Consul. Some skirmishes, whilst these were on their journy, *T. Quintius* had held with the *Macedonan*; thereby to avert him from thought of that which was intended. But when on the third morning he saw the smoke arise more and more plainly, and thereby knew that his men had attained unto the place whither they were sent, he pressed as near as he could unto the Enemies Camp, and assailed them in their strength. He prevailed as little as in former times, until the shoutings of those that ran down the hill, and charged *Philip* on the back, astonished so the *Macedonians*, that they betook themselves unto flight. The King, upon first apprehension of the danger, made all speed away to save himself. Yet anon considering, that the difficulty of the passage must needs hinder the *Romans* from pursuing him: he made a stand at the end of five miles, and gathered there together his broken troops, of whom he found wanting no more than two thousand men. The greatest loss was of his Camp and provisions: if not rather perhaps of his reputation: for that now the *Macedonians* began to stand in fear, lest being driven from a place of such advantage, they should hardly make good their party against the Enemy, upon equal ground. Neither was *Philip* himself much better perswaded. Wherefore he caused the *Thessalians*, as many of them as in his hasty retrait he could visit, to forsake their Towns and Country, carrying away with them as much as they were able, and spoiling all the rest. But all of them could not be perswaded, thus to abandon (for the pleasure of their King) their ancient habitations, and all the substance which they had gotten. Some there were that forcibly resisted him; which they might the better do, for that he could not stay to use any great compulsion. He also himself took it very grievously, that he was driven to make such waste of a most pleasant and fruitful Country, which had ever been well affected unto him: so that a little hindrance did serve, to make him break off his purpose, and withdraw himself home into his Kingdom of *Macedon*.

The *Ætolians* and *Athamanians*, when this fell out, were even in a readiness to invade *Thessaly*; whereinto the ways lay more open, out of their several Contries. When therefore they heard for certainty, that *Philip* was beaten by the *Romans*: they forestalled not the occasion, but made all speed, each of them to lay hold upon what they might. *T. Quintius* followed them within a little while: but they had gotten so much before his coming, that he, in gleaning after their harvest, could not find enough to maintain his Army. Thus were the poor *Thessalians*, of whose liberty the *Romans* a few days since had made shew to be very desirous, wasted by the same *Romans* and their Confederates; not knowing which way to turn themselves, or whom to avoid. *T. Quintius* won *Phaleria* by assault: *Metropolis* and *Piera* yielded unto him. *Rhage* he besieged: and having made a fair breach, yet was unable to force it: so stoutly it was defended both by the Inhabitants, and by a *Macedonian* garrison therein. *Philip* also at the same time, having somewhat recollected his spirits, hovered about *Tempe* with his Army, thrusting men into all places, that were like to be distressed. So the Consul, having well near spent his victuals, and seeing no hope to prevail at *Rhage*: brake up his siege, and departed out of *Thessaly*. He had appointed his ships of burden to meet him at *Anticyra*, an Haven Town of *Phocis*, on the Gulph of *Corinth*: which Country being friend to the *Macedonian*, he presently invaded; not so much for hatred unto the people, as because it lay conveniently seated between *Thessaly* and other regions, wherein he had business, or was shortly like to have. Many Towns in *Phocis* he won by assault: many were yielded up unto him for fear; and within short space he had (in effect) mastered it all.

In the mean time *L. Quintius* the Consuls brother, being then Admiral for the *Romans* in this war, joyned with King *Attalus* and the *Rhodian* Fleet. They won two Cities in *Eubœa*; and afterward laid siege unto *Cenchree*, an Haven and Arcenal of the *Corinthians* on their Eastern Sea. This enterprise did somewhat help forward the *Achæans*, in their desire to leave the part of *Philip*; since it might come to pass, that *Corinth* it self, ere long time were spent; and that *Cenchree*, with other places appertaining to *Corinth*, now very shortly should be rendred unto their Nation, by favour of the *Romans*.

But there were other motives, inducing the *Achæans* to preferr the friendſhip of the *Romans*, before the patronage of *Philip*; whereto they had been long accuſtomed. For this King had ſo many ways offended them in time of peace, that they thought it beſt courſe to rid their hands of him, whilſt being intangled in a dangerous War, he wanted means to hinder the execution of ſuch counſel as they ſhould hold the ſafeſt. His tyrannous practiſes to make himſelf their abſolute Lord: his poyſoning of *Aratus* their old Governour: his falſe dealing with the *Meſſenians*, *Epirots*, and other people their Confederates, and his own dependants: together with many particular outrages by him committed: cauſed them long ſince to hold him as a *neceſſary evil*, even whilſt they were unable to be without his aſſiſtance. But ſince by the vertue of *Philopœmen*, they were grown ſomewhat confident in their own ſtrength: ſo as without the *Macedonians* help they could as well ſubſiſt, as having him to friend: then did they only think how *evil* he was; and thereupon reſoyce the more, in that he was become no longer *neceſſary*. It angred him to perceive how they ſtood affected: and therefore he ſent murderers to take away the life of *Philopœmen*. But failing in this enterpriſe; and being detected, he did thereby only ſet fire to the Wood, which was throughly dry before, and prepared to burn. *Philopœmen* wrought ſo with the *Achæans*, that no diſcourſe was more familiar with them, than what great cauſe they had to withdraw themſelves from the *Macedonian*. *Cycliadas*, a principal man among them: and lately their Prætor, was expelled by them, for ſhewing himſelf paſſionate in the cauſe of *Philip*; and *Ariſtænus* choſen Prætor, who laboured to joyn them in ſociety with the *Romans*.

*Plut. in v. Philopœm. Iuſt. l. 29.

Theſe news were very welcome to *T. Quintius*. Embaſſadors were ſent from the *Romans* and their Confederates, King *Attalus*, the *Rhodians* and *Athenians*, to treat with the *Achæans*, making promiſe, that they ſhould have *Corinth* reſtored unto them, if they would forſake the *Macedonian*. A Parliament of the *Achæans* was held at *Sycion*, to deliberate and reſolve in this weighty caſe. Therein the *Romans* and their adherents deſired the *Achæans* to joyn with them in making War upon *Philip*. Contrariwiſe, the Embaſſadors of *Philip*, whom he had alſo ſent for this buſineſs, admoniſhing the *Achæans* of their Alliance with the King, and of their faith due unto him; requeſted them, that they would be contented to remain as Neuters. This moderate requeſt of *Philips* Embaſſadors did no way advance their Maſters cauſe. Rather it gave the *Achæans* to underſtand, That he, who could be ſatisfied with ſo little at their hands, knew himſelf unable to gratifie them in any reciprocal demand. Yet were there many in that great Councel, who remembring the benefits of *Philip* and *Antigonus*, laboured earneſtly for the preſervation of the ancient League. But in fine, the ſenſe of late injuries, and expectation of like or worſe from him in the future; prevailed againſt the memory of thoſe old good turns, which he (and *Antigonus* before him) had partly ſold unto them, and partly had uſed as baits, whereby to allure them into abſolute ſubjection. Neither was it perhaps of the leaſt importance; That the *Romans* were ſtrong, and likely to prevail in the end. So after much altercation, the Decree paſſed, That they ſhould thence-forward renounce the *Macedonian*, and take part with his enemies in this War. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* they forthwith entred into ſociety; with the *Romans* (becauſe no League would be of force, until the Senate and people had approved it) they forbore to decree any ſociety at the preſent, until the return of thoſe Embaſſadars from *Rome*, which they determined to ſend thither of purpoſe. The *Megalopolitans*, *Dymeans*, and *Argives*, having done their beſt for the *Macedonian*, as by many reſpects they were bound, roſe up out of the Councel, and departed before the paſſing of the Decree; which they could not reſiſt, nor yet with honeſty thereto give aſſent. For this their good will, and greater, which they ſhortly manifeſted, the *Argives* had ſo little thank; that all the reſt of the *Achæans* may be the better held excuſed, for eſcaping how they might, out of the hands of ſo fell a Prince.

Soon after this, upon a ſolemn day at *Argos*, the affection of the Citizens diſcovered it ſelf ſo plainly, in the behalf of *Philip*, that they which were his Partiſans within the Town, made no doubt of putting the City into his hands, if they might have any ſmall aſſiſtance. *Philocles* a Lieutenant of the Kings, lay then in *Corinth*, which he had manfully defended againſt the *Romans* and *Attalus*. Him the Conſpirators drew to *Argos*; whither coming on a ſudden, and finding the multitude ready to joyn with him, he eaſily compelled the *Achæan* Garriſon to quit the place.

This getting of *Argos*, together with the good defence of *Corinth*, and ſome other Towns, as it helped *Philip* a little in his reputation, ſo they gave him hope to obtain ſome



ſome good end by Treaty, whileſt as yet with his honour he might ſeek it: and when (the Winter being now come on) a new Conſul would ſhortly be choſen; who ſhould take the work out of *Titus* his hands, if it were not concluded the ſooner. *Titus* had the like reſpect unto himſelf; and therefore thought it beſt, ſince more could not be done, to pre-diſpoſe things unto a Concluſion, for his own reputation. The meeting was appointtd to be held on the Sea-ſhore, in the *Bay* then called the *Malian*, or *Lamian Bay*, now (as is ſuppoſed) the *Gulf of Zeton*; in the *Ægean Sea*, or *Archipelago*. Thither came *Titus* with *Animander* the *Athamanian*; an Embaſſador of *Attalus*; the Admiral *Rhodes*; and ſome Agents for the *Ætolians* and *Achæans*. *Philip* had with him ſome few of his own Captains, and *Cycliadas*, lately baniſhed for his ſake out of *Achaia*. He refuſed to come on ſhore: though fearing (as he ſaid none but *the immortal Gods*: yet miſdoubting ſome treachery in the *Ætolians*. The demands of *Titus* in behalf of the *Romans*, were, That he ſhould ſet all Cities of *Greece* at liberty; deliver up to the *Romans* and their Confederates, all priſoners which he had of theirs, and Renegadoes; likewiſe whatſoever he held of theirs in *Illyria*: and whatſoever about *Greece* or *Aſia* he had gotten from *Ptolomy* then King of *Egypt*, after his fathers death. *Attalus* demanded reſtitution to be made, entire of Ships, Towns, and Temples by him taken and ſpoiled in the late War between them. The *Rhodians* would have again the Country of *Perea*, lying over againſt their Iſland; as alſo that he ſhould withdraw his garriſons out of divers Towns about the *Helleſpont*, and other Havens of their friends. The *Achæans* deſired reſtitution of *Argos* and *Corinth*: about the one of which they might, not unjuſtly, quarrel with him; the other had been long his own by their conſent. The *Ætolians* took upon them angerly, as Patrons of *Greece*: willing him to depart out of it, even out of the whole Country, leaving it free; and withal to deliver up unto them, whatſoever he held that had at any time been theirs. Neither were they herewithal content: but inſolently declaimed againſt him, for that which he had lately done in *Theſſaly*; corrupting (as they ſaid) the rewards of the Victors, by deſtroying, when he was vanquiſhed, thoſe Towns, which elſe they might have gotten. To anſwer theſe malapart *Ætolians*, *Philip* commanded his Gally to be rowed nearer the ſhore. But they began to plie him afreſh: telling him that he muſt obey his betters, unleſs he were able to defend himſelf by force of Arms. He anſwered them (as he was much given to gybing) with ſundry ſcoffs; and eſpecially with one, which made the *Roman* Conſul underſtand what manner of companions theſe *Ætolians* were. For he ſaid, That he had often dealt with them; as likewiſe the beſt of the *Greeks*; deſiring them to abrogate a wicked law, which permitted them *to take ſpoil from ſpoil*: yet could he get no better an anſwer, than that *they would ſooner take* Ætolia *out of* Ætolia. *Titus* wondred what might be the meaning of this ſtrange Law. So the King told him, That they held it a laudable cuſtome, as often as War happened between their friends, to hold up the quarrel, by ſending Voluntaries to ſerve on both ſides, that ſhould ſpoil both the one and the other. As for the liberty of *Greece*, he ſaid it was ſtrange, that the *Ætolians* ſhould be ſo careful thereof, ſince divers Tribes of their own, which he there named, were indeed no *Græcians*: wherefore he would fain know, whether the *Romans* would give him leave to make ſlaves of thoſe *Ætolians*, which were no *Greeks*. *Titus* hereat ſmiled, and was no whit offended, to hear the *Ætolians* well ratled up; touching whom he began to underſtand, how odious they were in all the Country. As for that general demand of ſetting all *Greece* at liberty, *Philip* acknowledged, that it might well beſeem the greatneſs of the *Romans*; though he would alſo conſider, what might beſeem his own dignity. But that the *Ætolians*, *Rhodians*, and other petty Eſtates, ſhould thus preſume, under countenance of the *Romans*, to take upon them, as if by their great might he ſhould be thereunto compelled: it was, he ſaid, a ſtrange and ridiculous inſolence. The *Achæans* he charged with much ingratude; reciting againſt them ſome Decrees of their own; wherein they had loaden both *Antigonus* and him, with more than humane honours. Nevertheleſs, he ſaid, that he would render *Argos* unto them: but as touching *Corinth*, that he would further deliberate with *Titus* himſelf. Thus he addreſſed himſelf wholly to the *Roman* General; unto whom if he could give ſatisfaction, he cared little for all the reſt. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, his late war (he ſaid) was only defenſive; they having been the offerers: or if he gave them any occaſion, it was only in helping *Pruſias*, his ſon-in-law; neither did he ſee why they ſhould rather ſeek amends at his hands, than he at theirs. For whereas they complained, that ſpoiling a Temple of *Venus*, he had cut down the Grove, and pleaſant walks there-

Excerp. è Polyb. l. 17.

thereabouts: what could he do more, than send Gardners thither with young plants; if one King of another would ſtand to aſk ſuch recompence? Thus he jeſted the matter out: but offered nevertheleſs, in honour of the *Romans*, to give back the Region of *Perœa* to the *Rhodians*; as likewiſe to *Attalus*, the Ships and Priſoners of his, whereof he had then poſſeſſion. Thus ended that dayes conference, becauſe it was late: *Philip* requiring a nights leiſure to think upon the Articles, which were many, and he ill provided of Counſel, wherewith to adviſe about them. *For your being ſo ill provided of Counſel* (ſaid *Titus*) *you may even thank your ſelfs, as having murdered all your friends, that were wont to adviſe you faithfully.* The next day *Philip* came not, untill it was late at night; excuſing his long ſtay by the weightineſs of the things propounded, whereon he could not ſuddenly tell how to reſolve. But it was believed, that he thereby ſought to abridge the *Ætolians* of leiſure to rail at him. And this was the more likely, for that he deſired conference in private with the *Roman* General. The ſum of his diſcourſe, as *Titus* afterward related it, was, That he would give the *Achæans* both *Argos* and *Corinth*; as alſo that he would render unto *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* what he had promiſed the day before; likewiſe to the *Ætolians*, that he would grant ſome part of their demands; and to the *Romans*, whatſoever they did challenge. This when *Titus* his aſſociates heard, they exclaimed againſt it, ſaying, That if the King were ſuffered to retain any thing in *Greece*, he would ſhortly get poſſeſſion of all which he now rendred up. The noiſe that they made came to *Philips* ear: who thereupon deſired a third day of meeting; and proteſted, that if he could not perſwade them, he would ſuffer himſelf to be perſwaded by them. So the third day they met early in the morning: at what time the King intreated them all, that they would with ſincere affection hearken unto good offers of peace; and immediately conclude it, if they could like well of thoſe Conditions which he had already tendred; or otherwiſe, that they would make truce with him for the preſent, and let him ſend Embaſſadors to *Rome*, where he would referr himſelf to the courteſie of the Senate.

This was even as *Quintius* would have it: who ſtood in doubt, leſt a new Conſul might happen to defraud him of the honor, which he expected by ending of the War. So he eaſily prevailed with the reſt to aſſent hereunto: foraſmuch as it was Winter, a time unfit for ſervice in the War; and ſince, without authority of the Senate, he ſhould be unable to proceed reſolvedly either in War or Peace. Further, he willed them to ſend their ſeveral Embaſſadors to *Rome*, which intimating unto the Senate what each of them required, ſhould eaſily hinder *Philip* from obtaining any thing to their prejudice. Among the reſt, he perſwaded King *Aminander* to make a journey to *Rome* in perſon: knowing well, that the name of a King, together with the confluence of ſo many Embaſſadors, would ſerve to make his own actions more glorious in the City. All this tended to procure that his own command of the Army in *Greece* might be prorogued. And to the ſame end had he dealt with ſome of the Tribunes of the people at *Rome*: who had already (though as yet he knew not ſo much) obtained it for him, partly by their authority, partly by good reaſons which they alledged unto the Senate.

The Embaſſadors of the *Greeks*, when they had audience at *Rome*, ſpake bitterly againſt the King, with good liking of the Senate; which was more deſirous of victory, than of ſatisfaction. They magnified the honourable purpoſe of the *Romans*, in undertaking to ſet *Greece* at liberty. But this (they ſaid) could never be effected: unleſs eſpecial care were taken, that the King ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*. In this point they were ſo vehement, producing a Map of the Country, and making demonſtration how thoſe places held all the reſt in ſervility; that the Senate agreed to have it even ſo as they deſired. When therefore the Embaſſadors of *Philip* were brought in, and began to have made a long Oration; they were briefly cut off in the middeſt of their Preface, with this one demand: *Whether their Maſter would yeild up Corinth, Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*. Hereto they made anſwer, That concerning thoſe places, the King had given them no direction or commiſſion what to ſay or do. This was enough. The Senate would no longer hearken to *Philips* deſire of peace: wherein they ſaid he did no better than triffle. Yet might his Embaſſadors have truly ſaid, That neither the *Ætolians*, *Achæans*, nor any of their fellows, had in the late Treaty required by name, that *Chalcis* and *Demetrias* ſhould be yielded up. For which of them indeed could make any claim to either of theſe Towns? As for *Corinth*, whereto the *Achæans* had ſome right; (though their right were no better, than that, having ſtoln it from one *Macedonian* King in a night, they had, after mature deliberation, made it away



way by bargain unto another) *Philip* had already condeſcended to give it back unto them, And this perhaps would have been alledged, even againſt the *Greeks*, in excuſe of the King, by ſome of *T. Quintius* his friends; that ſo he might have had honour to conclude the war, if a ſucceſſor had been decreed unto him. But ſince he was appointed to continue General: neither his friends at *Rome*, nor he himſelf, after the return of the Embaſſadours into *Greece*, cared to give ear unto any talk of peace.

*Philip* ſeeing that his *Achæans* had forſaken him, and joyned with their common enemies; thought even to deal with them in the like manner, by reconciling himſelf unto *Nabis*, whom they hated moſt. There were not many years paſt, ſince the *Lacedæmonians* under *Cleomenes*, with little other help then their own ſtrength, had been almoſt ſtrong enough both for the *Macedonians* and *Achæans* together. But now the condition of things was altered. *Nabis* his force conſiſted, in a manner, wholly in his Mercenaries: for he was a Tyrant, though ſtiling himſelf King. Yet he ſorely vexed the *Achæans*: and therefore ſeemed to *Philip* one likely to ſtand him in great ſtead, if he could be won. To this purpoſe it was thought meet, that the Town of *Argos*, which could not otherwiſe be eaſily defended, ſhould be conſigned over into his hands; in hope, that ſuch a benefit would ſerve to tie him faſt unto the *Macedonian*. *Philocles* the Kings Lieutenant, who was appointed to deal with *Nabis*, added further, That it was his Maſters purpoſe to make a ſtreight alliance with the *Lacedæmonian*, by giving ſome daughters of his own in marriage unto *Nabis* his ſons. This could not but be well taken. Yet *Nabis* made ſome ſcruple in accepting the Town of *Argos*; unleſs by decree of the Citizens themſelves he might be called into it. Hereabout *Philocles* dealt with the *Argives*: but found them ſo averſe, that, in open aſſembly of the people, they deteſted the very name of the Tyrant, with many railing words. *Nabis* hearing of this, thought he had thereby a good occaſion to rob and fleece them. So he willed *Philocles*, without more a do, to make over the Town which he was ready to recieve. *Philocles* accordingly did let him with his Army into it by night; and gave him poſſeſſion of the ſtrongeſt places therein. Thus dealt *Philip* with the *Argives*: who for very love had forſaken the *Achæans*, to take his part. Early in the morning, the Tyrant made himſelf maſter of all the gates. A few of the principal men, underſtanding how things went, fled out of the City at the firſt tumult. Wherefore they were all baniſhed, and their goods confiſcated. The reſt of the chief Citizens that ſtayed behind, were commanded to bring forth, out of hand, all their Gold and Silver. Alſo a great impoſition of money was laid upon all thoſe that were thought able to pay it. Such as made their contribution readily, were diſmiſſed without more a do. But if any ſtood long upon the matter: or played the theeves in purloyning their own goods: they were put to the whip, and beſides loſs of their wealth, had their torments to boot. This done, the Tyrant began to make popular laws: namely, ſuch as might ſerve to make him gracious with the raſcall multitude: abrogating all debts, and dividing the lands of the rich among the poor. By ſuch art of oppreſſing the great ones, it hath been an old cuſtom of Tyrants, to aſſure themſelves of the Vulgar for a time.

As ſoon as *Nabis* had gorten *Argos*, He ſent the news to *T. Quintius* and others to joyn with him againſt *Philip*. *Titus* was glad of it: ſo as he took the pains to croſs over the Streights into *Peloponneſus*, there to meet with *Nabis*. They had ſoon agreed (though King *Attalus* who was preſent with the Conſul, made ſome cavil touching *Argos*) and the Tyrant lent unto the *Roman*, ſix hundred of his Mercenaries of *Crete*: as alſo he agreed with the *Achæans*, upon a Truce for four moneths, reſerving the finall concluſion of peace between them untill the War of *Philip* ſhould be ended; which after this continued not long.

## §. XIV.

*The battel at Cynoſcephalæ, wherein* Philip *was vanquiſhed by* T. Quintius.

*Titus Quintius*, as ſoon as he underſtood that he was appointed to have command of the Army, without any other limitation of time, than during the pleaſure of the Senate; made all things ready for diligent purſuit of the War. The like did *Philip*: who having failed in his negotiation of peace, and no leſs failed in his hopes of getting *Nabis* to friend in that War, meant afterwards wholly to rely upon himſelf.

*Titus* had in his Army about ſix and twenty thouſand: and *Philip* a proportionable number. But neither of them knew the others ſtrength, or what his Enemy intended to do. Only *Titus* heard that *Philip* was in *Theſſaly*,

*Plut. in vit. T. Q. Flam.*

*Theſſaly*, and thereupon addreſſed himſelf to ſeek him out. They had like to have met unawares, neer unto the City of *Pheræ*: where the vant-currers on both ſides diſcovered each other; and ſent word thereof unto their ſeveral Captains. But neither of them were over-haſty to commit all to hazard upon ſo ſhort warning. The day following each of them ſent out three hundred Horſe, with as many light-armed Foot, to make a better diſcovery. Theſe met, and fought a long while: returning finally back into their ſeveral Camps, with little advantage unto either ſide. The Country about *Pheræ* was thick ſet with trees: and otherwiſe full of gardens and mud-walls; which made it unproper for the ſervice of the *Macedonian Phalanx*. Wherefore the King diſlodged, intending to remove back into *Scotuſſa*, in the Frontier of *Macedon*; where he might be plentifully ſerved with all neceſſaries. *Titus* conceived aright his meaning: and therefore purpoſed alſo to march thitherwards; were it only to waſte the Country. There lay between them a great ledge of hills, which hindered the one from knowing what courſe the other took. Nevertheleſs they encamped not far aſunder, both the firſt and the ſecond night; though neither of them underſtood what was become of the other. The third day was very tempeſtuous; and forced each of them to take up his lodging where he found it by chance. Then ſent they forth diſcoverers again, in greater number than before. Theſe meeting together, held a long fight, wherein at firſt the *Macedonians* had the worſe. But *Philip* anon ſent in ſuch ſtrong ſupply; that if the reſiſtance of the *Ætolians* had not been deſperate, the *Romans* their fellows had been driven back into their Camp. Yet all reſiſtance notwithſtanding, the *Macedonians* prevailed: ſo that *Titus* himſelf was fain to bring forth his Legions, that were not a little diſcouraged, by the defeat of all their Horſe, to animate thoſe which were in flight.

It was altogether beſides the Kings purpoſe to put the fortune of a battel in truſt that day, with ſo much of his Eſtate as might thereon depend. But the news came to him thick and tumultuouſly, how the enemies fled, and how the day was his own, if he could uſe an occaſion, the like whereof he ſhould not often find. This cauſed him to alter his purpoſe: inſomuch as he embattelled his men; and climbed up thoſe hills, which, for that the knops thereon had ſome reſemblance unto Dogs heads, were called, by a word ſignifying as much, *Cynoſcephalæ*. As ſoon as he was on the hill-top; it did him good to ſee that they of his own light armature were buſie in fight, almoſt at the very Camp of the Enemies; whom they had repelled ſo far. He had alſo liberty to chooſe his ground, as might ſerve beſt his advantage; foraſmuch as the *Romans* were quite driven from all parts of the Hill. But of this commodity he could make no great uſe: the roughneſs of the place among thoſe *Dogs heads*, as they were called, ſerving nothing aptly for his *Phalanx*. Nevertheleſs he found convenient room, wherein to marſhall the one part of his Army: and gave order unto his Captains, to follow with the reſt; embattelling them as they might. Whileſt he was doing this: He perceived that his Horſemen and light armature began to ſhrink; as being fallen upon the *Roman* Legions, by force whereof they were driven to recoyle. He ſets forward to help them: and they no leſs haſtily draw unto him for ſuccour; having the *Romans* not far behind them.

As the Legions began to climbe the Hill; *Philip* commanded thoſe of his *Phalanx* to charge their pikes, and entertain them. Here *Titus* found an extream difficult piece of work. For this *Phalanx* being a great ſquare battel of armed pikes, like in all points to thoſe which are now uſed in our modern Wars: and being in like manner uſed, as are ours; was not to be reſiſted by the *Roman* Targettiers, as long as the *Phalanx* it ſelf held together undiſſolved. The *Macedonians* were embattelled in very cloſe order: ſo that two of them ſtood oppoſite to one of the *Romans*; as alſo the pikes of the firſt rank had their points advanced two or three foot before their fore-man. Wherefore it is no marvel if the *Romans* gave back: every one of them being troubled (as it were) with ten enemies at once; and not able to come nearer to the next of them, than the length of a dozen foot, or thereabout. *Titus* finding this, and not knowing how to remedy it, was greatly troubled: for that ſtill the *Phalanx* bare down all which came in the way. But in the mean while he obſerved, That they which were appointed by *Philip* to make his left wing, were not able through the much unevenneſs of the ground, to put themſelves in order: ſo as either they kept their places on the Hill-tops; or elſe (which was worſe) upon deſire either of beholding the paſtime, or of ſeeming to be partakers in the work, ran fooliſhly along by the ſide of their fellows, which were occupied in fight.

Of



Of this their diſorder he made great and preſent uſe. He cauſed the right wing of his battel to march up the Hill againſt theſe ill-ordered troops: his Elephants leading the way, to increaſe the terrour. The *Macedonians* were readier to diſpute what ſhould be done in ſuch a caſe, than well adviſed what to do; as having no one man appointed to command that part in chief. Indeed if they ſhould have done their beſt, it could not have ſerved; ſince the ground whereon they ſtood, made their weapons unuſeful. For let it be ſuppoſed, that *Philip* having ſix and twenty thouſand in his Army (as he is ſaid to have been equal to the Enemy in number) had four thouſand Horſe, four thouſand Targettiers, and four thouſand light-armed: ſo ſhall there remain fourteen thouſand Pikes: whereof himſelf had embattelled the one half in a *Phalanx*; the other half in the left wing, are they whom *Quintius* is ready now to charge. The *Phalanx* having uſually ſixteen in File, muſt, when it conſiſted of ſeven thouſand, have well-near four hundred and forty in rank: but four hundred would ſerve, to make a Front long enough; the other forty or ſeven and thirty Files might be cut off, and reckoned in the number of the Targettiers, or light-armed. Allowing therefore, as *Polybius* doth, to every man of them three foot of ground: this Front muſt have occupied twelve hundred foot, or two hundred and forty paces; that is, very near a quarter of a mile in length. Such a ſpace of open Champian, free from incumberance of Trees, Ditches, Hillocks, or the like impediments, that muſt of neceſſity disjoyn this cloſe battel of the *Phalanx*, was not every-where to be found. Here at *Cynoſcephalæ Philip* had ſo much room, as would only ſuffice for the one half of his men; the reſt were fain to ſtand ſtill and look about them, being hindred from putting themſelves in order, by the roughneſs of the *Dogs heads*. But the *Romans*, to whom all grounds were much alike, were not hindred from coming up unto them; nor found any difficulty in maſtering thoſe Enemies, whoſe feet were in a manner bound by the diſcommodity of the place. The very firſt impreſſion of the Elephants, cauſed them to give back; and the coming on of the Legions, to betake themſelves to flight. A *Roman* Tribune or Colonel, ſeeing the victory on that part aſſured, left the proſecution of it unto others: and being followed by twenty Enſignes or Maniples, that is, (as they might fall out) by ſome two thouſand men, took in hand a notable piece of work; and mainly helpful to making of the victory compleat. He conſidered that *Philip*, in purſuing the right wing of the *Romans*, was run on ſo far, as that himſelf with his fellows, in mounting the Hill to charge the left wing of the *Macedonians*, was already gotten above the Kings head. Wherefore he turned to the left hand, and making down the Hill after the Kings *Phalanx*, fell upon it in the Rere. The hindermoſt ranks of the *Phalanx*, and all of them indeed ſave the firſt five, were accuſtomed, when the battels came to joyning, to carry their pikes upright; and with the whole weight of their bodies to thruſt on their fore-men: and ſo were they doing at the preſent. This was another great inconvenience in the *Macedonian Phalanx*. That it ſerved neither for offence nor defence, except only in Front. For though it were ſo, that *Alexander*, when he was to fight with *Darius* in *Meſopotamia*, arranged his *Phalanx* in ſuch order, that all the four ſides of it were as ſo many Fronts looking ſundry wayes, becauſe he expected that he ſhould be encompaſſed round: yet is it to be underſtood, that herein he altered the uſual form; as alſo at the ſame time he embattelled his men in looſe order, that ſo with eaſe they might turn their weapons which way need ſhould require. Likewiſe it is to be conſidered, That *Alexanders* men being thus diſpoſed, were fit only to keep their own ground; not being able to follow upon the enemy, unleſs their hindmoſt ranks could have marched backwards. But in this preſent caſe of *Philip*, there was no ſuch proviſion for reſiſtance. Therefore his men, being otherwiſe unable to help themſelves, threw down their weapons and fled. The King himſelf had thought until now, that the fortune of the battel was every where alike, and the day his own. But hearing the noiſe behind him, and turning a little aſide with a troop of horſe, to ſee how all went; when he beheld his men caſting down their weapons, and the *Romans* at his back on the higher ground; he preſently betook himſelf to flight. Neither ſtaid he afterwards in any place (except only a ſmall while about *Tempe*, there to collect ſuch as were diſperſed in this overthrow) untill he was gotten into his own kingdom of *Macedon*.

*Excerp. è Polyb. l. 17*

There died of the *Roman* Army in this battel, about ſeven hundred: of the *Macedonians* about eight thouſand were ſlain; and five thouſand taken priſoners.

§. XV.

§. XV.

T. Quintius *falleth out with the Ætolians, and grants truce unto* Philip, *with conditions upon which the peace is ratified. Liberty proclaimed unto the Greeks. The Romans quarrel with* Antiochus.

THe *Ætolians* wonderfully vaunted themſelves, and deſired to have it noiſed through all *Greece*, that the victory at *Cynoſcephalæ* was gotten (in a manner) wholly by their valour. They had gotten indeed the moſt of the booty by ſacking the *Macedonian* Camp, whileſt the *Romans* were buſied in the chaſe. *Titus* therefore being offended both at their vain-glory, and at their ravenous condition; purpoſed to teach them better manners, by regarding them as ſlightly, as they thought highly of themſelves. He alſo well perceived, That by uſing them with any extraordinary favour, he ſhould greatly offend the reſt of his confederates in *Greece*; who deteſted the *Ætolians* much more vehemently, than ever they had done the *Macedonians*. But this diſpleaſure brake not forth yet a while.

After the battel, *Titus* made haſte unto *Lariſſa*, a City in *Theſſaly*, which he preſently took. Before his coming, *Philip* had ſent thither one of his Courtiers to burn all his letters, and paſſages whatſoever in writing, betwixt him and others: of which many were there kept. It was well done of the King, that among the cares of ſo much adverſity, he forgot not to provide for the ſafety of his friends. Yet by thus doing, they of *Lariſſa* might well perceive, that he gave them as already loſt. Wherefore we find not that they, or any of their neighbours, did make delay of opening their gates to *Titus*. At the ſame time, the Town of *Leucas*, bordering upon *Arcanania*, was taken by the *Roman* Fleet, and very ſoon after, all the *Arcanani-ans*, a warlike Nation, and in hatred of the *Ætolians* ever true to *Philip*; gave up themſelves unto the *Romans*, hearing of the victory at *Cynoſcephalæ*. The *Rhodians* alſo were then in hand with the conqueſt of *Pærea*, a Region of the Continent over againſt the Iſland; whereof they had demanded reſtitution in the late Treaty of Peace. They did herein more manly, than any other of the *Greeks*: foraſmuch as they awaited not the good leaſure of the *Romans*; but with an Army of their own, and ſome help which they borrowed of the *Achæans* and other their friends gave battel to *Dinocrates* the Kings Lievtenant, wherein they had the victory, and conſequently recovered the whole Province. It angred *Philip* worſe then all this, that the *Dardanians* gathered courage out of his affliction, to invade his Kingdom; waſting and ſpoiling, as if all had been abandoned to their diſcretion. This made him gather an Army in all haſte of 6000. Foot, and 500. horſe: wherewith coming upon them, he drave them, with little or no loſs of his own, and great ſlaughter of theirs, haſtily out of the Kingdom. Which done, he returned to *Theſſalonica*.

In this one enterpriſe he had ſucceſs anſwerable to his deſire: but ſeeing what bad fortune accompanied his affairs, in all other parts at the ſame time, he thought it wiſdom to yield unto neceſſity; and therefore ſent in all haſte *Limnæus* and *Demoſthenes* with *Cycliadas* the baniſhed *Achæan*, in whom he repoſed much confidence, Embaſſadours unto *Titus*. Theſe had confe-rence a long while in private, with *Titus* and ſome of his *Roman* Colonels: by whom they were gently entertained, and in very friendly wiſe diſmiſſed. It ſeems that they had Commiſſion, to refer all unto *Titus* his own diſcretion; as *Philip* himſelf in few dayes after did. There was granted unto him a Truce for fifteen dayes: in which time, the King himſelf might come and ſpeak with the *Roman* General. In the mean ſeaſon, many ſuſpicious rumours went of *Titus*, as if he had been corrupted with great rewards from the King, to betray the *Greeks* his Confederates. Of theſe bruits the *Ætolians* were chief authors: who being wont to regard neither friendſhip nor honeſty, where profit led them a wrong way, judged alike of all men elſe. But againſt the day appointed for the meeting betwixt him and *Philip*, *Titus* had ſent letters unto his Aſſociates; willing them to have their Agents ready by a time appointed, at the entrance of *Tempe*, where the treaty ſhould be held. There when they were all aſſembled, they entred into conſultation before the Kings arrival, what ſhould be moſt expedient for the common benefit of them all, and for every ſtate in particular. The poor king *Aminander* beſought them all, and eſpecially the *Romans*, that they would think upon him; and, conſidering his weakneſs which he confeſſed, make ſuch proviſion, that after the *Romans* had turned their backs, ane were gone home, *Philip* might not wreak his anger upon him who was not able to reſiſt. Then ſpake *Alexander*, one of the *Ætolians*: who commended *Titus* foraſmuch as he had thus aſſembled the Confederates to adviſe upon their own good,



good, and had willed them to deliver their minds freely: added, That in the main of the purpoſe, which he had in hand, he was utterly deceived: for that by making peace with *Philip*, he could neither aſſure the *Romans* of their quiet, nor the *Greeks* of their liberty. There was, he ſaid, none other end to be made of the war, which could agree either with the purpoſe of the Senate and people of *Rome*, or with the fair promiſes made by *Titus* himſelf unto the *Greeks*, than the chaſing of *Philip* quite out of his kingdom. And to this effect he made a long diſcourſe. But *Titus* anſwered, That this *Ætolian* was ill acquainted, either with the good pleaſure of the Senate and people of *Rome*, or with the laudable cuſtoms which they generally held: for that it was not the manner of the *Romans*, to ſeek the utter deſtruction of any King or Nation, at ſuch time as they firſt made war with them, until by ſome rebellion they found it a matter of neceſſity, to take ſuch a rigorous courſe. And hereof he alledged the *Carthaginians* as a notable example: adding, That victory, to generous minds, was only an inducement to moderation. As concerning the publick benefit of *Greece*, it was (he ſaid) expedient, that the Kingdom of *Macedon* ſhould be greatly weakned and brought low; not that it ſhould be utterly deſtroyed: foraſmuch as it ſerved as a bar to the *Thracians*, *Gaules*, and a multitude of other ſalvage Nations, which would ſoon over-flow the whole continent of *Greece*, if this kingdom were not interpoſed. Wherefore he concluded, that if *Philip* would yield unto thoſe demands, wherewith he had preſſed him in the former Treaty; then was there no reaſon to deny him peace. As for the *Ætolians*: if they thought otherwiſe, it ſhould be at their own pleaſure, to take counſel apart for themſelves as they thought good. Then began *Phaneas*, another of the *Ætolians*. to ſay, that all was come to nothing: for that ere long, *Philip* would trouble all the *Greeks*, no leſs than he had done in time before. But *Titus* interrupted him, and bade him leave his bablings; ſaying, That himſelf would take ſuch order, as that *Philip*, were he never ſo deſirous, ſhould thenceforth not have it in his power to moleſt the *Greeks*.

The next day King *Philip* came thither: whom *Titus* uſed friendly: and ſuffering him to repoſe himſelf that night, held a Councel the day following: wherein the King yielded unto all that had been required at his hands; offering yet further to ſtand to the good pleaſure of the Senate, if they would have more added to the Conditions. *Phaneas* the *Ætolian*, inſulting over him, ſaid It was to be hoped, that he would then at length give up to the *Ætolians* a many of Towns, (which he there named) bidding him ſpeak whether he would or no. His anſwer was, that they might take them all. But *Titus* interpoſing himſelf, ſaid it ſhould be otherwiſe. Theſe were *Theſſalian* Towns, and ſhould be all free; one of them only excepted, which not long ago had refuſed to commit it ſelf to the faith of the *Romans*, and therefore ſhould now be given to the *Ætolians*. Hereat *Phaneas* cried out, that it was too great an injury, thus to be defrauded of the Towns that had ſometimes belonged unto their Common-weal. Rather he willed *Titus* to conſider, that by an ancient Covenant between him and the *Romans*, all the Towns taken ought to be their own, and the *Romans* to have nothing ſave the pillage and captives. It is true, that there had been ſuch a condition in the former war: but it ceaſed to be of any validity, as ſoon as the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*. And thus much *Titus* gave them to underſtand; asking them whether they thought it reaſonable, that all the Towns in *Greece*, which had let in the *Romans* by compoſition, ſhould be delivered into ſubjection of the *Ætolians*. The reſt of the Confederates were very much delighted with theſe angry paſſages between the *Romans* and the *Ætolians*: neither had they great reaſon to fear any hard meaſure; ſince *Titus* was ſo earneſt in the behalf of thoſe *Theſſalians*, to give them liberty, though they had ſtood out againſt him, even till very fear made them open their gates. Wherefore they oppoſed not themſelves; but gave their conſent willingly unto a Truce for four Moneths.

The chief cauſe that moved *Titus* to grant peace ſo readily to the *Macedonians*, beſides that laudable cuſtom by him before alledged, was, the fame of *Antiochus* his coming with an army from *Syria*, and drawing neer toward *Europe*. He had alſo perhaps yet a grater motive; even the conſideration that his ſucceſſor might happen to defraud him of the honour, if the war ſhould happen to be protracted. And he was in the right. For when his letters, together with Embaſſadors from the *Macedonian*, and ſundry States of *Greece*, came unto *Rome*, new Conſuls were choſen: who (eſpecially the one of them) ſtood very earneſtly againſt the peace; alledging frivolous matter of their own ſuſpition, in hope to get the honour of concluding the war. The Senate began to be doubtfully affected, between the Embaſſa-

dors of *Philip*, offering to ſtand to whatſoever was demanded; and the letters of *Titus*, preſſing them to accept this offer, on the one ſide, and the importunity of the Conſul on the other; who ſaid, that all theſe goodly ſhews were fraudulent, and that the King would rebel, as ſoon as the Army was called out of *Greece*. But the matter was taken out of the Senators hands by two of the Tribunes, that referred it to an Aſſembly of the People; by whoſe ſoveraign authority it was concluded, that peace ſhould be granted to the King. So ten Embaſſadors were ſent from *Rome*, over into *Greece*: in which number were they that had been Conſuls before *Titus*: and it was ordained by their advice, that *Titus* ſhould go through with the buſineſs of Peace. Theſe would very fain have retained thoſe three important Cities of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*, until the eſtate of *Greece* were ſomewhat better ſetled. But finally, *Titus* prevailed ſo, that *Corinth* was (though not immediately) rendred unto the *Achæans*; and all the other *Greek* towns which *Philip* held, as well in *Aſia* as in *Greece*, reſtored unliberty.

The Conditions of Peace granted unto *Philip*, were, That before the celebration of the next * *Iſthmian Games*, He ſhould withdraw his Garriſons out of all the *Greek* towns which he held, and confine them over to the *Romans*: That he ſhould deliver up unto them all Captives that he had of theirs, and all Renegado's. Likewiſe all his ſhips of war, reſerving to himſelf only five of the leſſer ſort, and one of extraordinary greatneſs, wherein ſixteen men laboured at every oar: Further, that he ſhould pay a thouſand talents, the one half in hand, the other in ten years following, by even portions. Hereto * *Livie* adds, That he was forbidden to make war out of *Macedon*, without permiſſion of the Senate. But I find not that he obſerved this Article; or was at any time charged with the breach of it. Four hundred talents he had already delivered to *Titus*, together with his younger ſon *Demetrius*, to remain as hoſtage for his true dealing in this matter of peace, at ſuch time as he lately ſent his Embaſſadors to *Rome*: when it was promiſed, that the money, and his ſon, ſhould be reſtored back unto him, if the Senate were not pleaſed with the agreement. Whither this money were reckoned as part of the thouſand talents, I cannot find: and it ſeemeth otherwiſe, foraſmuch as young *Demetrius*, who, together with thoſe four hundred talents, was given for hoſtage, remained ſtill in cuſtody of the *Romans*, as a part of the bargain which *Titus* formerly had made. Letters alſo were then ſent by *Titus* unto *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*: giving him to underſtand, what agreement was made with *Philip* in behalf of the *Greeks*; and how the Senate held it reaſonable, that the *Ciani*, moſt miſerably ſpoiled and oppreſſed by *Philip*, to gratifie this *Bithynian* his ſon-in-law, ſhould be reſtored to liberty, and permitted to enjoy the ſame benefit of the *Romans*, which other of their Nation did. What effect theſe letters wrought, it was not greatly material; ſince the *Romans* were ſhortly buſied with *Antiochus*, in ſuch wiſe, that they had not leiſure to examine the conformity of *Pruſias* to their will.

* *Excerp. è Polyb. Legat.* 9.

* *Liv. l.* 33.

All *Greece* rejoyced at the good bargain which *Titus* had made with *Philip*. Only the *Ætolians* found themſelves agrieved that they were utterly neglected: which was to the reſt no ſmall part of their contentment. The *Bœotians* continued to favour the *Macedonian*; and thereby occaſioned much trouble unto themſelves. There were ſome among them well-affected to the *Romans*: who, ſeeing how things were like to go, made their complaint unto *Titus*; ſaying, that they were no better than loſt, for the good will which they had born unto him; unleſs at this time, when he lay cloſe by them with his Army, their Prætor, which was head of the oppoſite Faction, might be made away. *Titus* refuſed to have a hand in the execution, yet nevertheleſs did animate them in their purpoſe. So they committed the fact, and hoped to have kept themſelves undiſcovered. But when the murder came out, and ſomewhat was confeſſed by thoſe which were put to torture: the hatred of the people brake out violently againſt the *Romans*: in ſuch wiſe, that howſoever they durſt not take Arms againſt them, yet ſuch of them as they found ſtragling from their Camp, they murdered in all parts of the country. This was deteſted within a while, and many of the dead bodies found. Hereupon *Titus* requires of the *Bœotians*, to have the murderers delivered into his hands; and for five hundred ſouldiers, which he had loſt by them, to have paid unto him five hundred talents. In ſtead of making any ſuch amends, they paid him with excuſes; which he would not take as good ſatisfaction. He ſends Embaſſadors to the *Achæans*, and *Athenians*, informing them what had hapned: and requeſted them not to take it amiſs, though he dealt with theſe their friends as they had deſerved. Herewithal he falls to waſting their country; and beſiegeth two ſuch



ſuch Towns of theirs, as did ſeem to be moſt culpable of the murders lately done. But the Embaſſadors of the *Achæans* and *Athenians* (eſpecially of the *Achæans*, who offered, if he needed them, to help him in this war; yet beſought him rather to grant peace unto the *Bœotians*) prevailed ſo far with him, that he was pacified with 30. talents, and the puniſhments of ſuch as were kuown offenders.

In like ſort, though not ſo violently, were many States of *Greece* diſtracted: ſome among them rejoycing that they were free from the *Macedonian*; others greatly doubting, that the *Roman* would prove a worſe neighbour. The *Ætolian* would have been glad of any Commotion; and therefore publiſhed rumours abroad, That it was the purpoſe of the *Romans*, to keep in their own hands all thoſe places, wherein *Philip* lately had his Garriſons. Little did they, or the reſt of the *Greeks*, conceive, that this *Macedonian* war ſerved as an introduction to the war to be made in *Aſia* againſt King *Antiochus*; where grew the fruit, that was to be reaped of this and many other victories. Wherefore to ſtay the progreſs of bad rumors, when the *Iſthmian games* were held, which in time of peace were never without great ſolemnity and concourſe; *Titus* in that great aſſembly of all *Greece*, cauſed proclamation to be made by ſound of Trumpet to this effect, That the Senate and people of *Rome*, and *Titus Quintius Flaminius* the General, having vanquiſhed King *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, did will to be at liberty, free from Impoſitions, free from Garriſons, and living at their own Laws, the *Corinthians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Eubœans*, *Achæans* of *Phthiotis*, *Magneſians*, *Theſſalians*, and *Perrhæbians*. The ſuddenneſs of this Proclamation aſtoniſhed men: ſo as though they applauded it with a great ſhout, yet preſently they cried out to hear it again, as if they durſt ſcarce credit their own ears. The *Greeks* were Crafts-maſters in the Art of giving thanks; which they rendred now to *T. Quintius* with ſo great affection, as that they had well-near ſmothered him, by thronging officiouſly about him.

This good will of the *Greeks*, was like to be much more available unto the *Romans* in their war againſt *Antiochus*, then could have been the poſſeſſion of a few Towns, yea, or of all thoſe Provinces which were named in the Proclamation. Upon confidence hereof, no ſooner were the *Iſthmian games* at an end, than *Titus*, with the *Romans* that were of his Councel, gave audience to *Hageſanax* and *Lyſias*, King *Antiochus* his Embaſſadors: whom they willed to ſignifie unto their Lord, That he ſhould do well to abſtain from the free Cities in *Aſia*, and not vex them with war: as alſo to reſtore whatſoever he had occupied, belonging to the Kings, *Ptolomy* or *Philip*. Moreover they willed him by theſe his Embaſſadors, that he ſhould not paſs over his Army into *Europe*; adding, That ſome of them would viſit him in perſon ere it were long, to talk with him further concerning theſe points. This done, they fell to accompliſhing their promiſes unto the *Greeks*; to the reſt they gave what they had promiſed. But the *Phocians* and *Locrians* they gave unto the *Ætolians*; whom they thought it no wiſdom to offend overmuch, being ſhortly to take a greater work in hand. The *Achæans* of *Phthiotis* they annexed unto the *Theſſalians*; all ſave the town of *Thebes* in *Phthiotis*, the ſame which had been abandoned by *T. Quintius* to the *Ætolians* in the laſt Treaty with *Philip*. The *Ætolians* contended very earneſtly about *Pharſalus* and *Leucas*. But they were put off with a dilatory anſwer, and rejected unto the Senate: for howſoever ſomewhat the Councel might favour them, yet was it not meet that they ſhould have their wills, as it were in deſpight of *Titus*. So the *Achæans* were reſtored *Corinth*, *Triphylia*, and *Herea*. So the *Corinthians* were made free indeed, (though the *Romans* yet a while kept the *Acrocorinthus*) for that all which were partakers of the *Achæan* Common-wealth, enjoyed their liberty in as abſolute manner as they could deſire. To *Pleuratus* the *Illyrian* were given one or two places, taken by the *Romans* from *Philip*: and upon *Aminander* were beſtowed thoſe Caſtles, which he had got ten from *Philip* during this war; to reign in them, and the grounds which they commanded, as he did among his *Athamanians*. The *Rhodians* had been their own Carvers. *Attalus* was dead a little before the Victory; and therefore loſt his ſhare. Yet many that were with *Titus* in Councel, would have given the towns of *Oreum* and *Eretia*, in the Iſle of *Eubœa*, to his ſon and ſucceſſor King *Eumenes*. But finally it was concluded, that theſe as well as the reſt of the *Eubœans*, ſhould be ſuffered to enjoy their liberty. *Oreſtes*, a little Province of the kingdom of *Macedon*, bordering on *Epirus*, and lying towards the *Ionian* Sea, yet yielded unto the *Romans* long ere this, and ſince continued true to them: for which cauſe it was alſo ſet at liberty, and made it a free eſtate by it ſelf.

Theſe buſineſſes being diſpatcht, it remained, that all care ſhould be uſed, not how to avoid the war with King *Antiochus*, but how

how to accomplish it with most ease and prosperity. Wherefore Embassadors were sent, both to *Antiochus* himself, to pick matter of quarrel; and about unto others, to pre-dispose them unto the assisting of the *Romans* therein. What ground and matter of War against this King, the *Romans* now had, or shortly after found: as also how their Embassadors and Agents dealt and sped abroad, I refer unto another place.

## CHAP. V.

### *The Wars of the* Romans *with* Antiochus *the Great, and his Adherents.*

### §. I.

*What Kings of the races of* Seleucus *and* Ptolomy *reigned in* Asia *and* Egypt *before* Antiochus *the Great.*

*Seleucus Nicanor*, the first of his race, King of *Asia* and *Syria*, died in the end of the hundred twenty and fourth *Olympiad*. He was treacherously slain by *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, at an Altar called *Argos*; having (as is said) been warned before by an Oracle, to beware of *Argos*, as the fatal place of his death. But I never read that any mans life hath been preserved, or any mischance avoided by the predictions of such Divellish Oracles. Rather I believe, that many such predictions of the Heathen gods, have been ante-dated by their Priests; or by others, which devised them after the event.

*Antiochus Soter*, the son and heir of this *Seleucus*, was dearly beloved of his father: who surrendred unto him his own wife *Stratonica*, when he understood how much the young Prince was enamoured on her. Wherefore *Ptolomy Ceraunus* had great cause to fear, that the death of *Seleucus* would not be unrevenged by this his Successor. But *Antiochus* was contented to be pacified, either with gifts, or perhaps only with fair words, containing himself within *Asia*; and letting *Ceraunus* enjoy that quietly, which he had purchased in *Europe*, with the blood of *Seleucus*. It is said of this *Antiochus*, that although he married with the Queen *Stratonica* in his fathers life, yet out of modesty he forbore to embrace her, till his father was dead. So that pethaps his incestuous love was partly, if not chiefly, the cause of his not prosecuting that revenge, whereunto Nature should have urged him. Afterwards he had wars with *Antigonus Gonatus*, and with *Nicomedes* King of *Bithynia*. Also *Lutarius* and *Leonorius* Kings or Captains of the *Gauls*, were set upon him by the same *Nicomedes*. With these he fought a great battel: wherein, though otherwise the enemies had all advantage against him, yet by the terror of his Elephants, which affrighted both their horses and them, he won the victory. He took in hand an enterprise against *Ptolomy Philadelphus*: but finding ill success in the beginning, he soon gave it over. To this King *Antiochus Soter* it was, that *Berosus* the *Chaldæan* dedicated his History of *Assyria*; the same which hath since been excellently falsified by the Friar *Annius*. He left behind him one son, called *Antiochus Theos*; and one daughter, called *Apame*, that was married unto the King of *Cyrene*. So he died about the end of the hundred twenty and ninth *Olympiad*, or the beginning of the *Olympiad* following, in the fiftieth or one and fiftieth year of *the Kingdom of the Greeks*, when he had reigned nineteen years.

Genebrard. l. 2. Iust. Munt. in Paran.

*Antiochus*, surnamed *Theos*, or the *god*, had this vain and impious title given to him, by flattery of the *Milesians*; whom he delivered from *Timarchus*, a Tyrant that oppressed them. He held long and difficult, but fruitless war with *Ptolomy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*; which finally he compounded, by taking to wife *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolomy*.

Of these two Kings, and of this Lady *Berenice*, S. *Hierom* and other Interpreters have understood that Prophecy of *Daniel*: *The Kings daughter of the South shall come to the King of the North to make an agreement*; and that which followeth.

Dan. 11.

*Ptolomy Philadelphus* was a great lover of Peace and Learning; and (setting apart his incestuous marriage with his own sister *Arsinoe*) a very excellent Prince: howsoever, the worthiest of all that race. It was he that built, and furnished with Books, that famous Library in *Alexandria*: which to adorn, adorn, and to honour the more, he sent unto *Eleazar*, then high Priest of the *Jews*, for the Books of *Moses* and other Scriptures. The benefits of this King unto the *Jews* had formerly been very great; for he had set at liberty as many of them, as his father held in slavery throughout all *Ægypt*; and he had sent unto the * Temple of God in *Jerusalem* very rich Presents. Wherefore *Eleazar*, yielding unto the Kings desire, presented him with an *Hebrew* copy: which *Ptolomy* caused to be translated into *Greek*, by seventy two of the most grave and learned persons that could be found among all the Tribes. In this number of the 72. Interpreters, or (as they are commonly called) the *Seventy*, *Jesus* the son of *Syrach*, is thought by *Genebrard* to have been one; who that he lived in this Age, it seems to me very sufficiently proved by *Junius*, in his Preface unto *Ecclesiasticus*. The whole passage of this business between *Philadelphus* and the high Priest, was written (as (a) *Josephus* affirms) by *Aristæus* that was employed therein. Forty years *Ptolomy Philadelphus* was King; reckoning the time wherein he joyntly reigned with his father. He was exceedingly beloved of his people; and highly magnified by Poets, and other Writers. Towards his end he grew more voluptuous, than he had been in his former years: in which time he boasted, that he alone had found out the way how to live for ever. If this had been referred unto his honourable deeds, it might have stood with reason: otherwise the Gout, with which he was often troubled, was enough to teach him his own errour. He was the first of the Kings derived from *Alexanders* Successors, that entred into League with the *Romans*: as also his offspring was the last among those Royal Families, which by them was rooted up.

* *Arg. de laud. Dei. Jerusalem* l. 18 c. 32.

(a) *Jos. ant. l. 12. cap. 2.* Concerning that Book which goes under the name of *Aristæus*, many learned men, and among the rest, *Ludovicus Vives*, hold Opinion that it is counterfeit, and the invention of some late Author. Surely if it were to be suspected in the time of *Vives*; it may be now much more justly suspected: since a new Edition of it is come forth, *purged from faults*, (as the Papists term those Books, wherein they have changed what they please) and set forth by *Meldendorpius* at *Colen*, An. Dom. 1578.

*Antiochus Theos* had another wife called *Laodice*, at such time as he married with *Berenice* the daughter of this *Ptolomy*. After his second marriage, he used his first wife with no better regard, then if she had been his Concubine. *Laodice* hated him for this: yet adventured not to seek revenge, untill her own son *Seleucus Callinicus* was of ability to be King. This was two or three years after the death of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*: at what time she poysoned her husband *Theos*; and, by permission of *Seleucus* her son, murdered *Berenice*, together with a son that she had born to *Antiochus*. *Justine* reports, that *Beernice* saved her self, together with the young Prince her child, a while in the Sanctuary at *Daphne*: and that not only some Cities of *Asia* prepared to succour her, but her brother *Ptolomy Euergetes* King of *Ægypt*, came to rescue her with an Army; though too late, for she was slain before. *Iust. l. 27.*

With such cruelties *Seleucus Callinicus*, succeeding unto his Father, that had fifteen years been King, began his reign. His subjects were highly offended at his wicked nature; which they discovered in his first entrance. Wherefore it was like, that his Estate would have been much endangered, if *Ptolomy Euergetes*, who came against him, had not been drawn back into his own Countrey, by some Commotions there in hand. For there were none that would bear armes against *Ptolomy*, in defence of their own King: but rather they sided with the *Ægyptian*; who took *Laodice* the Kings mother, and rewarded her with death as she had well deserved. Wherefore *Seleucus*, being freed from this invasion, by occasion of those domestical troubles which recalled *Euergetes* home into *Ægypt*; went about a dangerous piece of work, even to make War upon his own subjects, because of their bad affection towards him; when it had been much better, by well deserving to have changed their hatred into love. A great Fleet he prepared: in furnishing and manning whereof he was at such charges, that he scarce left himself any other hope, if that should miscarry. Herein he embarqued himself; and putting to Sea, did meet with such a tempest, as devoured all save himself, and a very few of his friends that hardly escaped. This calamity, having left him nothing else in a manner than his naked body, turned nevertheless to his great good; as anon after it seemed. For when his subjects understood in what sort the gods (as they conceived it) had punished him for his offences: they had commiseration of his Estate; and, presuming that he would thenceforth become a new man, offered unto him their service with great alacrity. This revived him, and filled him such a spirit; as thinking himself well enough able to deal with the *Ægyptian*, he made ready a mighty Army for that purpose. But his fortune was no better at Land, that it had been at Sea. He was vanquished by *Ptolomy* in a great battel: whence he escaped hardly; no better attended, than after his late shipwrack. Hasting therefore back to *Antioch*, and fearing that the enemy would soon be at his heels;

heels; He wrote unto his brother *Antiochus Hierax* who lay then in *Asia*, praying him to bring succour with all speed; and promising, in recompence of his faith and diligence, the Dominion of a great part of *Asia*. *Antiochus* was then but fourteen years old, but extreamly ambitious; and therefore glad of such an occasion to make himself great. He levied a mighty Army of the *Gaules*; wherewith he set forward to help his brother, or rather to get what he could for himself. Hereof *Ptolomy* being advertised: and having no desire to put himself in danger more then he needed; took Truce with *Seleucus* for ten years. No sooner was *Seleucus* freed from this care of the *Ægyptian* War, but his brother *Antiochus* came upon him, and needs would fight with him, as knowing himself to have the better Army. So *Seleucus* was vanquished again; and saved himself with so few about him, that he was verily supposed to have perished in the battel. Thus did Gods Justice take revenge of those murders by which the Crown was purchased; and setled (as might have been thought) on the head of this bloody King. *Antiochus* was very glad to hear of his brothers death, as if thereby he had purchased his hearts desire. But the *Gaules*, his Mercenaries, were gladder then he. For when he led them against *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, being in hope to get honour by making a Conquest in the beginning of his Reign: these perfidious Barbarians took counsel against him, & devised how to strip him of all that he had. They thought it very likely, that if there were none of the Royall house to make head against them; it would be in their power, to do what should be best pleasing to themselves, in the lower *Asia*. Wherefore they laid hands on *Antiochus*; and enforced him to ransome himself with money, as if he had been their lawful Prisoner. Neither were they so contented: but made him enter into such Composition with them, as tended but little to his honour. In the mean while *Seleucus* had gathered a new Army: and prepared once more to try his fortune against his brother. *Eumenes* hearing of this, thought the season fit for himself, to make his profit of their discord. *Antiochus* fought with him, and was beaten: which is no great marvail, since he had great reason to stand in no less fear of the *Gaules*, his own souldiers, than of the enemy with whom he had to deal. After this, *Eumenes* won much in *Asia*; whilest *Antiochus* went against his brother. In the second battel, fought between the brethren, *Seleucus* had the upper hand: and *Antiochus Hierax* or *the Hawk*) which surname was given him, because he sought his prey upon every one, without care whether he were provoked or not) soared away as far as he could, both from his brother, and from his own *Gaules*. Having fetcht a great compass through *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*, He fell at length in *Cappadocia*; where his father-in-law King *Artamenes* took him up. He was entertained very lovingly in outward shew; but with a meaning to betray him. This he soon perceived: and therefore betook him to his wings again; though he knew not well, which way to bend his flight. At length he resolved to bestow himself upon *Ptolomy*; his own conscience telling him, what evil he had meant unto *Seleucus* his brother; and therefore what little good he was reciprocally to expect at his hands. Infidelity can find no sure harbour. *Ptolomy* well understood the perfidious and turbulent nature of this *Hierax*. Wherefore he laid him up in close prison: whence though by means of an harlot, he got out; yet flying from his keepers, he fell into the hands of thieves, by whom he was murthered. Near about the same time died *Seleucus*. The *Parthians* and *Bactrians* had rebelled against him, during his wars with his brother. He therefore made a journey against *Arsaces* founder of the *Parthian* Kingdom: wherein his evil fortune, or rather Gods vengeance, adhered so closely to him, that he was taken prisoner. *Arsaces* dealt friendly with him, and dismissed him, having every way given him royal entertainment: but in returning home, he brake his neck by a fall from his horse, and so ended his unhappy reign of twenty years. He had to wife *Laodice* the sister of *Andromachus*, one of his most trusty Captains: which was father unto that *Achæus*, who making his advantage of this affinity, became shortly after (as he stiled himself) a King; though rather indeed, a great troubler of the world in those parts. By *Laodice* he had two sons; *Seleucus* the third, surnamed *Ceraunus*; and *Antiochus* the third, called afterwards *the Great*.

*Seleucus Ceraunus* reigned only three years: in which time he made War upon *Attalus* the first, that was King of *Pergamus*. Being weak of body through sickness, and in want of money, he could not keep his men of War in good order: and finally he was slain by treason of *Nicanor* and *Apaturius* a *Gaule*. His death was revenged by *Achæus* a *Gaule*. His death was revenged by *Achæus*, who slew the Traitors, and took charge of the Army: which he ruled very wisely, and faithfully a while; *Antiochus* the brother of *Seleucus* being a Child.

§. II.



§. II.

*The beginning of the Great* Antiochus *his reign. Of* Ptolomy Euergetes, *and* Philopater, *Kings of Ægypt. War between* Antiochus *and* Philopater. *The rebellion of* Molo: *an expedition of* Antiochus *against him. The recontinuance of* Antiochus *his Ægyptian war: with the passages between the two Kings: the victory of* Ptolomy, *and peace concluded. Of* Achæus, *and his rebellion; his greatness, and his fall.* Antiochus *his expedition against the Parthians, Bactrians, and Indians. Somewhat of the Kings reigning in India, after the death of the Great* Alexander.

ANtiochus was scarcely fifteen years old, when he began his reign, which lasted six and thirty years. In his minority he was wholly governed by one *Hermias*, an ambitious man, and one which maligned all vertue, that he found in any of the Kings faithful servants. This vile quality in a Counsellor of such great place, how harmfull it was unto his Lord, and finally unto himself; the success of things will shortly discover.

Soon after the beginning of *Antiochus* his reign, *Ptolomy Euergetes* King of *Ægypt* died, and left his heir *Ptolomy Philopater*, a young Boy likewise, as hath elsewhere been remembred. This was that *Euergetes*, who relieved *Aratus* and the *Achæans*: who afterwards took part with *Cleomenes*: and lovingly entertained him, when he was chased out of *Greece* by *Antigonus Gonatus*. He annexed unto his Dominion the Kingdom of *Cyrene* by taking to wife *Bernice*, the daughter of King *Magas*. He was the third of the *Ptolomies*; and the last good King of that race. The name of *Euergetes*, or *the doer of good*, was given to him by the *Ægyptians*; not so much for the great spoils which he brought home, after his victories in *Syria*; as for that he recovered some of those Images or Idols, which *Cambyses*, when he conquered *Ægypt*, had carried into *Persia*. He was ready to have made War upon the *Jews*, for that *Onias* their high Priest, out of meer covetousness of money, refused to pay unto him his yearly tribute of 20. talents: but he was pacified by the wisdom of *Josephus* a *Jew*, to whom afterwards he let in farm the Tributes and customs that belonged unto him in those parts of *Syria* which he held. For *Cœlosyria*, with *Palestina*, and all those parts of the Country that lay nearest unto *Egypt*, were held by the *Egyptian*; either as having fallen to the share of *Ptolomy* the first, at such time as the great *Antigonus* was vanquished and slain in the battel at *Ipsus*; or as being won by this *Euergetes*, in the troublesome and unhappy reign of *Seleucus Callinicus*. The victories of this *Euergetes* in *Syria*, with the contentions that lasted for many succeeding ages between the *Ptolomies* and the *Seleucidæ*; were all foretold by *Daniel* in the Prophecy before cited, which is expounded by *S. Hierome*. Thus *Ptolomy Euergetes* reigned six and twenty years; and died towards the end of the hundred thirty and ninth Olympiad. It may seem by that which we find in the Prologue unto *Jesus* the son of *Syrach* his book, that he should have reigned a much longer time. For *Siracides* there saith that he came into *Egypt* in the eight and thirtieth year, when *Euergetes* was King. It may therefore be, That either this King reigned long together with his father: or that those eight and thirty years were the years of *Jesus* his own age; if not perhaps reckoned (as the *Jews* did otherwhiles reckon) from some notable accident that had befallen them.

Not long after the death of *Euergetes*, *Hermias* the Counsellor, and in a manner the Protector of King *Antiochus*, incited his Lord unto war against the *Egyptian*; for the recovery of *Cœlosyria* and the Countries adjoyning. This counsel was very unseasonably given, when *Molo*, the Kings Lieutenant in *Media*, was broken out in rebellion, and sought to make himself absolute Lord of that rich Country. Nevertheless *Hermias*, being more froward than wise, maintained stiffely, that it was most expedient and agreeable with the Kings honour, to send forth against a rebellious Captain, other Captains that were faithful; whilest he in person made War upon one that was like himself, a King. No man durst gain-say the resolution of *Hermias*; who therefore sent *Xenætas* an *Achæan*, with such forces as he thought expedient, against the Rebel; whilest in the mean season an Army was preparing for the Kings expedition into *Cœlosyria*. The King having marched from *Apamea* to *Laodicea*, and so over the Desarts into the Valley of *Massias*, between the Mountains of *Libanus* and *Anti-libanus*; found his way there stopped by *Theodotus* an *Ætolian*, that served under *Ptolomy*. So he consumed the time there a while to none effect: and then came news, that *Xenætas*, his Captain, was destroyed with his whole Army; and *Molo* thereby become Lord of all the Countrey, as far as unto *Babylon*.

*Xenætus*, whilest he was yet on his journey, and

and drew near to the River of *Tygris*; received many advertisements, by such as fled over unto him from the Enemy, That the followers of *Molo* were, for the most part, against their wills drawn by their Commander to bear arms against their King. This report was not altogether false; but *Molo* himself stood in some doubt left his followers would leave him in time of necessity. *Xenetas* therefore making shew, as if he had prepared to pass the River by Boats in face of his enemy; left in the night time such as he thought meet to defend his Camp: and with all the flour of his Army went over *Tygris*, in a place ten miles lower than *Molo* his Camp. *Molo* heard of this, and sent forth his horse to give impediment: but hearing that *Xenetas* could not so be stopped, He himself dislodged, and took his journey towards *Media*; leaving all his baggage behind him in his Camp. Whether he did this, as distrusting the faith of his own souldiers; or whether thereby to deceive his Enemy: the great folly of *Xenetas* made his stratagem prosperous. For *Xenetas*, having born himself proudly before, upon the countenance of *Hermias*, by whom he was advanced unto this charge; did now presume that all should give way to his authority, without putting him to much trouble of using the sword. Wherefore he suffered his men to feast with the provisions which they found ready in the forsaken Camp: or rather he commanded them so to do, by making Proclamation, That they should cherish up themselves against the journey, which he intended to take the next day, in pursuit of the Rebels that fled. And to the same purpose he busied himself, in transporting the remainder of his Army, which he had left on the other side of *Tygris*. But *Molo* went no further that day, than he could easily return the same night. Wherefore understanding what good rule the Kings men kept: he made such haste back unto them, that he came upon them early in the morning; whilest they were yet heavy with the Wine and other good cheer that they had spent at supper. So *Xenetas* and a very few with him, died fighting in defence of the Camp: the rest were slaughtered without making resistance; and many of them ere they were perfectly awake. Likewise the Camp on the other side of *Tygris*, was easily taken by *Molo*: the Captains flying thence, to save their own lives. In the heat of this victory, the Rebell marched unto *Selecia*, which he presently took: and, mastering within a little while the Province of *Babylonia*, and all the Countrey down to the red Sea, or Bay of *Persia*, He hasted unto *Susa*; where at his first coming, he won the City: but failing to take the Castle that was exceeding strong, returned back to *Selecia*, there to give order concerning this business.

The report of these things coming to *Antiochus*, whilest he lay (as is said before) in the Vale of *Mapsyas*; filled him with great sorrow, and his Camp with trouble. He took counsell what to do in this needfull case: and was well advised by *Epigenes*, the best man of War he had about him, to let alone this enterprise of *Cœlosyria*; and bend his forces thither, where more need required them. This counsel was put in excution with all convenient haste. Yet was *Epigenes* dismissed by the way, and soon after slain, by the practice of *Hermias*: who could not endure to hear good counsel given, contrary to his own good liking and allowance. In the journey against *Molo*, the name and presence of the King was more available, than any odds which he had of the Rebell in strength. *Molo* distrusted his own followers: and thought, that neither his late good success, nor any other consideration, would serve to hold them from returning to the Kings obedience, if once they beheld his person. Wherefore he thought it safest for him to assail the Kings Camp in the night time. But going in hand with this, He was discovered by some that fled over from him to the King. This caused him to return back to his Camp: which by some errour, took alarm at his return: and was hardly quieted, when *Antiochus* appeared in sight. The King was thus forward in giving battel to *Molo*, upon confidence which he had that many would revolt unto him. Neither was he deceived in this his belief. For not a few men or Ensigns: but all the left wing of the enemy which was opposite unto the King, changed side forthwith as soon as ever they had sight of the Kings person; and were ready to do him service against *Molo*. This was enough to have won the victory: but *Molo* shortned the work, by killing himself; as did also divers of his friends, who for fear of torments, prevented the Hang-man with their own swords.

After this Victory, came joyfull news, that the Queen *Laodice* daughter of *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, which was married unto *Antiochus* a while before, had brought forth a son. Fortune seemed bountiful unto the King: and therefore he purposed to make what use he could of her friendly disposition while it lasted. But now in the Eastern parts of his kingdom, He judged it convenient to visit his frontiers, were it only



only to terrifie the *Barbarians*, that bordered upon him. Hereunto his Counsellor *Hermias* gave assent: not so much respecting the Kings honour, as considering what good might thereby happen to himself. For if it should come to pass, that the King were taken out of the world by any casualty: then made he no doubt of becoming Protector to the young Prince; and thereby of lengthening his own Government. *Antiochus* therefore went against *Artabanes*, who reigned among the *Atropatians*; having the greatest part of his kingdom situate between the *Caspian* and *Euxine* Sea. This barbarous King was very old and fearful; and therefore yielded unto whatsoever conditions it pleased *Antiochus* to lay upon him. So in this journey *Antiochus* got honour, such as well contented him; and then returned homewards. Upon the way, a Physitian of his brake with him as concerning *Hermias*; informing him truly how odious he was to the people; and how dangerous he would be shortly unto the Kings own life. *Antiochus* believed this, as having long suspected the same *Hermias*; but not daring for fear of him to utter his suspitions. It was therefore agreed, that he should be made away on the sudden: which was done, he being trained forth by a sleight, a good way out of the Camp, and there killed without warning or disputation. The King needed not to have used so much art in ridding his hands of a man so much detested. For howsoever he seemed gracious whilest he was alive: yet they that for fear had been most obsequious to him, whilest he was in case to do them hurt, was as ready as the foremost, to speak of him as he had deserved, when once they were secure of him: yea, his wife and children, laying then at *Apamea*, were stoned to death by the wives and children of the Citizens; whose indignation brake forth the more outrageously, the longer that it had been concealed.

About these times, *Achæus* (of whom we spake before) thinking that *Antiochus* might happen to perish in some of these expeditions which he took in hand; was bold to set a Diadem upon his own head, and take upon him as a King. His purpose was to have invaded *Syria*: but the fame of *Antiochus* his returning thitherwards, made him quit the enterprise; and study to set some handsome colour on his former presumption. It is very strange that *Antiochus* neither went against *Achæus*; nor yet dissembled the notice which he had taken of these his traiterous purposes: but wrote unto him, signifying that he knew all, and upbraiding him with such infidelity, as any offender might know to be unpardonable. By these means he emboldned the Traitor: who being already detected, might better hope to maintain his former actions by strong hand, than to excuse them or get pardon by submission. *Antiochus* had at that time a vehement desire to recover *Cœlosyria*, or what else he could, of the Dominions of *Ptolomy Philopater* in those parts. He began with *Selencia*, a very strong City near to the mouth of the River *Orontes*; which ere long he won, partly by force, partly by corrupting with bribes the Captains that lay therein. This was that *Selencia*, whereto *Antigonus the Great*, who founded it, gave the name of *Antigonia*: but *Selecus* getting it shortly after, called it *Selencia*; and *Ptolomy Euergetes* having lately won it, might if it had so pleased him, have changed the name into *Ptolomais*. Such is the vanity of men, that hope to purchase an endless memorial unto their names, by works proceeding rather from their greatness, than from their vertue; which therefore no longer are their own, than the same greatness hath continuance. *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, he that before had opposed himself to *Antiochus*, and defended *Cœlosyria* in the behalf of *Ptolomy*; was now grown sorry, that he had used so much faith and diligence, in service of an unthankful and luxurious Prince. Wherefore as a Mercenary, he began to have regard to his own profit: which thinking to find greater, by applying himself unto him that was (questionless) the more worthy of these two Kings; he offered to deliver up unto *Antiochus*, the Cities of *Tyrus* and *Ptolomais*. Whilst he was devising about this treason, and had already sent messengers to King *Antiochus*: his practice was detected, and he besieged in *Ptolomais* by one of *Ptolomies* Captains, that was more faithful than himself. But *Antiochus* hasting to his rescue, vanquished this Captain who met him on the way: and afterwards got possession, not only of *Tyrus* and *Ptolomais*, with a good Fleet of the *Egyptian* Kings that was in those Havens: but of so many other Towns in that Country, as emboldned him to think upon making a journey into *Egypt* it self. *Agathocles* and *Sostibius* bore all the sway in *Egypt* at that time: *Ptolomy* himself being loath to have his pleasures interrupted, with business of so small importance, as the safety of his Kingdom. Wherefore these two agreed together, to make provision as hastily, and yet as secretly as might be for the War: and nevertheless at the same time, to press *Antiochus* with daily Embassadors

to some good agreement. There came in the heat of this business, Embassadors from *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, and *Cyzicus*, as likewise from the *Ætolians*; according to the usual courtesie of the *Greeks*, desiring to take up the quarrel.

These were all entertained in *Memphis*, by *Agathocles* and *Sosibius*: who intreated them to deal effectually with *Antiochus*. But whilst this treaty lasted, great preparations were made at *Alexandria* for the War: wherein these two Counsellors perswaded themselves reasonably, that the victory would be their own; if they could get, for money, a sufficient number of the *Greeks* to take their parts. *Antiochus* heard only what was done at *Memphis*, and how desirous the Governours of *Egypt* were to be at quiet: whereunto he gave the readier belief, not only for that he knew the disposition of *Ptolomy*, but because the *Rhodians*, and other Embassadors, coming from *Memphis*, discoursed unto him all after one manner; as being all deceived by the cunning of *Agathocles* and his fellow: *Antiochus* therefore having wearied himself, at the long siege of a Town called *Dura*, which he could not win: and being desirous to refresh himself and his Army in *Seleucia*, during the winter which then came on, granted to the *Ægyptian* a Truce for four moneths, with promise that he would be ready to hearken unto equal Conditions, when they should be offered. It was not his meaning to be so courteous, as he would fain have seemed, but only to lull his enemies asleep, whilest he took time to refresh himself; and to bring *Achæus* to some good order, whose treason daily grew more open and violent. The same negligence which he thought the *Egyptian* would have used, he used himself; as presuming that when time of the year better served, little force would be needful; for that the Towns would voluntarily yield unto him, since *Ptolomy* provided not for their defence. Nevertheless, he gave audience to the Embassadors, and had often conference with those that were sent out of *Egypt*: pleasing himself well, to dispute about the justice of his quarrel; which he purposed shortly to make good by the sword, whether it were just or no. He said, that it was agreed between *Seleucus* his Ancestor, and *Ptolomy* the son of *Lagi*, That all *Syria*, if they could win it from *Antigonus*, should be given in possession to *Seleucus*: and that this bargain was afterward ratified, by general consent of the Confederates, after the battel at *Ipsus*. But *Ptolomies* men would acknowledge no such bargain. They said that *Ptolomy* the son of *Lagi*, had won *Cœlosyria*, and the Provinces adjoyning, for himself: as also that he had sufficiently gratified *Seleucus*, by lending him forces to recover his Province of *Babylon*, and the Countries about the River of *Euphrates*. Thus whilest neither of them greatly cared for peace; they were in the end of their disputation, as far from concluding, as at the beginning. *Ptolomy* demanded restitution; *Antiochus* thought, that he had not as yet gotten all that was his own: Also *Ptolomy* would needs have *Achæus* comprehended in the league between them, as one of their Confederates; But *Antiochus* would not endure to hear of this, exclaiming against it as a shameful thing, that one King should offer to deal so with another, as to take his rebel into protection, and seek to joyn him in Confederacy with his own Soveraign Lord. When the Truce was expired, and *Antiochus* prepared to take the field again: contrary to his expectation, he was informed, That *Ptolomy*, with a very puissant Army, was coming up against him out of *Egypt*. Setting forward therefore to meet with the Enemy, he was encountred on the way by these Captains of *Ptolomy*, that had resisted him the year before. They held against him the passages of *Libanus*, whence nevertheless he drave them: and proceeding onward in his journey, won so many places, that he greatly encreased his reputation; and thereby drew the *Arabians*, with divers of the bordering people, to become his followers. As the two Kings drew near together; many Captains of *Ptolomy* forsook his pay, and fled over to *Antiochus*. This notwithstanding, the *Egyptian* had the courage to meet his enemy in the field. The battle was fought at *Raphia*: where it was not to be decided, whether the *Egyptians* or the *Asiatiques* were the better Souldiers, (for that the strength of both Armies consisted in Mercenaries, chiefly of the *Greeks*, *Thracians*, and *Gauls*;) but whether of the Kings was the more fortunate. *Ptolomy*, with *Arsinoe* his Sister and Wife, rode up and down encouraging his men; the like did *Antiochus* on the other side: each of them rehearsing the brave deeds of his Ancestors; as not having of their own, whereby to value themselves. *Antiochus* had the more Elephants, as also his being of *Asia*, had they been fewer, would have beaten those of *Africk*. Wherefore by the advantage of those beasts, He drave the Enemies before him; in that part of the battel wherein he fought himself. But *Ptolomy* had the better men by whose valour he brake the Gross of his enemies battel, and won the victory: whilest



whilest *Antiochus* was heedlesly following upon those, whom he had compelled to retire. *Antiochus* had brought into the field above seventy thousand foot, and six thousand horse; whereof though he lost scarce ten thousand foot, and not four hundred horse; yet the fame of his overthrow took from him all those places which he had lately won. When therefore he was returned home to *Antioch*: He began to stand in fear, lest *Ptolomy* and *Achæus*, setting upon him both at once, should put him in danger of his whole Estate. This caused him to send Embassadors to the *Egyptian*, to treat of peace; which was readily granted; it being much against the nature of *Ptolomy* to vex himself thus with the tedious business of War. So *Ptolomy* having staid three moneths in *Syria*, returned home into *Eggpt*, clad with the reputation of a Conqueror; to the great admiration of his subjects and all those that were acquainted with his voluptuous and slothful condition.

*Achæus* was not comprised in the league between these two Kings: or if he had been included therein; yet would not the *Egyptian* have taken the pains, of making a second expedition for his sake. The best was, that he thought himself strong enough, if fortune were not too much against him, to deal with *Antiochus*. Neither was he confident without great reason: for besides his many victories, whereby he had gotten all that belonged unto *Antiochus* on this side of *Taurus*, he had also good success against *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*: that was an able man of war, and commanded a strong Army. Neither was he, as *Molo* the Rebel had been, one of mean regard otherwise, and carried beyond himself by apprehending the advantage of some opportunity: but Cousin-german to the King, as hath been shewed before; and now lately the Kings brother-in-law, by taking to wife a younger daughter of the same *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, which was also called *Laodice*, as was her sister the Queen, *Antiochus* his wife. These things had added Majesty unto him, and had made his followers greatly to respect him, even as one to whom a Kingdom was belonging. Neither made it a little for him, That King *Ptolomy* of *Egypt* held him in the nature of a friend: and that King *Antiochus* was now lately vanquished in the battel at *Raphia*: and had thereby lost all his gettings in *Syria*. But all these hopes and likelihoods came to nothing: for the King of *Pontus*, if he would meddle in that quarell between sons-in-law, had no reason to take part against the more honourable. As for the *Egyptian*, he was not only slothful, but hindred by a rebellion of his own subjects, from helping his friends abroad. For the people of *Egypt*, of whom *Ptolomy*, contrary to the manner of his Progenitors, had armed a great number to serve in the late expedition; began to entertain a good opinion of their own valour, thinking it not inferiour to the *Macedonian*. Hereupon they refused to suffer as much as formerly they had done: since they less esteemed, than they had done, the force of the Kings mercenary *Greeks*: which had hitherto kept them in straight subjection. Thus brake out a war between the King and his subjects: wherein though the ill-guided force of the multitude was finally broken; yet King *Ptolomy* thereby wasted much of his strength, and much of his time, that might have been spent, as he thought, much better in revelling: or, as others thought, in succouring *Achæus*. As for *Antiochus*, He had no sooner made his peace with the *Egyptian*, than he turned all his care to the preparation of war against *Achæus*. To this purpose he entred into League with *Attalus*; that so he might distract the forces of his Rebel, and find him work on all sides. Finally, his diligence and fortune were such, that within a while he had pent up *Achæus* into the City of *Sardes*; where he held him about two years besieged. The City was very strong, and well victualled: so as there appeared not, when the second year came, any greater likelihood of taking it, than in the first years siege. In the end, one *Lagoras* a *Cretan* found means how to enter the Town. The Castle it self was upon a very high rock, and in a manner impregnable; as also the Town-wall adjoyning to the Castle, in that part which was called *the Sawe*, was in like manner situate upon steep Rocks, and almost inaccessible; that hung over a deep bottom, whereinto the dead carkases of Horses, and other beasts, yea, and sometimes of men, used to be thrown. Now it was observed by *Lagoras*, that the Ravens and other birds of prey, which haunted that place by reason of their food which was there never wanting, used to flye up unto the top of the Rocks, and to pitch upon the wals, where they rested without any disturbance. Observing this often, he reasoned with himself, and concluded that those parts of the wall were left unguarded, as being thought unapproachable. Hereof he informed the King: who approved his judgement, and gave unto him the leading of such men, as he desired for the accomplishing of the enterprise. The success was agreeable to that which

*Lagoras* had afore conceived: and though with much labour, yet without resistance, he scaled those rocks, and whilest a general assault was made, entred the Town in that part, which was at other times unguarded, then unthought upon. In the same place had the *Persians*, under *Cyrus*, gotten into *Sardes*; when *Crœsus* thought himself secure on that side. But the Citizens took not warning by the example of a loss of many ages past: and therefore out of memory. *Achæus* held still the Castle: which not only seemed by nature impregnable, but was very well stored with all necessaries, and manned with a sufficient number, of such as were to him well assured. *Antiochus* therefore was constrained to waste much time about it: having none other hope to prevail, than by famishing the inclosed. Besides the usual tediousness of expectation, his business called him thence away into the higher *Asia*, where the *Bactrians*, and *Parthians* with the *Hyrcanians*, had erected Kingdoms taken out of his Dominions, upon which they still incroached. But he thought it not safe, to let *Achæus* break loose again. On the other side there were some Agents of *Ptolomy* the *Egyptian*, and good friends unto *Achæus*; that made it their whole study, how to deliver this besieged Prince. If they could rescue his person, they cared for no more: but presumed that when he should appear in the Countrys under *Taurus*, he would soon have an Army at command, and be strong enough to hold *Antiochus* as hardly to work as at any time before. Wherefore they dealt with one *Bolis* a *Cretian*, that was acquainted well with all the wayes in the Country, and particularly with the by-paths and exceeding difficult passages among those Rocks, whereon the Castle of *Sardes* stood. Him they tempted with great rewards, which he should receive at the hands of *Ptolomy*, as well as of *Achæus*; to do his best for performance of their desire. He undertook the business: and gave such likely reasons of bringing all to good effect, that they wrote unto *Achæus*, by one *Arianus*, a trusty messenger, whom *Bolis* found means to conveigh into the Castle. The faith of these Negotiators *Achæus* held most assured. They also wrote unto him in privie Characters, or Ciphers, wherewith none save he and they were acquainted: whereby he knew, that it was no fained device of his Enemies, in the name of his friends. As for the messenger, he was a trusty fellow, and one whom *Achæus* found by examination, heartily affected unto their side. But the Contents of the Epistle, which were that he should be confident in the faith of *Bolis*, and of one *Cambylus* whom *Bolis* had won unto the business, did somewhat trouble him. They were men to him unknown: and *Cambylus* was a follower of *Antiochus*; under whom he had the command of those *Cretans*, which held one of the Forts that blocked up the Castle of *Sardes*. Nevertheless other way to escape he saw none, than by putting himself to some adventure. When the messenger had therefore passed often to and fro, it was at length concluded, That *Bolis* himself should come speak with *Achæus*, and conduct him forth. There was none other than good faith meant by any of the rest, save only by *Bolis* and *Cambylus*; which were *Cretans*, and (as all their Countrymen, *some few excepted, have been, and still are,) false knaves. These two held a consultation together, that was, as (a) *Polybius* observes it, rightly *Cretical*: neither concerning the safety of him whose deliverance they undertook, nor touching the discharge of their own faith; but only how to get most with least adoe and danger to themselves. Briefly they concluded, That first of all, they would equally share between them ten Talents, which they had already received in hand: and then, That they would reveal the matter to *Antiochus*; offering to deliver *Achæus* unto him, if they might be well rewarded both with present money, and with promise of consideration answerable to the greatness of such a service, when it should be dispatched. *Antiochus* hearing this promise of *Cambylus*, was no less glad, than were the friends of *Achæus* well pleased with the comfortable promises of *Bolis*. At length when all things were in readiness on both sides, and that *Bolis* with *Arianus* was to get up into the Castle, and conveigh *Achæus* thence: He first went with *Cambylus* to speak with the King, who gave him very private audience; and confirmed unto him by word of mouth the assurance of his liberal promises. And after that, putting on the countenance of an honest man, and of one that was faithful unto *Ptolomy*, whom he had long served, he accompanied *Arianus* up into the Castle. At his coming thither, he was lovingly entertained; yet questioned at large by *Achæus*, touching all the weight of the business in hand. But he discoursed so well, and with such gravity; that there appeared no reason of distrusting either his faith or judgement. He was an old Souldier, had long been a Captain under *Ptolomy*, and did not thrust himself into this business; but was invited

* Among these few I do not except one, calling himself *Eudæmon*, *John Andrew a Cretan*, who in one of his late shameless Libels, wherein he traduceth our King, Religion, and Country, with all the good and worthy men of whom he could learn the names, hath by inserting my name twice belied me, in calling me a *Puritan*, and one that hath been dangerous unto my Soveraign. It is an honour to be ill spoken of by so diligent a supporter of Treasons, and Architect of Lies, in regard whereof I may not deny him the commendation of Creticism no less voluminous than he in multiplicity of name is beyond any the *Cretians* in elder times, that were always Lyars, evil beasts, and slow bellies.

(a) *è Pol. hist. l.* 8.



by honourable and faithful men. He had also taken a safe course, in winning (as it seemed) that other Countriman of his, who kept a Fort that stood in their way; and thereby had already sundry times given safe passage and repassage unto *Arianus*. But against all these comfortable hopes, the importance of so great an adventure stirred up some diffidence. *Achæus* therefore dealt wisely, and said, that he would yet stay in the Castle a little longer: but that he meant to send away with *Bolis* three or four of his friends; from whom, when he received better advertisement, concerning the likelihood of the enterprise, then would he issue forth himself. Hereby he took order, not to commit himself wholly unto the faith of a man unknown. But as *Polybius* well notes, he did not consider that he played the *Cretian* with a man of *Crete*: which is to say, that he had to do with one, whose knavery could not be avoided by circumspection. *Bolis* and *Cambylus* had laid their plots thus, That if *Achæus* came forth alone, then should he easily be taken by the ambush prepared for him: if he were accompanied with many of his friends, then should *Arianus* be appointed to lead the way, as one that of late had trodden it oft: and *Bolis* following behind, should have an eye upon *Achæus* to prevent him, not only from escaping in the tumult, but from breaking his own neck, or otherwise killing himself: to the end that being taken alive, he might be to *Antiochus* the more welcome Present. And in such order came they now forth: *Arianus* going before as Guide: the rest following as the way served, and *Bolis* in the Rear. *Achæus* made none acquainted with his purpose, till the very instant of his departure. Then signified he the matter to his Wife *Laodice*; and comforting her with hope as well as he could, appointed four of his special friends to bear him company. They were all disguised: and one of them alone took upon him to have knowledge of the *Greek* tongue; speaking & answering as need should require for all, as if the rest had been *Barbarians*. *Bolis* followed them, craftily devising upon his business, and much perplexed. For (saith *Polybius*) *though he were of* Crete, *and prone to surmise any thing to the mischief of another*; yet could he not see in the dark, nor know which of them was *Achæus*, or whether *Achæus* himself were there. The way was very uneasie, and in some places dangerous; especially to those that knew it not. Wherefore they were fain to stay in divers places, and help one another up or down. But upon every occasion they were all of them very officious towards *Achæus*; lending him their hands, and taking such care of him, as easily gave *Bolis* to understand that he was the man: and so by their unseasonable duty, they undid their Lord. When they came to the place where *Cambylus* lay in wait, *Bolis* whistled, and presently clapsed *Achæus* about the middle, holding him fast that he could not stir. So they were all taken by the Ambush, and carried forthwith to *Antiochus*; who sate up watching in his Pavilion, expecting the event. The sight of *Achæus*, brought in bound unto him, did so astonish the King that he was unable to speak a word, and anon brake out into weeping. Yet was he before informed of the plot, which might have kept him from admiration: as also the next morning betimes, assembling his friends together, he condemned *Achæus* to a cruel death: which argues, that he was not moved with pity towards this unhappy man. Wherefore it was the general regard of calamities, incident unto great fortunes, that wrung from him these tears: as also the rarity of the accident, that made both him and his friends to wonder: though it be so, that such a course as this of his, in imploying two mischievous knaves against one Traitor, doth not rarely succeed well; according to that *Spanish* Proverb, *A un traydor dos allevosos*. The death of *Achæus* brought such astonishment upon those which held the castle, that after a while they gave up the place and themselves unto the King; whereby he got entire possession of all to him belonging in the lesser *Asia*.

Some years passed after this, ere *Antiochus* was ready for his expedition against the *Parthians* and *Hyrcanians*. The *Parthians* were a little Nation of obscure beginnings, and commonly subject unto those that ruled in *Media*. In the great shuffling for Provinces, after the death of *Alexander*, the Government over them was committed by *Antipater*, to one *Philip*, a man of small regard: shortly they fell to *Eumenes*; then to *Antigonus*: and from him, together with the *Medes*, to *Seleucus*; under whose posterity they continued until the Reign of *Seleucus Callinicus*, being ruled by Lieutenants of the *Syrian* Kings. The lustful insolency of one of these Lieutenants, together with the misfortune of *Callinicus*, that was vanquished and thought to be slain by the *Gauls*, did stir up *Arsaces*, a nobleman of the Country, to seek revenge of injuries done, and animate them to rebel. So he slew the Kings Lieutenant; made himself King of the *Parthians*, and Lord of *Hyrcania*; fought prosperously with those that disturbed him in his

his beginnings; and took *Seleucus Callinicus* prisoner in battel, whom he royally entertained and dismissed. Hereby he won reputation as a lawful King: and by good government of his Countrey, procured unto himself such love of his Subjects, that his name was continued unto his successors; like as that of the *Ptolomies* in *Egypt*, and that of the *Cæsars* afterwards in *Rome*. Much about the same time the *Bactrians* rebelled: though these at length, and all belonging unto the *Seleucidæ* beyond *Euphrates*, increased the *Parthians* dominion. Now *Antiochus* went against them with so strong an army, that they durst not meet him in plain field; but kept themselves in woods or places of streugth, and defended the Straights and passages of mountains. The resistances they made availed them not. For *Antiochus* had with him so great a multitude, and so well sorted, as he needed not to turn out of the way, from those that lay fortified against him, in Woods and Straights between their mountains; it being easie to spare out of so great a number, as many as fetching a compass about, might either get above the enemies heads; or come behind, and charge them on the back. Thus did he often imploy against them his light armature: wherewith he caused them to dislodge, and give way unto his Phalanx; upon which they durst not adventure themselves in open ground. *Arsaces*, the second of the name, (for his father was dead before this) was then King of *Parthia*: who though he was confident in the fidelity of his own subjects; yet feared to encounter so mighty an Invader. His hope was, that the bad wayes and Desarts would have caused *Antiochus*, when he was at *Ecbatane* in *Media*, to give over the journey, without proceeding much further. This not so falling out: He caused the Wels and Springs in the Wilderness, through which his Enemy must pass, to be dammed up and spoiled. By which means, and the resistance before spoken of, when he could not prevail, He withdrew himself out of the way; suffering the Enemy to take his pleasure for a time, in wasting the Countrey: wherein without some victory obtained, he could make no long abode. *Antiochus* hereby found, That *Arsaces* was nothing strongly provided for the War. Wherefore he marched through the heart of *Parthia*: and then forward into *Hyrcania* where he wan *Tambrace*, the chief City of that Province. This indignity and many other losses, caused *Arsaces* at length, when he had gathered an Army that seemed strong enough, to adventure a battel. The issue thereof was such as gave to neither of the Kings hope of accomplishing his desires, without exceeding difficulty. Wherefore *Arsaces* craved peace, and at length obtained it: *Antiochus* thinking it not amiss, to make him a friend, whom he could not make a subject.

The next expedition of *Antiochus*, was against *Enthydemus* King of the *Bactrians*; one that indeed had not rebelled against him or his Ancestors: but having gotten the Kingdom from those that had rebelled, kept it himself. With *Euthydemus* he fought a battel by the River *Artus*, where he had the victory. But the victory was not so greatly to his honour, as was the testimony which he gave of his own private valour, in obtaining it. He was thought that day to have demeaned him more courageously, than did any one man in all his Army. His horse was slain under him; and he himself received a wound in his mouth, whereby he lost some of his teeth. As for *Euthydemus*, He withdrew himself back unto the furthermost parts of his Kingdom, and afterwards protracted the War, seeking how to end it by composition. So Embassadors passed between the Kings: *Antiochus* complaining, That a Country of his was unjustly usurped from him: *Euthydemus* answering, That he had won it from the children of the Usurpers: and further, That the *Bactrians*, a wild Nation, could hardly be retained in order, save by a King of their own; for that they bordered upon the *Scythians*, with whom if they should join, it would be greatly to the danger of all the Provinces that lay behind them. These allegations, together with his own weariness, pacified *Antiochus*, and made him willing to grant Peace, upon reasonable Conditions. *Demetrius*, the son of *Euthydemus*, being a goodly Gentleman, and employed by his father, as Embassador in this Treaty of Peace, was not a little available unto a good conclusion: for *Antiochus* liked him so well, that he promised to give him in marriage, one of his own daughters; and therewithal permitted *Euthydemus* to retain the Kingdom, causing him nevertheless to deliver up all his Elephants; as also to bind himself by oath, to such Covenants as he thought requisite.

So *Antiochus* leaving the *Bactrian* in quiet, made a journey over *Caucausus*, and came to the borders of *India*, where he renewed with *Sophagasenus*, King of the *Indians*, the society that had been between their Ancestors. The *Indians* had remained subject unto the *Macedonians* for a little while, after *Alexanders* death. *Eumenes* in his War against *Antigonus*, raised part of his forces out of their Countrey. But when *Antigonus* (after his victory) turned Westward, and was overbusied in a great civill War: then did one *Sandrocottus*, an *Indian*, stir up his Country men to rebellion; making himself their Captain, and taking upon him, as protector of their liberty. This Office and Title he soon changed, though not without some contention, into the Name and Majesty of a King. Finally he got unto himself (having an Army of six hundred thousand men) if not all *India*, yet as much of it as had been *Alexanders*. In this estate he had well confirmed himself, ere *Seleucus Nicanor* could find leisure to call him to account. Neither did he faint, or humble himself at the coming of *Seleucus*; but met him in the field, as ready to defend his own, so strongly and well appointed, that the *Macedonian* was contented to make both peace and affinity with him, taking only a reward of fifty Elephants. This League, made by the Founders of the *Indian* and *Syrian* kingdoms, was continued by some offices of love between their children, and now renewed by *Antiochus*: whose number of Elephants were increased thereupon, by the *Indian* King, to an hundred and fifty: as also he was promised, to have some treasure sent after him; which he left one to receive. Thus parted these two great Kings. Neither had the *Indians*, from this time forwards in many generations, any business worthy of remembrance with the Western countries. The posterity of *Sandrocottus* is thought to have retained that kingdom unto the dayes of *Augustus Cæsar*: to whom *Porus*, then reigning in *India*, sent Embassadors with presents, and an Epistle written in *Greek*, wherein among other things, he said, That he had command over six hundred Kings. There is also found, scattered in sundry Authors, the mention of some which held that kingdom, in divers Ages, even unto the time of *Constantine the Great*: being all peradventure of the same race. But *Antiochus*, who in this Treaty with *Sophagasenus* carried himself as the worthier person, receiving presents, and after marching home through *Drangiana* and *Carmania*, with such reputation, that all the Potentates, not only in the higher *Asia*, but on the hither side of *Taurus*, humbled themselves unto him, and called him *The Great*: saw an end of his own greatness within few years ensuing, by presuming to stand upon points with the *Romans*: whose Greatness was the same in deed, that his was only in seeming.



## §. III.

*The lewd reign of* Ptolomy Philopater *in Ægypt: with the tragical end of his favourites, when he was dead.* Antiochus *prepares to war on the young child* Ptolomy Epiphanes, *the son of* Philopater. *His irresolution in preparing for divers wars at once. His voyage towards the* Hellespont. *He seeks to hold amity with the Romans, who make friendly shew to him; intending nevertheless to have war with him. His doings against the* Hellespont; *which the Romans made the first ground of their quarrel to him.*

THis expedition being finished, *Antiochus* had leisure to repose himself a while; and study which way to convert the terrour of his puissance, for the enlargement of his Empire. Within two or three years *Ptolomy Philopater* died: leaving his son *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, a young Boy, his successour in the kingdom: unlikely by him to be well defended against a neighbour so mighty and ambitious. This *Ptolomy* surnamed *Philopater*, that is to say, *a lover of his Father*, is thought to have had that surname given him in meer derision; as having made away both his Father and Mother. His young years being newly past, his childhood when he began to reign, may seem to discharge him of so horrible a crime, as his Fathers death: yet the beastlinesse of all his following life, makes him not unlike to have done any mischief, whereof he could be accused. Having won the battes at *Raphiah*, He gave himself over to sensuality, and was wholly governed by a Strumpet called *Agathoclea*. At her instigation He murdered his own wife and sister; which had adventured her self with him, in that only dangerous action by him undertaken and performed with honour. The Lieutenant-ships of his Provinces, with all Commands in his Army, and Offices whatsoever, were wholly referred unto the disposition of this *Agathoclea*, and her brother *Agathocles*, and *Oenanthe* a filthy bawd that was mother unto them both. So these three governed the Realm at their pleasure, to the great grief of all the Countrey, till *Philopater* died; who having reigned seventeen years, left none other son than *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, a child of five years old, begotten on *Arsone* that was his sister and wife. After the Kings death *Agathocles* began to take upon him, as protector of young *Epiphanes*, and Governour of the Land. He assembled the *Macedons* (which were the Kings ordinary forces in pay, not all

all born in *Macedonia*, but the race of those that abode in *Ægypt* with *Ptolomy the first*, and would not be accounted *Ægyptians*; as neither would the Kings themselves) and bringing forth unto them his sister *Agathoclea*, with the young King in her armes; began a solemn oration. He told them, That the deceased father of this their King, had committed the child into the arms of his sister; but unto the faith of them: on whose valiant right hands, the whole state of the kingdom did now rely. He besought them therefore that they would be faithful, and, as great need was, defend their King against the treason of one *Tlepolemus* an ambitious man; who traiterously went about to set the Diadem upon his own head, being a meer stranger to the Royal blood. Herewithall he produced before them a witness, that should justifie his accusation against *Tlepolemus*. Now though it were so, that he delivered all this with a fained passion of sorrow, and counterfeiting tears: yet the *Macedons* that heard him, regarded not any word that he spake; but stood laughing, and talking one to another, what a shameless dissembler he was to take so much upon him, as if he knew not how greatly he was hated. And so brake up the Assembly: he that had called it, being scarce aware how. *Agathocles* therefore, whom the old Kings favour had made mighty, but neither wise nor well qualified, thought to go to work, as had formerly been his manner; by using his authority, to the suppression of those that he distrusted. He haled out of the Temple the mother-in-law of *Tlepolemus*; and cast her into prison. This filled *Alexandria* with rumours, and made the people (though accustomed to suffer greater things, whilest they were committed in the old Kings name) to meet in knots together, and utter one to another their minds, wherein they had conceived extream hate, against these three pernicious Misgovernours of the old King. Besides their consideration of the present injurie done to *Tlepolemus*, they were somewhat also moved with fear of harm; which in way of requital, *Tlepolemus* was likely to do unto the City. For he was thought a man most unapt for Government, as afterwards he proved, yet no bad Souldier, and well beloved of the Army. It was also then in his power, to stop the provision of victuals which was to come into *Alexandria*. As these motives wrought with the people, so by the remedy which *Agathocles* used, were the *Macedons* more hastily, and more violently stirred unto uproar. He secretly apprehended one of their number, whom he suspected of conspiracy against him; and delivered him unto a follower of his own, to be examined by torture. This poor Souldier was carried into an inner room of the Palace, and there stripped out of all his apparel to be tormented. But whilest the whips were brought forth, and all things even in a readiness for that purpose, there was brought unto the minister of *Agathocles*, a sad report of *Tlepolemus* his being at hand. Hereupon the Examiner, and his Torturers, one after another, went out of the room; leaving *Moeragenes* the Souldier alone by himself, and the doors open. He perceiving this, naked as he was, conveighed himself out of the Palace, and got unto the *Macedonians* of whom he found some in a Temple thereby at dinner. The *Macedonians* were as fierce in maintenance of their Priviledges, as are the *Turks Janizaries*. Being assured therefore that one of their fellows had thus been used, they fell to the Armes in a great rage, and began to force Palace: crying out, They they would see the King, and not leave him in possession of a dangerous man. The whole multitude in the City, with lowd clamours, made no less ado than the Souldiers, though to less effect. So the old Bawd *Oenantha* fled into a Temple: her Son and Daughter stayed in the Court, untill the King was taken from them, and they, by his permission which he easily gave, and by appoinment of those that now had him in their hands, delivered up to the fury of the people. *Agathocles* himself was stabbed to death, by some which therein did the office of friends; though in manner of enemies. His sister was drag'd naked up and down the streets; as was also his mother, with all to them belonging: the enraged multitude committed upon them a barbarous execution of justice: biting them, pulling out their eyes, and tearing them in pieces.

These troubles in *Ægypt*, served well to stir up King *Antiochus*; who had very good leasure, though he wanted all pretence, to make war upon young *Ptolomy*. *Philip* of *Macedon* had the same desire to get what part he could of the childes estate. But it hapned well, that *Ptolomy Philopater* in the *Punick* War, which was now newly ended, had done many good offices unto the *Romans*. Unto them therefore the *Ægyptians* addressed themselves, and craved help against these two Kings: who though they secretly maligned one the other; yet had entred into covenant to divide between them all that belonged unto this *Orphan*; whose Father had been confederate with them



Just. l. 30 them both. So * *M. Lepidus* was sent from *Rome*, to protect from all violence the King of *Egypt*; especially against *Antiochus*. As for the *Macedonian*; he was very soon found busied with war, at his own doors. Also *Scopas* the *Ætolian*, being a Pensioner to the *Egyptian*, was sent into *Greece* to raise an Army of Mercenaries. What *Lepidus* did in *Egypt*, I do not find: and therefore think it not improbable, that he was sent thither only one of the three Embassadors, in the

Just. l. 31. beginning of the War with *Philip*, as hath been shewed before. As for *Scopas*; he shortly after went up into *Syria* vith his Army; where, winning many places, among the rest of his Acts, he subdued the *Jews*, who seem to have yielded themselves a little before unto *Antiochus*, at such time as they saw him prepare for his War, and despaired of re-

Vide Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. 12. cap. 3. ceiving help from *Egypt*. But it was not long ere all these Victories of *Scopas* came to nothing. For the very next year following, which was (according to *Eusebius*) the same year that *Philip* was beaten at *Cynoscephalæ*; *Antiochus* vanquished *Scopas* in battel, and recovered all that had been lost. Among the rest, the *Jews*, with great willingness, returned under his obedience; and were therefore by him very gently entreated.

The Land of *Egypt*, this great King did forbear to invade; and gave it out, that he meant to bestow a Daughter of his own in Marriage unto *Ptolomy*: either hoping, as may seem, that the Country would willingly submit it self unto him, if this young child should happen to miscarry; or else that greater purchase might be made in the Western parts of *Asia*, whilest *Philip* was held overlaboured by the *Romans*. It appears that he was very much distracted; hunting (as we say) two Hares at once with one Hound. The quarrels between *Attalus*, *Philip*, and the *Greeks*, promised to afford him great advantage, if he should bring his Army to the *Hellespont*. On the other side, the state of *Egypt* being such as hath been declared, seemed easily to be swallowed up at once. One while therefore he took what he could get in *Syria*· where all were willing (and the *Jews*, among the rest, though hitherto they had kept faith with the *Egyptian*) to yield him obedience. Another while, letting *Egypt* alone, he was about to make invasion upon *Attalus* his Kingdom; yet suffered himself easily to be perswaded by the *Roman* Embassadors, and desisted from that enterprise. Having thus far gratified the *Romans*; he sends Embassadors to the Senate, to conclude a perfect Amity between him and them. It is not lightly to be over-passed, That these his Embassadors were lovingly entertained at *Rome*; and dismissed, with a Decree and answer of the Senate, altogether to the honour of King *Antiochus*. But this answer of the *Romans* was not sincere; being rather framed according to regard of the Kings good liking, than of their own intent. They had not yet made an end with *Philip*: neither would they gladly be troubled with two great Wars at once. Wherefore, not standing much upon the nice examination of what belonged unto their honour, they were content to give good words for the present. In the mean time *Antiochus* fights with *Scopas* in *Syria*, and shortly prepares to win some Towns elsewhere, belonging unto *Ptolomy*; yet withall he sends an Army Westward, intending to make what profit he can of the distractions in *Greece*. Likewise it is considerable, as an argument of his much irresolution, how notwithstanding his attempts upon both of their Kingdoms, he offered one of his Daughters to *Ptolomy*, and another to *Eumenes* the Son of *Attalus*, newly King of *Pergamus*: seeking each of their friendships, at one and the same time, when he sought to make each of them a spoil. Thus was he acting and deliberating at once; being carryed with an inexplicable desire of repugnancies, which is a disease of great and over-swelling fortunes. Howsoever it was, he sent an Army to *Sardes* by Land, under two of his Sons: willing them there to stay for him; whilest he himself, with a Fleet of an hundred Gallies, and two hundred other Vessels, intended to pass along by the Coasts of *Cilicia* and *Caria*, taking in such places as held for the *Egyptian*. It was a notable act of the *Rhodians*, that, whilest the War of *Philip* lay yet upon their hands, they adventured upon this great *Antiochus*. They sent unto him a proud Embassage; whereby they gave him to understand, That if he passed forward beyond a certain Promontory in *Cilicia*, they would meet with him, and fight with him; not for any quarrel of theirs unto him; but because he should not joyn with *Philip* their enemy, and help him against the *Romans*. It was insolently done of them, neither seemed it otherwise, to prescribe such limits unto the King: yet he tempered himself, and without any shew of indignation, gave a gentle answer; partly himself to their Embassadors; partly unto their whole City, by Embassadors which he thither sent. He shewed his desire to renew the ancient Confederacies between his Ancestors and them: and willed them not to be afraid, lest his coming should tend unto any hurt, either of them, or of their Confederates. As touching the

the *Romans* whom they thought that he would moleſt: they were (he ſaid) his very good friends; whereof, he thought there needed no better proof, than the entertainment and anſwer by them newly given to his Embaſſadors.

The *Rhodians* appear to have been a cunning people, and ſuch as could foreſee what weather was like to happen. This anſwer of the King, and the relation of what had paſſed between his Embaſſadors and the Senate, moved them not a whit, when they were informed ſhortly after, that the *Macedonian* War was ended at the battel of *Cynoſcephalæ*. They knew that *Antiochus* his turn would be next; and prepared to be forward on the ſtronger ſide. Wherefore they would not be contented to ſit ſtill, unleſs the Towns on the South Coaſt of *Aſia*, belonging to *Ptolomy* their friend and Confederate, were ſuffered to be at quiet. Herein alſo they did well; for that they had ever been greatly beholding to all the race of the *Ptolomies*. They therefore in this time of neceſſity, gave what aid they could unto all the ſubjects of the *Egyptian* in thoſe parts. In like manner did King *Eumenes*, the Son of *Attalus*, prognoſticate as concerning the War that followed, between *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. For when King *Antiochus* made a friendly offer, to beſtow one of his Daughters upon him in marriage: He excuſed himſelf, and would not have her. *Attalus* and *Philetærus*, his Brethren, wondred at this. But he told them, that the *Romans* would ſurely make war upon *Antiochus*; and therein finally prevail. Wherefore he ſaid, that by abſtaining from this affinity, it ſhould be in his power to joyn with the *Romans*, and ſtrengthen himſelf greatly with their friendſhip. Contrariwiſe, if he leaned to *Antiochus*; as he muſt be partaker in his overthrow; ſo was he ſure to be oppreſſed by him, as by an over-mighty neighbour, if he happened to win the Victory.

*Antiochus* himſelf wintred about *Epheſus*; where he took ſuch order as he thought convenient for reducing of *Smyrna* and *Lampſacus* to obedience; that had uſurped their liberty, and obſtinately ſtrove to maintain it, in hope that the *Romans* would protect them. In the beginning of the Spring he ſailed unto the *Helleſpont*; where, having won ſome Towns that *Philip* had gotten not long before this, he paſſed over into *Europe* ſide; and in ſhort ſpace maſtered the *Cherſoneſus*. Thence went he to *Lyſimachia*: which the *Thracians* had gotten and deſtroyed, when *Philip* withdrew his Garriſon thence, to employ it in the *Roman* War. The *Ætolians* objected as a crime unto *Philip*, in the conference between *T. Quintius*, that he had oppreſſed *Lyſimachia*, by thruſting thereinto a Garriſon. Hereupon *Philip* made anſwer, that his Garriſon did not oppreſs the Town, but ſave it from the *Barbarians*: who took and ſackt it, as ſoon as the *Macedonians* were gone. That this anſwer was good and ſubſtantial, though it were not acceptable as ſuch; might appear by the miſerable caſe, in which *Antiochus* found *Lyſimachia* at his coming thither. For the Town was utterly raſed by the *Barbarians*, and the people carried away into ſlavery. Wherefore the King took order to have it re-edified: as alſo to redeem thoſe that were in bondage; and to recollect as many of the Citizens, as were diſperſed in the Country thereabout. Likewiſe he was careful to allure thither, by hopeful promiſes, new inhabitants, and to repleniſh the City with wonted frequency. Now to the end that men ſhould not be terrified from coming thither to dwell, by any fear of the neighbour *Thracians*: he took a journey in hand againſt thoſe barbarous people, with the one half of his Army; leaving the other half to repair the City. Theſe pains he took; partly in regard of the convenient ſituation, and former glory of *Lyſimachia*; partly for that he thought it highly redounding unto his own honour, to recover and eſtabliſh the dominion in thoſe parts which his forefather *Seleucus Nicator* had won from *Lyſimachus*, and thereby made his Kingdom of greater extent, than it occupied in any following time. But for this ambition he ſhal dearly pay: and as after that Victory againſt *Lyſimachus*, the death of King *Seleucus* followed ſhortly; ſo ſhall a deadly wound of the Kingdom founded by *Seleucus* enſue very ſpeedily, after the reconqueſt of the ſame Country, which was the laſt of *Seleucus* his purchaſes.

## §. IV.

*The* Romans *hold friendly correſpondence with* Antiochus, *during their War with* Philip: *after which they quarrel with him. The doings of* Hannibal *at* Carthage: *whence he is chaſed by his enemies, and by the* Romans: *His flight unto the King* Antiochus. *The* Ætolians *murmure againſt the* Romans *in* Greece. *The War of the* Romans *and* Achæans, *with* Nabis *the Tyrant of* Lacedæmon. *The departure of the* Romans *out of* Greece. T. Quintius *his Triumph. Peace denied to* Antiochus *by the* Romans.

10. FOr the *Romans*, though they were unable to ſmother their deſire of war with *Antiochus*, whereof notice was already taken both by their friends and by their enemies: yet was it much againſt their will to keep the rumour on foot, which they meant ſhortly to make good, of this intended war, ſo long as they wanted matter of quarrel; whereof they were furniſhed, by this enterpriſe of the Kings about *Lyſimachia*. It was not long, ſince King *Attalus*, a friend and a helper of the *Romans* in their war with *Philip*, could obtain of them none other help againſt *Antiochus*, than Embaſſadors to ſpeak for him, becauſe the one of theſe Kings was held no leſs a friend than the other. Neither did there afterwards paſs between them any other offices, than very friendly. *Antiochus* at the requeſt of their Embaſſadors, withdrew his Invaſion from the Kingdom of *Pergamus*: alſo very ſhortly after he ſent Embaſſadors to them, to make a perfect League of amity between them. This was whileſt as yet they were buſied with *Philip*, and therefore had reaſon to anſwer his good will with good acceptation: as they did in outward ſhew. But when the *Macedonian* war was at an end, and all, or moſt of all the States in *Greece*, were become little better than Clients unto the *Romans*: then was all this good correſpondence changed into terms of worſe, but more plain meaning. For *T. Quintius*, with his ten Counſellors ſent from *Rome*, requited (as hath been * ſhewed before) with a commination of war, this Kings gratulation of their victory; as alſo his long profeſſed amity, and deſire to continue in the ſame.

* Chap. 4. Sect. ult.

Theſe ten Counſellors were able to inform *T. Quintius*, and acquaint him with the purpoſe of the Senate: whereof yet it ſeems that he was not ignorant before; ſince, in regard of *Antiochus*, he was the more inclinable unto peace with *Philip*. It was therefore agreed, when they divided themſelves to make progreſs through divers quarters of *Greece* for the execution of their late Decree, That two of them ſhould viſit King *Antiochus*; and the reſt, where occaſion ſerved, uſe diligence to make a party ſtrong againſt him. Neither was the Senate at *Rome* unmindful of the buſineſs; wherein left *T. Quintius*, with his ten Aſſiſtants, ſhould happen to forget any thing to their parts belonging; *L. Cornelius* was ſent from *Rome*, of purpoſe to deal with the King about thoſe controverſies, that were between him and *Ptolomy*. What other private inſtructions *Cornelius* had, we may conjecture by the managing of this his Embaſſage. For coming to *Selymbria*: and there underſtanding that *P. Villius* and *L. Terentius*, having been ſent by *Titus*, were at *Lyſimachia*, He haſtened thither; whither alſo came *P. Lentulus* (another of the ten Counſellors) from *Bargillæ*, to be preſent at the Conference. *Hegeſianax* and *Lyſias* were alſo there; the ſame, who had lately brought from *Titus* thoſe peremptory Conditions, which the Embaſſadors preſent ſhall expound unto their Maſter. After a few dayes *Antiochus* returned from his *Thracian* Expedition. The meeting and entertaiment between him and theſe *Romans*, was in appearance full of love. But when they came to treat of the buſineſs in hand; this good mood was quite altered. *L. Cornelius*, in two or three words, briefly delivered his errand from *Rome*: which was, That *Antiochus* had reaſon to deliver back unto *Ptolomy* thoſe Towns of his, whereof he had lately gotten poſſeſſion. Hereunto he added, and that very earneſtly, That he muſt alſo give up the Towns of late belonging unto *Philip*; and by him newly occupied. For what could be more abſurd, than ſuch folly in the *Romans*, as to let *Antiochus* enjoy the profit of that war, wherein they had laboured ſo much, and he done nothing? Further he warned the King, that he ſhould not moleſt thoſe Cities that were free: and finally he demanded of him, upon what reaſon he was come over with ſo great an Army into *Europe*; for that other cauſe of his journey there was none probable, than a purpoſe to make war upon the *Romans*? To this the King made anſwer, That he wondred why the *Romans* ſhould ſo trouble themſelves, with thinking upon the matters of *Aſia*: wherewith he prayed them to let him alone: even as he, without ſuch curioſity, ſuffered them to do in *Italy* what they thought good. As for his coming over into *Europe*: they ſaw well enough what buſineſs had drawn him thither; namely the war againſt the barbarous *Thracians*: the rebuilding of *Lyſimachia*, and the recovery of Towns to him belonging, in *Thrace*, and *Cherſoneſus*. Now concerning his title unto that country, He derived it from *Seleucus*: who made conqueſt thereof, by his victory againſt *Lyſimachus*. Neither was it ſo, that any of the places in controverſie between him and the other Kings, had been ſtill of old belonging to the *Macedonians* or *Egyptians*; but had been feized on by them, or by others from whom they received them, at ſuch time as his Anceſtors, being Lords of thoſe Countries, were hindred by multiplicity of buſineſs, from looking unto all that was their own. Finally he willed them, neither to ſtand in fear of him, as if he intended ought againſt them

from *Lysimachia*; since it was his purpose to bestow this City upon one of his sons, that should reign therein: nor yet to be grieved with his proceedings in *Asia*; either against the free Cities, or against the King of *Egypt*; since it was his meaning to make the free Cities beholding unto himself, and to joyn ere long with *Ptolomy*, not only in friendship, but in a bond of near affinity. *Cornelius* having heard this, and being perhaps unable to refute it, would needs hear further, what the Embassadors of *Smyrna* and of *Lampsacus*, whom he had there with him, could say for themselves. The Embassadors of *Lampsacus* being called in, began a tale; wherein they seemed to accuse the King before the *Romans*, as it were before competent Judges. *Antiochus* therefore interrupted them, and bade them hold their peace, forasmuch as he had not chosen the *Romans*, but would rather take the Citizens of *Rhodes*, to be Arbitrators between him and them.

Thus the Treaty held some few dayes, without any likelihood of effect. The *Romans*, having not laid their complaints in such sort, as they might be a convenient foundation of the war by them intended: nor yet having purpose to depart well satisfied, and thereby to corroborate the present peace, were doubtful how to order the matter, in such wise as they might neither too rudely, like boistrous *Galle-Greeks*, pretend only the goodness of their swords: nor yet over-modestly, to retain among the *Greeks* an opinion of their justice, forbear the occasion of making themselves great. The King on the other side was weary of these tedious guests; that would take none answer, and yet scarce knew what to say. At length came news, without any certain author, That *Ptolomy* was dead. Hereof neither the King, nor the *Romans*, would take notice, though each of them were desirous to hasten into *Egypt*: *Antiochus* to take possession of the Kingdom, and *L. Cornelius*, to prevent him thereof, and set the Country in good order. *Cornelius* was sent from *Rome* Embassador both to *Antiochus* and to *Ptolomy*: which gave him occasion to take leave, and prepare for his *Egyptian* voyage. Both he, and his fellow Embassadors, had good leave to depart all together: and the King forthwith made ready, to be in *Egypt* with the first. To his son *Seleucus* he committed his Army, and left him to oversee the building of *Lysimachia*: but all his Sea-forces he took along with him, and sailed unto *Ephesus*. Thence he sent Embassadors to *T. Quintius*: whom he requested to deal with him in this matter of peace, after such sort as might stand with honesty and good faith. But as he was further proceeding on his voyage, he was perfectly informed that *Ptolomy* was alive. This made him bear another way from *Egypt*: and afterwards a tempest, with a grievous shipwrack, made him without any further attempt on the way, glad to have safely recovered his Port of *Selucia*. Thence went he to *Antiochia*, where he wintred: secure as might appear, of the *Roman* war.

But the *Romans* had not so done with him. During the Treaty at *Lysimachia*, (at least-wise not long before or after it) one of their Embassadors that had been sent unto the *Macedonian*, gave him counsel, as in a point highly tending to his good; not to rest contented with the peace which was granted unto him by the *Romans*, but to desire society with them, whereby they should be bound to have the same friends and enemies. And this he advised him to do quickly, before the War brake out with *Antiochus*: lest otherwise he might seem, to have awaited some fit occasion of taking Arms again. They who dealt thus plainly, did not mean to be satisfied with weak excuses. In like manner some of the *Greeks*, were solicited; and particularly the *Ætolians*, That constantly and faithfully they should abide in the friendship of the people of *Rome*. It was needless to say plainly whereto this entreaty tended: the froward answer made by the *Ætolians*, declares them to have well understood the purpose. They complained, that they were not alike honoured by the *Romans* after the victory, as they had been during the War. They that so complained were the most moderate of them. Others cryed out that they had been wronged, and defrauded of what was promised unto them: upbraiding withal the *Romans*, as men to them beholding: not only for their victory over *Philip*, but even for helping them to set foot in *Greece*, which else they never could have done. Hereto the *Roman* gave gentle answers: telling them that there was no more to do, than to send Embassadors to the Senate, and utter their griefs: and then should all be well.

Such care took the *Romans* in *Greece*, for their War intended against *Antiochus*. The fame hereof arriving at *Carthage*, gave matter unto the enemies of *Hannibal*, wherewith both to pick a thank of the *Roman* Senate, and to chase out of their City this honourable man, whom they so greatly hated. He had of late exercised his vertue against them in the Civil administration: and given them an overthrow, or two, in the long Robe. The Judges at that time bore all the sway in *Carthage:* holding their places during life; and having subject unto them, the lives, goods, and fame of all the rest. Neither did they use this their power with moderation: but conspired in such wise together, that who so offended any of them, should have them all to be his enemies: which being once known, He was sure to be soon accused and condemned. In this their impotent rule of the City, *Hannibal* was chosen Prætor. By vertue of which Office, though he was superior unto them during that year: yet had it not been their manner to bear much regard unto such an annual Magistrate, as at the years end must be accountable to them, if ought were laid unto his charge. *Hannibal* therefore sending for one of the Questors, or Officers of the Treasury, to come and speak with him: the proud Questor set lightly thereby, and would not come: For he was of the adverse Faction to *Hannibal*; and men of his place were to be chosen into the Order of Judges: in contemplation whereof, he was filled already with the spirit of future Greatness. But he had not to do with such a tame Prætor, as were they that had occupied the place before. *Hannibal* sent for him by a Pursivant; and having thus apprehended him, brought him into judgement before a publike assembly of the people. There he not only shewed what the undutiful stubbornness of this Quæstor had been; but how unsufferable the insolency of all the Judges at the present was: whose unbridled power made them to regard neither Laws nor Magistrates. To this Oration when he perceived that all the Citizens were attentive and favourable; He forthwith propounded a Law, which passed with the general good liking; That the Judges should be chosen from year to year, and no one man be continued in that Office two years together. If this Law had been passed, before he passed over *Iberus:* it would not perhaps have been in the power of *Hanno*, to have brought him unto necessity of reforming another grievance, concerning the *Roman* Tribute. This Tribute the *Carthaginians* were fain to levie by Taxation laid upon the whole Commonalty, as wanting money in their publike Treasury, wherewith to defray either that, or divers other needful charges. *Hannibal* considering this, began to examine the publike Revenues; and to take a perfect note, both how much came into the Treasurie, by wayes and means whatsoever: and in what sort it was thence laid out. So he found, That the ordinary charges of the Common-wealth did not exhaust the Treasury: but that wicked Magistrates, and corrupt Officers, turning the greatest part of the moneys to their own use, were thereby fain to load the people with needless burdens. Hereof he made such plain demonstration, That these Robbers of the common Treasure were compelled to restore, with shame, what they had gotten by knavery: and so the *Carthaginians* were freed from the necessity of making such poor shifts, as formerly they had used, when they knew not the value of their own Estate. But as the vertue of *Hannibal* was highly commended by all that were good Citizens: so they of the *Roman* Faction, which had, since the making of the peace until now, little regarded him, began to rage extreamly: as being by him stript of their ill-gotten goods and ill-employed authority, both at once, even when they thought themselves to have been in full possession of the vanquished *Carthage*. Wherefore they sent letters to their friends at *Rome*: wherein they complained, as if the *Barchine* Faction grew strong again, and *Hannibal* would shortly be in armes. Questionless, if oppressing the City by injustice, and robbing the Treasury, were the only way to hold *Carthage* in peace with *Rome*: these Enemies to the *Barchines* might well cry out, That having done their best already to keep all in quiet, they saw none other likelihood than of War. But having no other matter to alledge, than their own inventions: they said, That *Hannibal* was like unto a wild beast, which would never be tamed; That secret messages past between him, and King *Antiochus*: and that he was wont to complain of idleness, as if it were harmful to *Carthage*; with what else to like effect they could imagine. These accusations they directed not unto the Senate: but addressing their letters craftily, every one to the best of his own friends at *Rome*, and such as were Senators; they wrought so well, that neither publike notice of their Conspiracy was taken at *Carthage*; nor the authority of the *Roman* Senate, wanting to the furtherance of their malicious purpose. Only *P. Scipio* is said to have admonished the *Fathers*, that they should not thus dishonourably subscribe, and become seconds to the accusers of *Hannibal*: as if they would oppress, by suborning or countenancing false witnesses against him; the man, against whom in war they had not of long time prevailed, nor used their victory in such base manner, when they obtained it. But the *Romans* were not

not all so great-minded as *Scipio*: they wished for some such advantage against *Hannibal*; and were glad to have found it. Three Embassadors they sent over to *Carthage*, *C. Servilius*, *Q. Terentius*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*: whose very names import sufficient cause of bad affection to *Hannibal*. These having past the Sea, were entertained by those that had procured their coming; and being by them instructed how to carry themselves, gave out, That they were sent to end some controversies, between the *Carthaginians* and *Masanissa*. But *Hannibal* had kept such good espial upon the *Romans*, that he knew their meaning well enough: against which he was never unprepared. It were enough to say, That he escaped them by flight: but in the actions of so famous a man, I hold it not impertinent to rehearse the particularities. Having openly shewed himself, as was his manner, in the place of Assembly, He went forth of the Town when it began to wax dark, accompanied with two which were ignorant of his determination; though such as he might well trust. He had appointed Horses to be in a readiness at a certain place: whence riding all night, He came to a Tower of his own by the Sea-side. There had he a ship furnished with all things needful; as having long expected the necessity of some such journey. So he bade *Africk* farewell; lamenting the misfortune of his Countrey, more than his own. Passing over to the Isle of *Cercina*; He found there in the Haven some Merchants ships of *Carthage*. They saluted him respectively: and the chief among them began to enquire, whither he was bound. He said, He went Embassadour to *Tyre*: and that he intended there in the Island to make a Sacrifice; whereto he invited all the Merchants, and Masters of the Ships. It was hot weather: and therefore he would needs hold his Feast upon the shore; where, because there wanted covert, He made them bring thither all their Sails and Yards to be used instead of Tents. They did so; and feasted with him till it was late at night: at which time he left them there asleep: and putting to Sea, held on his course to *Tyre*. All that night, and the day following, He was sure not to be pursued. For the Merchants did neither make haste to send any news of him to *Carthage*, as thinking him to be gone Embassadour: neither could they, without some loss of time, such of them as made most speed homeward, get away from *Cercina*; being busied a while in fitting their tackle. At *Carthage*, the miss of so great a person was diversly construed. Some guessed aright, that he was fled. But the more common opinion was, That the *Romans* had made him away. At length came news where he had been seen: and then the *Roman* Embassadors, having none other errand thither, accused him (with an evil grace) as a troubler of the Peace; whereby they only discovered the mischief by them intended against him, and the malice of their Senate: missing the while their purpose, and causing men to understand, that he fled not thus without great reason.

*Hannibal* coming to *Tyre*, the Mother-City of *Carthage*, was there entertained Royally: as one, in whose great worth and honour the *Tyrians*, by reason of affinity between their Cities, thought themselves to have interest. Thence went he to *Antioch*; and, finding the King departed, visited his son in *Daphne*: who friendly welcomed him, and sent him unto his Father at *Ephesus*, that exceedingly rejoyced at his coming.

As *Antiochus* had cause to be glad in that he had gotten *Hannibal*: so had the *Romans* no great cause to be therefore sorry: otherwise than as they had much disgraced themselves, by discovery of their impotent malice, in chasing him thus out of his Countrey. For it would not prove alike easie unto this great Commander to make stout Souldiers of base *Asiatiques*; as it had been by his training and discipline, to make very serviceable and skilful men of War of the *Spaniards*, *Africans*, *Gaules*, and other Nations, that were hardy, though unexperienced. Or were it supposed, that one mans worth, especially being so extraordinary, could alter the nature of a cowardly people: yet was it therewithall considerable, that the vanities of *Antiochus*, the pride of his Court, the baseness of his Flatterers, and a thousand other such vexations, would be far more powerful in making unprofitable the vertue of *Hannibal*, now a desolate and banished man, than had been the villany of *Hanno* and his Complices, hindering him in those actions, wherein he had the high Command, and was seconded by his warlike brethren. Wherefore the name of this Great *Carthaginian*, would only help to ennoble the *Roman* Victory: or if it further served to hearten *Antiochus*, and make him less careful to avoid the war; then should it further serve, to justifie the *Romans* in their quarrel. And it seems indeed that it was no little part of their care, to get a fair pretence of making war. For *Antiochus*, as is said before, having newly sent Embassadors to *T. Quintius*, requiring that the Peace might faithfully be kept: it was not probable, that he had any meaning to take Arms, unless by meer violence he were thereto enforced. Only the *Ætolians* were greatly suspected, as a turbulent people, desirous of innovation, and therefore practising with this Great King; whom they wished to see among them in *Greece*. In this regard, and to appease them; they had of late been answered with gentle words by one of the ten Counsellers, That the Senate would grant them whatsoever with reason they should ask. But this promise was too large, and unadvised. For when their Embassadors came to *Rome*, the Senate would grant them nothing: but wholly referred them to *T. Quintius*, who favoured them least. Hereat they murmured, but knew not how to right themselves, otherwise than by speaking such words, as might hasten the *Romans* out of *Greece* for very shame, who had no desire to be thence gone.



The daily talk at *Rome* was of war with *Antiochus*; but in *Greece*, when the *Romans* would leave the Country. For the *Ætolians* were wont to upbraid the rest of the *Greeks* with the vain liberty which the *Romans* had proclaimed, saying, That these their Deliverers had lain heavier fetters upon them, than formerly they did wear; but yet brighter and fairer than those of the *Macedonian*: likewise, that it was a gracious act of *Titus*, to take from the legs of the *Greeks* their chain, and tie it about their necks. There was indeed no cause of tarrying longer in *Greece*, if the *Romans* had no other meaning than what they pretended. For *Philip* had made no delay, in accomplishment of that which was laid upon him: all the Towns of *Greece* were at liberty, and the whole Country at peace, both with the *Romans*, and within it self. As for *Antiochus*: He made it his daily suit, That the Peace between him and *Rome*, such as it was, might be confirmed, and strengthened by a League of more assurance. Nevertheless, *T. Quintius* would needs fear that *Antiochus* meant forthwith to seize upon *Greece*, as soon as he and his Army were thence departed. And in this regard, he retained still in his own hands *Chalcis*, *Demetrius*, and the *Acrocorinthus*: by benefit of which Towns, he might the better withstand the dangerous Invasion like to be made by *Antiochus*. Sutable unto the doings of *Quintius* were the reports of the ten Embassadours, that had been sent over to assist him: when they returned back into the City. *Antiochus*, they said, would questionless fall upon *Greece*: wherein he should find not only the *Ætolians*, but *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, ready to give him entertainment. Wherefore there was none other way, than to do somewhat against these their suspected enemies: especially against *Nabis*, who could worst make resistance: whilest *Antiochus* was far away in *Syria*, and not intentive to his business. These reports went not only current through the City, among the Vulgar; but found such credit with the chief of the Senate, that in the following year, against which time it was expected that *Antiochus* should be ready to take his great enterprise in hand: *P. Cornelius Scipio* the *African*, desired, and obtained, a second Consulship, with intention to be General in the War, against the King and his *Hannibal*. For the present, the business with *Nabis* was referred unto *Titus*, to deal with him as he thought good. This would be a fair colour of his longer tarriance in *Greece*. Therefore he was glad of the employment: whereof also he knew that many of the *Greeks* would not be sorry: though for his own part, he wanted all good pretence of taking it in hand. For *Nabis* had entred into friendship with him, two or three years before this, as is already shewed, whilest he had war with *Philip*: and had further been contented for the *Romans* sake to be at peace with the *Achæans*: neither since that time had he done any thing, whereby he should draw upon himself this War. He was indeed a detestable Tyrant, and hated of the *Achæans*: as one, that besides his own wicked Conditions, had formerly done to them great mischief. *Titus* therefore had a plausible Themes whereon to discourse before the Embassages of all the Confederate Cities, which he caused to meet for that purpose at *Corinth*. He told them, That in the war with *Philip*, not only the *Greeks*, but the *Romans* themselves, had each their motives apart (which he there briefly rehearsed) that should stir them up, and cause them to be earnest. But in this which he now propounded to them concerning *Nabis*, the *Romans* had none other interest, than only the making perfect of their honour, in setting all *Greece* at liberty: which noble action was in some sort maimed, or incompleat, whilest the noble City of *Argos* was left in subjection to a Tyrant that had lately occupied it. It therefore belonged unto them, the *Greeks*, duly to consider, whether they thought the deliverance of *Argos* a matter worthy to be undertaken: or whether otherwise to avoid all further trouble, they could be well contented to leave it as it was. This concerned them, and not the *Romans*: who in taking this work in hand, or letting it alone, would wholly be ruled by the *Greeks* themselves.

themſelves. The *Athenian* Embaſſador made anſwer hereunto very eloquently, and as pleaſing as he could deviſe. He gave thanks to the *Romans* for what was paſt; extolled their vertues at large; and magnified them highly in regard of this their propoſition: wherein unrequeſted they freely made offer to continue that bounty, which at the vehement requeſt of their poor Aſſociates, they had already of late extended unto the *Grecks*. To this he added, That great pity it was to hear, ſuch notable vertue and high deſerts ill ſpoken of by ſome: which took upon them, out of their own imagination, to foretell what harm theſe their Benefactors meant to do hereafter: when as Thankfulneſs rather would have required an acknowledgment of the benefits and pleaſures already received. Every one found the meaning of this laſt clauſe, which was directly againſt the *Ætolians*. Wherefore *Alexander* the *Ætolian* roſe up, and told the *Athenians* their own: putting them in mind of their antient glory, in thoſe times when their City had been the Leader of all *Greece*, for defence and recovery of the liberty general: from which honour they were now ſo far faln, that they became Paraſites unto thoſe whom they thought moſt mighty; and by their baſe aſſentation, would lead all the reſt into ſervitude. Then ſpake he againſt the *Achæans*, Clients that had been a long time unto the *Macedonian*; and Souldiers of *Philip*, untill they ran away from his adverſity. Theſe, he ſaid, had gotten *Corinth*, and muſt now have war be made for their ſakes, to the end that they might alſo be Lords of *Argos*: whereas the *Ætolians*, that had firſt made war with *Philip*, and alwayes been friends unto the *Romans*, were now defrauded of ſome places, antiently to them belonging. Neither did he thus contain himſelf, but objected unto the *Romans*, fraudulent dealing: foraſmuch as they kept their Garriſons in *Demetrias*, *Chalcis*, and the *Acrocorinth*; having been allwayes wont to profeſs, That *Greece* could never be at liberty, whileſt thoſe places were not free. Alſo now at laſt, what elſe did they ſeek by this diſcourſe of war with *Nabis*, than buſineſſes wherewith to find themſelves occupied, that ſo they might have ſome ſeeming cauſe of abiding longer in the Country? But they ſhould do well if they meant as they ſpake, to carry their Legions home out of *Greece*: which could not indeed be free, till their departure. As for *Nabis*; the *Ætolians* themſelves did promiſe, and would undertake, That they would either cauſe him to yield to reaſon, and relinquiſh *Argos*, freely withdrawing thence his Garriſon; or elſe compell him by force of Arms, to ſubmit himſelf to the good pleaſure of all *Greece*, that was now at unity. Theſe words had been reaſonable, if they had proceeded from better men. But it was apparent, that no regard of the common liberty wrought ſo much with theſe *Ætolians*; as did their own ravenous deſire of oppreſſing others, and getting unto themſelves, that worſe would uſe it, the whole Dominion in *Greece*, which *Philip* had loſt. Neither could they well diſſemble this; making it no ſmall part of their grievance, That the old League was forgotten: wherein it had been covenanted, That the *Romans* ſhould enjoy the ſpoil of all, but leave the Towns and Lands in poſſeſſion of the *Ætolians*. This, and the remembrance of a thouſand miſchiefs by them done in former times, made the whole aſſembly, eſpecially the *Achæans*, cry out upon them: entreating the *Romans* to take ſuch order before they went, that not only *Nabis* might be compelled to do right; but the *Ætolian* thieves be enforced to keep home, and leave their neighbours in quiet. All this was highly to the pleaſure of *Titus*: who ſaw, that by diſcountenancing the *Ætolians*, He was become the more gracious with all the reſt. But whether it pleaſed him ſo well that *Antiochus* his Embaſſadors did preſently after lie hard upon him, to draw the peace to ſome good concluſion, it may be greatly doubted. He caſt them off with a ſlight anſwer: telling them, that the ten Embaſſadors or Counſellors which had been ſent unto him from *Rome*, to be his aſſiſtants in theſe matters of weight, were now returned home; and that, without them, it was not in his power to conclude upon any thing.

Now concerning the *Lacedæmonian* war: it was very ſoon ended. For *Titus* uſed the help of all his confederates; and made as great preparation againſt *Nabis*, both by Land and Sea, as if he ſhould have had to do with *Philip*. Beſides the *Roman* forces, King *Eumenes* with a Navie, and the *Rhodian* Fleet, were invited to the ſervice: as alſo *Philip* of *Macedon* ſent aid by Land; doing therein poorly, whether it were to get favour of the *Romans*; or whether to make one among the number, in ſeeking revenge upon *Nabis*, that had done him injury. But the moſt forward in this Expedition were the *Achæans*, who ſet out ten thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe. As for the *Ætolians*: rather to hold good faſhion, and ſound their diſpoſitions, than in hope to ſpeed, their help was required; whereof they excuſed themſelves as well as they thought beſt. Thus are the



the *Achæans* now become the prime friends of the *Romans* in *Greece*; having removed the *Ætolians* from that degree of favour: like as they themſelves hereafter (though not in all haſte) ſhall be ſupplanted of the ſame *Lacedæmonians*, againſt whom they are now marching.

Some of the *Argives*, more bold than wiſe, began a conſpiracy againſt the *Lacedæmonians* that held their Town; meaning to open their gates unto the *Roman*. But ere *Titus* drew near, they were all detected and ſlain: excepting a very few, that eſcaped out of the Town. The fame of this Commotion, cauſed the Army to march apace toward *Argos*; with hope to be there, before things were at quiet. But there was no ſtir within the Wals: the execution done upon the firſt movers, having terrified all the reſt of the Citizens. *Titus* then thought it better, to aſſail *Nabis* in the head of his ſtrength at *Lacedæmon*, than to conſume time about other places; eſpecially at *Argos*: for the freedom whereof ſince the War was made, pity it were, that the calamities of the war ſhould thereon fall moſt heavily.

*Nabis* had in readineſs an Army of fifteen thouſand, wherewith to defend himſelf againſt theſe Invaders. Five thouſand of them were Mercenaries: the reſt, of his own Countrey; but ſuch as were of all others the worſt, as manumiſed ſlaves, malefactors and baſe Peaſants, unto whom his Tyrannie was beneficial. Of the good and worthy Citizens he ſtood in doubt; and ſince he could not hope to win their love, his meaning was to hold them quiet by fear. He called them all to an aſſembly, and compaſſing them round in with his Army, told them of the danger that was toward him and them. If they could agree within themſelves; they might, he ſaid, hope the better to withſtand the common Enemy. But foraſmuch as turbulent heads were invited by light occaſions, to raiſe tumults, and work dangerous treaſons: it ſeemed unto him the ſafeſt, and (withal) the mildeſt courſe, to arreſt before hand, and put in ward, all thoſe whom he found moſt reaſon to ſuſpect. So ſhould he keep them innocent perforce; and thereby preſerve not only the City and his own perſon from danger, but them alſo from the puniſhment, which elſe they might have incurred. Hereupon he cites and apprehends about fourſcore of them; whom he leads away to priſon, and the next night putteth them all to death. Thus was he ſure that they neither ſhould offend, nor yet break looſe. As for the death of them, if it ſhould happen to be noiſed abroad: what could it elſe do than terriſie the people; who muſt thereby underſtand, that it was a mortal crime to be ſuſpected? And to the ſame purpoſe his cruelty extended it ſelf unto ſome poor wretches: whom he accuſed of a meaning to flie to the Enemy. Theſe were openly whipt through all the ſtreets, and ſlain. Having thus affrighted the Citizens: He turned the more freely, all his thoughts toward the Enemy, that came on apace. He welcomed them with a ſally: wherein, as commonly happens, the Souldiers of the Town had the better at firſt; but were at length repelled with loſs. *Titus* abode not many dayes before *Sparta*: but over-ran the Country; hoping belike to provoke the Tyrant forth to battail. The *Roman* Fleet at the ſame time with King *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, laid ſiege unto *Gytthеum*, the only or principal Town that *Nabis* had. Likely they were to have taken it by force, when there appeared hope of getting it by treaſon. There were two Governours within the Town equal in authority: whereof the one, either for fear, or deſire of reward, had a purpoſe to let in the *Romans*. But the other finding what was in hand, and being ſomewhat more faithful, ſlue the Traitor; after whoſe death, he himſelf alone made the better defence. Yet when *T. Quintius* with part of his Army came thither to *Gytthеum*: this Captain of the Town had not the heart to abide the uttermoſt, and await what either Time or his Maſter might do for him, but was contented to give up the place, yet upon Condition, to depart in ſafety to *Sparta* with his Garriſon. *Pythagoras*, the ſon-in-law of *Nabis*, and brother unto his wife, was come from *Argos*, whereof he had the Government, with a thouſand Souldiers Mercenaries, and two thouſand *Argives*: it being (as may ſeem) the Tyrants purpoſe, to relieve *Gytthеum*: which he thought would have held longer out. But when they heard that it was loſt, then began they to think upon finiſhing the war, by ſome reaſonable Compoſition. *Pythagoras* therefore was ſent his Embaſſador to *Titus*: requeſting only that he would appoint a time and place for *Nabis* to meet and ſpeak with him. This was granted. In that Parlee the Tyrant ſpake very reaſonable for himſelf: proving, that he ſuffered wrong, and had done none, and that by many good arguments: whereof the ſum was, That whatſoever they now did, or could object unto him, was of elder date than the League which they had made with him. Whereupon he inferred, That neither for his keeping the town of *Argos*, nor for any other cauſe by them

alledged, they ought to make war upon him, ſince *Argos*, and all other their allegations whatſoever, had not hindered them, in time of their more need of him, from entring into that League with him: which was never broken on his part, nor ought to be on theirs. But *Quintius* was not herewith ſatisfied. He charged him with tyranny: and gave inſtance, as eaſily he might, of divers barbarous cruelties by him committed. In all which points foraſmuch as they knew this *Nabis* to be guilty, before they made Peace and Confederacy with him; it was expedient, that ſome other cauſe of this Invaſion ſhould be alledged. Whereto he ſaid further, That this tyrant had occupied *Meſſene*, a town Confederate with the *Romans*: That he had bargained to joyn with *Philip*; when he was their enemy, not only in League, but alſo in affinity: and that his Fleet had robbed many of their ſhips, about the Cape of *Malea*. Now touching this Piracy, ſince in the Articles by *Titus* propounded unto *Nabis*, there was no reſtitution mentioned, other than of ſhips, by him taken from the *Greeks* his neighbours, with whom he had long held war: it may ſeem to have been objected, only by way of Complement, and to enlarge the volume of thoſe complaints, that were otherwiſe very frivolous. As for *Meſſene*, and the bargain of Alliance made with *Philip*: they were matters foregoing the League, that was made between the *Romans* and this tyrant: and therefore not to have been mentioned. All this it ſeems that *Ariſtænus*, the Prætor of the *Achæans*, very well perceived: who therefore doubting leſt the *Romans* (that were wont to talk ſo much of their own juſtice, honor, and faithful dealing) ſhould now relent, and forbear to moleſt him, who, though a wicked man, was yet their Confederate, and had never done them wrong: framed his diſcourſe to another end. He entreated *Nabis* to conſider well of his own eſtate: and to ſettle his fortunes, whileſt he might do it without hazzard: alledging the examples of many tyrants that had ruled in the neighbour-cities, and therein committed great outrages: yet were afterwards contented to ſurrender their Eſtates, and lived in great ſecurity, honour, and happineſs, as private men. Thus they diſcourſed until night. The next day *Nabis* was contented to relinquiſh *Argos*; and requeſted them, to deliver unto him in writing their other demands, that he might take counſel with his friends. The iſſue of all was, that, in regard of the charges, whereat the Confederates muſt be, for maintenance of an Army to lie in Leaguer all that Winter (as there was no hope of making ſhort work) before the City of *Sparta*: they were contented to make peace with the Tyrant, upon ſuch Conditions as *Titus* ſhould think meet. Beſides the reſtitution of *Argos*, and all the places thereon depending; *Titus* propounded many other Conditions to *Nabis*, and ſome of them very grievous. He would not ſuffer the *Lacedæmonian* to have ought to do in the Iſle of *Crete*; no, nor to make any Confederacies, nor war, either in that Iſland or elſewhere; not to build any Town or Caſtle upon his own Lands: not to keep any other ſhipping, than two ſmall Barks; beſides many other troubleſome injunctions; with impoſition of an hundred talents in ſilver to be paid out of hand, and fifty talents yearly, for eight years next enſuing. For obſervance of theſe Covenants he demanded five hoſtages, ſuch as he himſelf ſhould name; and one of them to be the Tyrants own ſon. If it had been the meaning of *Titus*, to withdraw the war from *Nabis*, becauſe it was not grounded upon juſtice: then had it been enough, if not more than enough, to take *Argos* from him; which he himſelf did offer, though it were for fear, to deliver up. But if it were thought reaſonable, to diſpenſe a little with the *Roman* faith, in regard of the great benefit which thereby might redound unto the ſtate of their beſt friends in *Greece*, by the extirpation of this tyrannie: then ſhould this enterpriſe, when once it was taken in hand, have been proſecuted unto the very utmoſt. As for this middle courſe which the *Romans* held: as it was not honourable unto them, to enrich themſelves by the ſpoil of one that had not offended them; nor pleaſing to the *Achæans*, who judged it ever after a great blemiſh to the noble acts of *Titus*: ſo did it miniſter unto the *Ætolians*, and to ſuch as curiouſly pried into the faults of thoſe which took upon them to be Patrons of *Greece*, no barren ſubject of malicious diſcourſe. For ſince *Philip*, a King, and deſcended of many famous Kings, might not be ſuffered by theſe Maſterly *Romans*, to hold any one of thoſe Countreys or Towns in *Greece*, that had belonged unto his Anceſtors: it was thought very ſtrange, that *Lacedæmon*, once the moſt famous City among all the *Greeks*, was by the ſame *Romans* left in poſſeſſion of a tyrant, that had uſurped it but yeſterday; and he therein rooted by their authority, as their friend and Confederate. *Nabis* on the other ſide thought himſelf unmercifully dealt withal, by the ſelf-ſame *Romans*, whoſe amity he had preferred in time of a doubtful war, before the love and affinity



affinity of the *Macedonian* King, that had committed the City of *Argos* into his hands. But falſly had he dealt with the *Macedonian*: and falſly was he dealt with by thoſe, to whom he did betake himſelf. Among theſe Articles propounded, there was nothing that pleaſed him, ſave only that for the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians*, (of whom a great number were in the *Roman* Camp; having among them *Ageſipolis* the natural King of *Sparta*, that being a young child was driven out by *Lycurgus* the firſt of the Tyrants) there was made no proviſion, to have them reſtored unto their City and Eſtates; but only leave required for as many of their wives, as would be ſo contented, to live abroad with them in baniſhment. Wherefore he forbore to give conſent unto theſe demands; and ſuſtained an aſſault or two; hoping belike that the enemies would ſoon be weary. But his fearful nature ſhortly overcame the reſolution, which the ſenſe of theſe injuries had put into him. So yielding unto all that had been propounded, He delivered the hoſtages; and thereupon obtained peace, that was confirmed afterwards at *Rome* by the Senate and People. From this time forward, He thought the *Romans* far more wicked than himſelf; and was ready upon the firſt advantage, to do them all the miſchief that he could.

The *Argives* had heard news that *Lacedæmon* was even at point of being taken. This erected them, and gave them heart to think upon their own good. So they adventured to ſet upon the Garriſon; which was much weakened, by the remove of the three thouſand carried thence by *Pythagoras* to help the tyrant at *Sparta*. There needed unto their liberty no more, than that all of them jointly ſhould ſet their hands to the getting of it, which no ſooner they did than they obtained it. Preſently after this came *T. Quintius* to *Argos*, where he was joyfully welcomed. He was deſervedly acknowledged as author of that benefit, whereon the Citizens had laid hold without ſtaying for him; and that he might the better entitle himſelf thereto, he cauſed the liberty of the *Argives* to be proclaimed at the *Nemæan* games; as ratifying it by his authority. The City was annexed again to the Councel of *Achaia*; whereby the *Achæans* were not more ſtrengthened, than the *Argives* themſelves were ſecured from danger of relapſe, into the ſame extremities out of which they had newly eſcaped.

After this, *Titus* found little buſineſs or none wherewith to ſet on work his Army in *Greece*. *Antiochus* was about to ſend another Embaſſage to *Rome*, deſiring peace and friendſhip of the Senate. Things being therefore in appearance wholly diſpoſed unto quiet, *Scipio* the *African*, that was choſen Conſul at *Rome*, could not have his deſire, of being ſent Commander into *Greece*. The unſincere meaning of *Antiochus*, and the tumultuous diſpoſition of the *Ætolians*, were held as conſiderations worthy of regard: yet not ſufficient cauſes of making war. Neither appeared there any more honeſt way, of confuting the *Ætolians*, and of throughly perſwading all the *Greeks* (which was not to be neglected, by thoſe that meant to aſſure unto themſelves the patronage of *Greece*) that the good of the Country was their ſole intent: than by withdrawing thence their Legions, and leaving the Nation unto it ſelf, till occaſion ſhould be ripe, and call them over again. Wherefore after *Titus* had ſpent a Winter there, without any matter of employment, either found, or at any near diſtance appearing, he called an Aſſembly of Delegates, from all parts of *Greece* to *Corinth*: where he meant to bid them farewell. There he recounted unto them all that paſſed ſince his coming into thoſe parts; and willed them to value the *Roman* friendſhip, according to the difference of eſtate, wherein the *Romans* found and left them. Hereto he added ſome wholeſome counſel; touching the moderate uſe of their liberty, and the care which they ought to have of living peaceably and without faction. Laſtly he gave up *Acrocorinthus* to the *Achæans*; withdrawing thence the *Roman* Garriſon, and promiſing to do the like (which very ſoon he did) at *Chalcis* and *Demetrias*; that ſo it might be known, what lyers the *Ætolians* were, who had accuſed the *Romans*, of a purpoſe to retain thoſe places. With joyful acclamations did the *Greeks* teſtifie their good liking of that which *Titus* had ſaid and done: as alſo (at his requeſt) they agreed, to ranſome and enlarge all *Romans*, that had been ſold into their Countrey by *Hannibal*.

Thus *Titus* crowned his actions in *Greece* with an happy end: and by leaving the Countrey before his departure was urged, left therein behind him the memory of his vertue and benefits, untainted by jealouſie and ſuſpicion of any evil meaning. At his coming to the City, He had the honour of a Triumph; which was the goodlieſt of all that *Rome* had until that day beheld. Three days together the ſhew of his pomp continued: as being ſet out with the ſpoils of a Countrey, more abundant in things worthy of ſuch a ſpectacle, than any wherein the *Romans* had before made War. All ſorts of

Arms, with Statues and curious pieces of Brass or Marble, taken from the Enemy, were carried in the first dayes Pageant. The second day, was brought in all the treasure of Gold and Silver: Some in the rude Mass unwrought; some in divers sorts of Coin; and some in Vessels of sundry kinds, that were the more highly prized by the workmanship. Among these were ten shields, all of Silver; and one of pure Gold. The third day *Titus* himself entred the City in his Triumphant Chariot. Before him were carried an hundred and fourteen Crowns of Gold, bestewed upon him by divers Cities. There were also led the beasts for Sacrifice, the Prisoners, and the hostages: among which, *Demetrius* the son of King *Philip*, and *Armenes* the son of *Nabis*, were principal. After him followed his Army; and (which added much grace, and good liking to the shew) the *Roman* Captives, by his procurement redeemed from slavery in *Greece*.

Not long after this triumph, He procured audience of the Senate for many Embassages, that were come out of *Greece* and *Asia*. They had all very favourable answers, excepting those of King *Antiochus*: whom the Senate would not hear, but referred over to *T. Quintius*, and the ten that had been his Counsellors; because their business was said to be somewhat intricate. Hereat the Kings Embassadors wondered. They said unto *Titus* and his Associates, that they could not discern wherein consisted any perplexity of their message. For all treaties of peace and friendship, were either between the Victor and the vanquished; between those, that having warred together, were upon equal terms of advantage; or between those that had lived alwayes in good agreement, without any quarrel. Unto the Victor, they said, that the vanquished must yield; and patiently endure the imposition of some Covenants, that else might seem unreasonable. Where War had been made, and no advantage gotten: there was it usual to demand and make restitution of things and places claimed, gotten or lost; accordingly as both parts could agree. But between those which had never fallen out, there ought no Conditions of establishing friendship to be proposed: since it was reasonable, that each part should hold their own; and neither carry it self as superiour to the other, in prescribing ought that might be troublesome. Now of this last kind, was the league and friendship that had been so long in conclusion, betwixt *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. Which being so: they held it strange, that the *Romans* should thus insist on points no way concerning them, and take upon them to prescribe unto the King, what Cities of *Asia* he should set at liberty; from what cities they would give him leave to exact his wonted Tributes; either putting or not putting his Garrisons into them, as the Senate should think fit. Hereto *Quintius* answered, that since they went so distinctly to work, He would also do the like. Wherefore he propounded unto them two Conditions, and gave them their choice whether to accept: Either that it should be lawful for the *Romans* to take part in *Asia* with any that would seek their friendship; Or if King *Antiochus* misliked this, and would have them forbear to meddle in *Asia*, that then he should abandon whatsoever he had gotten in *Europe*. This was plain dealing, but no reasonable nor pertinent answer, to that which the Kings Embassadors had propounded. For if the *Romans* might be hired to abstain from *Asia*, by the gift of all that *Antiochus* had lately won in *Europe*: then did not the affairs of *Smyrna*, *Lampsacus*, or any other *Asiatiques*, whom they were pleased to reckon as their Confederates, bind them in honour to make War with a King that sought their love, and had never done them injury. But they knew very well, that *Antiochus* could not without great shame be so base, as to deliver up unto them the City of *Lysimachia*, whereon he had of late been at so much cost; in building it up even from the foundation, and repeopling it with Inhabitants, that had all been dispersed, or captive to the *Barbarians*. And so much the Embassadors with great indignation alledged: saying, That *Antiochus* desired friendship of the *Romans*; but so, as it might stand with his honour. Now in point of honour the *Romans* took upon them as if their cause were far the superiour. For it was, they said, their purpose to set at liberty those towns which the King would oppress and hold in subjection: especially since those towns were of *Greekish* blood and language; and fell, in that regard under the patronage which *Rome* had afforded unto all *Greece* besides. By this colour they might soon have left *Antiochus* King of not many subjects on the hither side of *Euphrates*. Neither did they forbear to say, That unless he would quit what he held in *Europe*, it was their meaning not only to protect those which relied upon them in *Asia*, but therein to make new Alliances: namely (as might be understood) with such as were his subjects. Wherefore they urged his Embassadors to come to a point, and tell them plainly which of these two Conditions their King would accept. For lack of a pleasing



pleasing answer, which the Embassadors could not hereto make, little wanted of giving presently defiance to the King. But they suffered themselves to be entreated, and were contented once again to send over *P. Villius*, and others that had been already with the King at *Lysimachia*; by whom they might receive a final answer, whether these demands made by *Quintius* and his Associates would be accepted, yea, or no. By this respite of time, and the fruitless Treaties ensuing, *Antiochus* got the leisure of two years; or thereabouts, to prepare for War; finding in the *Romans* all that while, no disposition to let him live in peace.

## §. V.

*Of the long Wars which the* Romans *had with the Gauls, Ligurians, and Spaniards. Of* M. Porcius Cato. *Injuries done by* Masanissa *to the Carthaginians, that sue to the Romans for justice in vain.*

THE *Insubrians*, *Bojians*, and other of the *Cisalpine Gaules*, together with the *Ligurians*; made often and (in a manner) continual war upon the *Romans* in *Italy*, even from such time as *Hannibal* and his brother *Mago* departed thence, untill such time as they themselves were utterly subdued: which was not, before the *Romans* were almost at the very height of the Empire. These Nations, having served under *Mago* for wages, and afterwards having gotten *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian*, to be Leader unto them all, as hath already been shewed; by this their fellowship in Armes, grew to be such willing partakers each of others fortune, that seldome afterwards either the *Gaules* or *Ligurians* did stir alone: but that their Companions, hearing it, were ready to second them. How the *Romans* first prevailed, and got large possessions in *Gallia Cisalpina*, now called *Lumbardie*: it hath been long since rehearsed between the first and second *Punick* Wars. As also it hath since appeared, how they lost the greatest part of their hold in that Countrey, by means of *Hannibal* his passage there through. Neither is it likely that the re conquest would have been more difficult or tedious unto the *Romans*, than was the first purchase: if, besides the greater employments which they had of their Armies abroad, their forces appointed unto this war, had not been distracted by the *Ligurians*: that alwayes made them to proceed warily, having an eye to the danger at their backs. The *Ligurians* were a stout Nation, light and swift of body; well practised in laying ambushes, and not discouraged with any overthrow, but forthwith ready to fight again. Their Countrey was mountainous, rough, woody, and full of straight and dangerous passages. Few good Towns they had: but many Castles, exceedingly well fortified by nature: so as without much labour, they could neither be taken or besieged. They were also very poor; and had little or nothing that might give contentment unto a victorious Army that should spoil their Land. In these respects, they served excellently well to train up the *Roman* Souldiers to hardness and military patience: teaching them (besides other exercises of War) to endure much, and live contented with a little. Their quarrel to *Rome*, grew partly from their love unto the *Gaules*, their neighbours and companions: partly from their delight in robbing and spoiling the Territory of their borderers, that were subject unto *Rome*. But their obstinate continuance in the War which they had begun, seems to have been grounded upon the Condition of all Salvages: To be friends or foes, by custome, rather than by Judgement: and to acknowledge no such vertue in Leagues, or formal conclusions of peace, as ought to hinder them from using their advantage; or taking revenge of injuries when they return to mind. This quality is found in all, or most of the West-Indians: who, if they be demanded a reason of the Wars between them and any of their neighbours, do use commonly this answer, *It hath still been the custom for us and them, to fight one against the other.*

Divers overthrows, though none that were great, these *Ligurians* gave unto the *Romans*: but many more, and greater, they received. Often they sought peace, when they found themselves in distress, and brake it again as often, when they thought it profitable so to do. The best was, that as their Countrey was a good place of exercise unto the *Romans*, so out of their own Countrey they did little harm: not sending any great Armies far from home; perhaps, because they knew not how to make War, save on their own ground.

ch. 2. sect. 8. of this Book.

The Country of *Spain*, as it was the first part of the Continent out of *Italy* that became subject unto the *Romans*: so was it the last of all their Provinces, which was wholly and throughly by them subdued. It is likened in figure by some Geographers unto an Oxe-hide: and the *Romans* found in it the property of that Oxe-hide which *Calanus* the *Indian* shewed unto the Great *Alexander*, as an Embleme of his large Dominions. For treading

treading upon any ſide of it, the further parts would riſe from the ground. And thus was it with *Spain*. Seldom did it happen that thoſe parts from which the *Roman* Armies lay fartheſt, were not up in rebellion. The *Spaniards* were a very hard Nation, and eaſily ſtirred up to arms; but had not much knowledge in the art of war, nor any good Captains. They wanted alſo (which was their principal hinderance) good intelligence among themſelves: and being divided into many ſmall Signiories, that had little other communion than of language, they ſeldom or never provided in general for the common good of their Country; but made it their chief care, each of them to look unto their own Territory. Such private reſpects made them often to fall aſunder, when many had united themſelves together, for chaſing out of the *Romans*. And theſe were the cauſes of their often overthrows: as deſire of liberty, rather than complaint of any wrong done to them, was the cauſe of their often taking arms.

The *Carthaginians* had been accuſtomed, to make evacuation of this Cholerick *Spaniſh* humour; by employing, as Mercenaries in their wars abroad, thoſe that were moſt likely to be unquiet at home. They had alſo taken Souldiers from one part of the Countrey, and uſed them in another: finding means to pay them all, out of the profits which they raiſed upon the whole Countrey; as being far better husbands, and of more dexterity than were the *Romans*, in that kind. But contrariwiſe, the *Romans* uſing the ſervice of their own Legions, and of their ſure friends the *Latines*, had little buſineſs for the *Spaniards*; and therefore were fain to have much buſineſs with them. *Spain* was too far diſtant, and withall too great for them to ſend over Colonies thither, whereby to hold it in good order, according to the courſe that they took in *Italy*. Wherefore it remained, that they ſhould alwayes maintain ſuch Armies in the Countrey, as might ſerve to hold it in obedience perforce; and ſuch heedful Captains as might be ſtill ready to oppoſe the *Barbarians* in their firſt Commotion. This they did; and thereby held the Countrey; though ſeldome in peace.

Very ſoon after the departure of *Scipio*, there was raiſed War in *Spain* againſt the *Romans*, even upon the ſame general ground, that was the foundation of all the *Spaniſh* Wars following. It was thought unreaſonable, that the *Spaniards* ſhould one while help the *Carthaginians* againſt the *Romans*, and another while the *Romans* againſt the *Carthaginians*; baſely forgeting to help themſelves againſt thoſe that were ſtrangers, yet uſurped the Dominion over them. But the forces which *Scipio* had left behind him in that Countrey, being well acquainted with the manner of War in thoſe parts, ſuppreſſed this rebellion by many victories: and, together with ſubjection, brought peace upon the Countrey; which laſted five years. This Victory of the *Romans*, though it happily ended the War: yet left it ſtill remaining the cauſe of the War; which after five years brake out again. The *Spaniards* fought a battel with the *Roman* Proconſul, whom they ſlew; and had a great Victory, that filled them with greater hopes. Yet the happy ſucceſs of their Wars in *Greece*, made the *Romans* think it enough to ſend thither two Prætors, and with each of them ſome two Legions. Theſe did ſomewhat: yet not ſo much, but that *M. Portius Cato*, who was Conſul the year following, and ſent into that Province; found at his coming little leſs to do, than the reconquering of all *Spain*. But it fell out happily, that all the *Spaniards* were not of one mind: ſome were faithful to *Rome*; and ſome were idle beholders of the pains that others took. Yet when *Cato* had won a great Victory upon the chiefeſt of them; they roſe againſt him in many parts of the Countrey, and put him unto much new trouble. Whileſt he was about to make a journey againſt thoſe that were as yet unſubdued: ſome of the lately vanquiſhed, were even ready to rebell. He therefore diſarmed them; which they took ſo heavily, that many of them ſlew themſelves for very grief. Hearing of this, and well underſtanding that ſuch deſperation might work dangerous effects: He called unto him the principal among them: and commending unto them peace and quietneſs, which they never had diſturbed but unto their own great loſs, He prayed them to deviſe what courſe might be taken for holding them aſſured unto *Rome*, without further trouble. None of them could, or would give counſel in a matter of this nature. Having therefore talked with them once or twice, and finding their invention barren in this kind of Subject; He gave expreſs charge, That upon a day appointed they ſhould throw down the walls of all their Towns. Afterwards he carryed the war about from place to place; and with ſingular induſtry finiſhed it in ſhort time. Neither thought he it any diſgrace to him or to *Rome*, in this time of danger, to imitate the *Carthaginians*, and hire an Army of the *Celtiberians*, againſt other of their Countreymen:



Countrymen: excuſing the indignity, ſuch as it ſeemed, with a jeſt, That if he were vanquiſhed and ſlain, then ſhould he need to pay them nothing; whereas if he had the Victory, He could pay them with the enemies money. Finally, He brought the War to ſo good end, that in long time after, though *Spain* were often troubleſome, yet was it in no danger of being loſt. He increaſed alſo the publike Revenues in that Province, by cauſing ſome Mines of Iron and Silver to be wrought, that had before lain unregarded. Herein he did beneſit the Common-wealth by a vertue much agreeable to his own peculiar diſpoſition.

For this *M. Cato* was not only very notable in the Art of War, which might well be then termed the occupation of the *Romans*; but ſo well furniſhed with all other uſefull qualities, that very little was wanting in him which might ſeem requiſite to the accompliſhment of a perfect man. He was very skilful in the *Roman* Laws, a man of great Eloquence, and not unprofitable in any buſineſs either private or publike. Many books he wrote: whereof the principal were, of the *Roman* Antiquities, and of Husbandry. In matter of Husbandry he was notable, and thereby moſt increaſed his ſubſtance; being of mean birth, and the firſt of his houſe. Strong of body he was, and exceeding temperate: ſo as he lived in perfect health to very old age. But that which moſt commended him unto the better ſort of the *Romans*, was his great ſincerity of life, abſtinence from bribes, and faſhioning himſelf to the antient laudable Cuſtomes of the City. Herein he had merited ſingular commendations, if the vehemency of his nature had not cauſed him to malign the vertue of that noble *Scipio* the *African*, and ſome other worthy men; that were no leſs honeſt than himſelf, though far leſs rigid, and more gallant in behaviour. Otherwiſe, He was a very good Citizen, and one of ſuch temper, that he could faſhion himſelf to all occaſions; as if he were never out of his Element. He loved buſineſs ſo well, or rather hated vice ſo earneſtly; that even unto the end of his life, He was exerciſed in defending himſelf or accuſing others. For at the age of fourſcore and ſix years, he pleaded in his own defence: and four years after, he accuſed *Sergius Galba* unto the people. So began the Nobility of *Cato* his family; which ended in his great grand-child *M. Cato* the *Utican*: one that being of like vertue and fervency, had all his good purpoſes daſht, and was finally wearied out of his life, by men of ſuch nobility and greatneſs as this his Anceſtor had continually vexed.

The *Spaniſh* Wars, after *Cato* his departure out of the Countrey, though they were not very dangerous, yet were they many: and the Country ſeldom free from inſurrection, in one part or other. The *Roman* Prætors therefore, of which two every year were ſent over Commanders into *Spain* (that was divided into Governments) did rarely fail of ſuch work, as might afford the honour of Triumph. One ſlew thirteen thouſand *Spaniards* in a battel: another took fifty Towns: and a third enforced many States of the Countrey to ſue for peace. Thus every one of them, or moſt of them, did ſome laudable ſervice; and yet ſo, that commonly there were of men, towns, and people, new that rebelled, inſtead of the old that were ſlain, taken, or reclaimed. At the cauſes hereof, I have already pointed; and therefore think it enough to ſay, That the buſineſs in *Spain* required not the imployment of a *Roman* Conſul, from ſuch time as *Cato* thence departed, untill the *Numantian* War broke out, which was very long after.

In all other Countries to the Weſt of the *Ionian* Seas, the *Romans* had peace; but ſo had not the *Carthaginians*. For when *Hannibal* was gone from them, and that the enemies of the *Barchine* Houſe promiſed all felicity which *Rome* could grant, unto themſelves and their obedient City: *Maſaniſſa* fell to diſputing with the ſword, about the title to the beſt part of their Lands. He began with *Emporia*, a fruitful Region about the leſſer *Syrtis*: wherein, among other Cities, was that of *Leptis*, which daily paid a Talent unto *Carthage* for Tribute. This Countrey the *Numidian* challenged; and by winning ſome part of it, ſeemed to better his claim unto the whole. He had a great advantage: for that the *Carthaginians* might not make any War, without leave obtained from their Maſters the *Romans*. They had none other way of redreſs, than by ſending to *Rome* their Complaint of his doings. And ſurely they wanted not good matter to alledge, if the Judges had been impartial. For beſides that *Scipio*, in limiting out to them their bounds, had left them the poſſeſſion of this Countrey: *Maſaniſſa* himſelf, now very lately purſuing a Rebel that fled out of his Kingdom, deſired leave of the *Carthaginians*, for himſelf to paſs through it in his way to *Cyrene*: thereby acknowledging (had it otherwiſe been queſtionable) that the Country was theirs. This notwithſtanding, *Maſaniſſa* had wherewith to juſtifie his

his proceedings, especially unto the *Roman* Senate. He gave the *Fathers* to understand by his Embassadours, what faithless people the *Carthaginians* were, and how ill affected to the State of *Rome*. There had lately been sent unto them from *Hannibal*, one that should perswade them to take part with *Antiochus*. This man they had examined upon some suspicion of his errand; yet neither arresting him nor his ship, had thereby afforded him means to escape. Hence the *Numidian* concluded, that certainly it was their purpose to rebell; and therefore good policy to keep them down.

As for the Countrey of *Emporia*: it had alwayes, he said, been theirs that were able to hold it by strong hand: and so belonged sometime unto the *Numidian* Kings: though now of late it was in possession of the *Carthaginians*. But if the truth were known, the Citizens of *Carthage* had not any very warrantable title unto any more ground, than that whereon their City stood: or scarcely to so much. For they were no better than strangers in *Africk*, that had gotten leave there to build upon so much ground, as they could encompass with an Oxe-hide cut into small thongs. Whatsoever they held without such a compass, was purchased by fraud, and wrongful encroachments. This considered, *Masanissa* requested of the Senate, that they would not adjudge unto such usurpers, the Countrey sometimes appertaining to the Ancestors of him their assured friend. The *Romans* having heard these allegations on both sides, found the matter so doubtful, that they could not on the sudden tell what to determine. Wherefore, because they would do nothing rashly: they sent over three Embassadors, of whom *P. Scipio* the *African* was one and the chief, to decide the controversie: yet secretly giving them instructions, to leave all as they found it, without making any end one way or other. The Embassadours followed their directions, and left all doubtful. So was it likely, that *Masanissa* with a strong army should quickly prevail against those that could no more than talk of their right, and exclaim against the wrong. By such Arts were the *Carthaginians* held, not only from stirring in favour of King *Antiochus*, if they had thereto any disposition: but were prepared by little and little, unto their final destruction: that came upon them, when the *Romans* had leisure to express the utmost of their hatred.

## §. VI.

*The Ætolians labour to provoke* Antiochus, Philip, *and* Nabis, *to War upon the* Romans, *by whom they hold themselves wronged and disgraced.* Nabis *besiegeth* Gytheum, *and wasteth some part of* Achæa. *The exact skill of* Philopœmen *in advantage of ground: whereby he utterly vanquisheth* Nabis. Antiochus *being denied peace of the* Romans, *joyns with the* Ætolians. *The* Ætolians *surprize* Demetrias; *and by killing* Nabis, *their Confederate, seize upon* Sparta. *But they are driven out by the Citizens: who at* Philopœmen *his perswasions annex themselves to the* Achæans.

ALL *Greece* being at peace, and the *Roman* Armies thence departed: it grieved much the *Ætolians* to think, that they who had promised unto themselves the whole spoil of *Philip*, and the highest reputation among the *Greeks*; were not only disappointed of their covetous hopes, but quite forsaken by their ancient dependants; and of all other the most unregarded. Yet was there made a great access to their Estate; by adding much unto them, of that which had been taken from the *Macedonian*. This might well have sufficed them, if their desires had not been immoderate; and their indignation more vehement, than their desire. But they were not so pleased with that which they had, since they thought it no more than part of their due: as they were vexed with the denial of that which they claimed, and with finding themselves to be wholly disesteemed, wherein they thought that they had usufferable wrong. Wherefore they devised, in a Parliament which they shortly held, by what means they best might right themselves; and give the *Romans* a sorrowful knowledge of the difference between their enmity and friendship. To this purpose they soon agreed, as concurring all in one affection; That they would not only perswade *Antiochus* to make war upon the *Romans*, as one to whom the *Romans* had long refused peace; but that they would deal with the King of *Macedon* their ancient enemy, and with *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, to joyn all together in a new Confederacy: whose joynt forces could not in all likelihood, but far surmount those of the *Romans*, *Achæans*, *Rhodians*, and King *Eumenes*, with all that were of their Faction. This was a great enterprise, which the *Ætolians* took in hand; and well beseeming them, for they were great darers. They sent Embassadors to all these Kings, with perswasions, as they thought most forcible. But *Philip* was irresolute; and *Antiochus* willing to try first all other courses. *Nabis* the *Lacedæmonian*, who neither (as *Philip*) had lost much, nor as (*Antiochus*) was in fear of any War; yet shewed himself of all other the most forward: and not staying so much as to seek any good pretence, began immediately to lay siege unto *Gytheum*, that had been lately taken from him by the *Romans*. The *Achæans*, to whose care chiefly *Titus* at his departure had commended the affairs of *Peloponnesus*, were not slow to admonish *Nabis* of his duty: neither would they have staid long from repressing his violence by open war; had not some of them thought it wisdom to ask Counsel of the *Romans*, and particularly of *T. Quintius*, before they engaged themselves in a business of such importance. Whilst thus they spent the time in sending Embassadors, and were advised by *Quintius* to let all alone, and to wait for the coming of the *Roman* forces, that would shortly be amongst them: *Nabis* was bold to give them juster cause of complaint, by wasting their own Territory.



*Philopœmen* was then the Prætor of the *Achæans*, who had long been absent in *Crete*; making War there for his minds sake and recreation. Unto him the *Achæans* referred themselves, giving him leave to order the War at his pleasure; either staying till the *Romans* came, or doing otherwise, as he should think best. He made all haste to relieve *Gytheum* by Sea; fearing lest the Town, and the *Achæan* Garrison within it, should be lost, if he used any delay. But *Philopœmen* was so bad a Sea-man, that he knew not a strong Ship from a rotten. He made a *Quadrireme* Gally his Admiral, that had fourscore years agoe been counted a gallant Vessel in the Navie of *Antigonus Gonatas*. Neither was the rest of his Fleet so good, as might encounter with that of the *Lacedæmonian*. Only it fell out well, that he committed himself to a light Pinnace or Brigandine, that fought better with her wings, than with her talons. For his Admiral Gally was stemmed at the first; and being rotten with age, sprang so many leaks, and took in water so fast, that she was fain to yield without further resistance. When the rest of the Fleet saw what was become of their Admiral, all were presently discouraged, and saved themselves with what speed they could. But *Philopœmen* was not herewith daunted. If he had failed in Sea-service, which was none of his Occupation, He said, that he would make amends by Land. The Tyrant withdrew part of his Army from the siege of *Gytheum*, to stop the *Achæans*, if they should invade his Country. But upon these which were placed in guard of *Laconia*, *Philopœmen* came unexpected; fired their Camp, and put all, save a very few of them, to the sword. Then marched he with all his Army towards *Lacedæmon*: within ten miles whereof he was when the tyrant met him, that had already taken *Gytheum*. It was not expected that *Nabis* would have been ready for them so soon. Or if he should come from *Gytheum*, with any part of his forces: yet was it thought that he must overtake them, and charge them in Rere. They marched therefore almost securely, in a long troop reaching some five miles; having their Horse, and the greatest part of their Auxiliaries at their backs, to bear off any sudden impression. But *Nabis*, who formerly understood, or at least suspected, what course they would take, appeared in the front of them with all his Army; encamped there where they meant to have lodged. It was the custome of *Philopœmen*, when he walked, or travelled abroad with his friends, to mark the situation of the Country about him; and to discourse what might befal an Army marching the same way. He would suppose, that having with him there such a number of Souldiers, ordered and sorted in such manner, and marching towards such a place; he were upon that ground encountred by a greater Army, or better prepared to fight. Then would he put the question, Whether it were fit for him to hold on his way, retire, or make a stand? What piece of ground it were meet for him to seize upon? and in what manner he might best do it? in what sort he should order his men? where bestow his carriages, and under what Guard? in what sort encamp himself? and which way march the day following? By such continual meditation he was grown so perfect, that he did never meet with any difficulty, whence he could not explicate himself and his followers: At this time he made a stand: and having drawn up his Rere, He encamped neer unto the place where he was; within half a mile of the Enemy. His bagage with all thereto belonging, he bestowed on a Rock; encompassing them round with his Souldiers. The ground was rough, the wayes bad, and the day almost quite spent; so as *Nabis* could not at the present greatly molest him. Both Armies were to water at one Brook; whereto the *Achæans* lay the nearer. This watering therefore was first to minister the like occasion of skirmish. *Philopœmen* understood this; and laid an

ambuſh in place convenient; whereinto the Mercenaries of *Nabis* fell, and were ſlaughtered in great numbers. Preſently after this, he cauſed one of his own Auxiliaries to go to the Tyrant as a fugitive, and tell him, that the *Achæans* had a purpoſe to get between him and *Lacedæmon*; whereby they would both debarr his return into the City, and withal encourage the people to take Arms for the recovery of their freedom. The Tyrant hearing this, marched haſtily away; and left his Camp, which hardly otherwiſe would have been forced. Some companies he made to ſtay behind, and ſhew themſelves upon the Rampart, thereby to conceal his departure. But *Philopœmen* was not ſo to be beguiled. He eaſily won the Camp, and gave chaſe to *Nabis*: whoſe followers being overtaken, had no courage to turn about and make head. The enemies being thus diſperſed, and fled into woods where they lay in covert all that day: *Philopœmen* conceived aright, that their fear and neceſſity would teach them to creep homewards, and ſave themſelves, when it grew dark. Wherefore in the evening, when he had gathered together all thoſe of his light armature, which had followed the chaſe whilſt it was day, he led forth the reſt that had well refreſhed themſelves, and occupied the two moſt ordinary paſſages unto *Lacedæmon*. So *Nabis* his men, when it was dark night, perceiving in *Philopœmens* Camp great ſtore of lights; thought that all had been at reſt: and therefore adventured to make an eſcape home. But they were ſo way-laid, that hardly one quarter of them got into *Sparta*. Thirty dayes together after this, did *Philopœmen* waſte the Country round about, whilſt *Nabis* durſt not iſſue forth of his town; and then returned home, leaving the tyrant in a manner without forces.

The *Roman* Embaſſadors were then in *Greece*, and *T. Quintius* among them, labouring to make their party ſtrong againſt *Antiochus* and *Nabis*, whom they knew to be ſolicited by the *Ætolians*. Very fair countenance they alſo made unto *Philip*; and with comfortable promiſes drew him to make ſhew, whatſoever he thought of good correſpondence. They promiſed to reſtore unto him his ſon: and were contented to let him hope, that he ſhould receive other favours at their hands; and regain poſſeſſion of many places, by them taken from him. Thus did the *Romans* prepare for war againſt *Antiochus* in *Greece*, whileſt their Embaſſadors that were with him in *Aſia*, denyed otherwiſe to grant him Peace, than if he would yield unto one of the Conditions, by them ſo often propounded. The long abſence of this King in *Syria*, where he had accompliſhed the marriage between *Ptolomy* and his daughter; together with the death of young *Antiochus* the Kings ſon, which happened during the Treaty, and hindered, or ſeemed to hinder the King from giving audience in perſon to the Embaſſadors; cauſed them to return home to *Rome*; as uncertain of the'r anſwer as at their ſetting forth. One thing that might have been, and partly was, beneficial unto them, they brought to paſs during their abode at *Epheſus*; either by cunning, or (as *Livie* rather thinks) by chance. Finding *Hannibal* there, they diſcourſed often with him, and blamed him for having thus fled unto *Antiochus*, upon a cauſeleſs ſupition wherein he held the *Romans*; that honoured his vertue, and intended him no harm. Many have affirmed that *P. Scipio* was one of theſe Embaſſadors; and that he, among other diſcourſes with *Hannibal*, demanded once, *Which of all the famous Captains that had lived*, Hannibal *judged the moſt worthy?* So *Hannibal* gave to *Alexander* of *Macedon* the firſt place: to *Pyrrhus* the ſecond: and the third he challenged unto himſelf. But *Scipio*, who thought his own title better, than that it ought to be ſo forgotten, asked yet further, What wouldſt thou have ſaid then, *Hannibal*, if thou hadſt vanquiſhed me? To whom the *Carthaginian* replied, Then would not I have given the firſt place to *Alexander*, but have claimed it as due unto my ſelf. Now whether this were ſo, or otherwiſe, the often and friendly conference of *Hannibal* with the *Roman* Embaſſadors, made him ſuſpected of *Antiochus*; who therefore did forbear a while to uſe his counſel. Yet afterwards, when *Hannibal* perceived this change in the King, and plainly deſiring him to tell the cauſe thereof, heard what it was; he eaſily recovered his former grace and credit. For he told how his Father had cauſed him to ſwear at the Altars, when he was a little boy, that he never ſhould be friend unto the *Romans*. Wherefore he willed the King not to regard any vain ſurmiſes: but to know thus much, that ſo long as he thought upon war with *Rome*, ſo long would *Hannibal* do him all good ſervice: whereas contrariwiſe, if he intended to make peace, then ſhould it behoove him to uſe the counſell of ſome other man.

The *Ætolians*, and their friends, were leſs buſie all this while, in making their party ſtrong againſt the *Romans*, than were the *Romans* in muſtering up their friends in *Greece*. They had ſo often dealt with *Antiochus*, vaunting much of their own forces, and arrogating to themſelves the honour of the victory againſt *Philip*, that finally they prevailed with him; eſpecially when the *Roman* Embaſſadors had left him without hope of peace, unleſs he would buy it at too dear a rate. They dealt in like ſort with the *Macedonian*. But in vain. He underſtood the *Romans*, and himſelf, too well. Wherefore it concerned them to improve their own forces to the uttermoſt: as knowing that all the burthen muſt lie upon *Antiochus* and themſelves, without help from any, ſave only from ſome few that were diſcontented in *Greece*. Whilſt they were about this, and had with them an Embaſſador of the King *Antiochus*, that animated them to reſolution, the *Athenian* Embaſſadors, whom *Titus* had requeſted to be at their meeting, ſtayed their vehemency a little; by exhorting them, not to conclude raſhly, without firſt hearing the *Romans*, that lay near at hand. For want of a ready anſwer hereto, they were contented to approve the motion. *Titus* hearing this, thought the buſineſs worthy of his preſence. For ſince *Antiochus* had now declared himſelf againſt the *Romans*, it would be no ſmall piece of ſervice, to withdraw from his friendſhip, thoſe by whoſe encouragement he had made the adventure. Wherefore he came to their *Panætolium*, or great Aſſembly of the Nation; where he forgot nothing that might ſerve to appeaſe them. He willed them to conſider the weight of the enterpriſe which they took in hand; whereby *Greece* was like to become a Champaign-field, on which to the ruine of the Country, the *Romans* and King *Antiochus*, that commanded no ſmall part of the World, ſhould fight for the Maſtery: the *Ætolians*, as Maſters in that kind of Fence, ſetting them on, and becoming *the Sticklers*. As for thoſe grievances which did thus exaſperate them, and urge them to ſuch violent courſes, he willed them to conſider how ſlight they were, and how much better they mght do, to ſend Embaſſadors to *Rome*, that ſhould either plead their right in the Senate, or (if their right unto the places which they claimed, were not good) make requeſt to have what they deſired: than thus to ſet the world in an uproar, and be afterwards the firſt that ſhould repent it. But what he ſaid, or could ſay, it ſkilled not much. They had already done ill, to make the Embaſſador of the King, whoſe help they had ſought, wait ſo long for an anſwer, and ſtay doubting what good end they ſhould make with the *Romans*. Neither was it news unto them, to hear thoſe comfortable words; that, by ſending to *Rome*, they might happen to obtain what they deſired; either as their right, or elſe by way of favour. For with ſuch Terms had they been feaſted once already: and were by the Senate rejected unto *Titus*: who having it in his own power, gave them no ſatisfaction; yet would now again refer them to the Senate. This were only loſs of time, and might abate their credit with *Antiochus*. Wherefore without more ado they made a Decree, That King *Antiochus the Great* ſhould be intreated to come over into *Greece*, as well to ſet the Country at liberty, as alſo to decide the controverſies depending between the *Romans* and *Ætolians*. Such a Decree they would not have made, had they not underſtood the Kings mind before. Having made it, they forgot no point of bravery, whereby to vaunt themſelves to the Kings Embaſſadors, and againſt the *Romans*. *Titus* deſired of their Prætor, to let him ſee a Copy of this new Decree. The Prætor anſwered, That then he had other things to do: but that this Decree, and their further anſwer, they would ſhortly let him know, if he came to their Camp in *Italy* upon the river of *Tibris*. Gentler words would have done better, as the *Ætolians* are like to underſtand hereafter. But having thus begun, they meant henceforth to go roundly to work. The care of the war they referred unto the more private Councel of their Nation; that no occaſion might ſlip, in waiting for the Authority of a general aſſembly. The *Apocleti* (ſo were the privie Councel of *Ætolia* called) went as hotly to work as any of the youngeſt heads could have done. They laid a plot, how to get into their hands at one time the Towns of *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and *Sparta*: to each of which they ſent men for the purpoſe. *Demetrias* they took upon the ſudden; entring ſome of them as friends, to conduct home a principal man of the City: who for ſpeaking words againſt *T. Quintius*, had been driven to flee thence; but was by interceſſion of thoſe that loved him, again re-called. His *Ætolian* companions, that were not many, ſeized upon a Gate; whereat they let in a troop which they had left not far behind them: and ſo fell to murdering the chief of the *Roman* Faction. At *Chalcis* they ſped not ſo well. Thither alſo they had a baniſhed man to bring home: but they came ſo ſtrong, that their purpoſe was diſcovered, and the Town prepared to defend it ſelf againſt them. Being therefore demanded the cauſe of this hoſtility, they gave a gentle anſwer, ſaying, That they came not thither as enemies, but only to deliver the Town from the *Romans*; who more inſolently domineered





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domineered over it, than ever the *Macedonians* had done. By which Rhetorick they prevailed no more, than they could do by plain force. For the Towns-men replyed, That they neither found any abridgement of their liberty, nor needed any Garrison to keep them from the *Romans*, from whom they neither feared any danger, nor received injury. So this business was dasht. The attempt upon *Sparta* was more strange and desperate. *Nabis* their good friend, was Lord of the Town, styling himself King, but more truly by all men called Tyrant. He had well-near lost all, by means of the overthrow which *Philopœmen* had lately given him: since he durst not stir abroad; and daily expected the mischief, that on all sides threatned him. Wherefore he sent messengers, one after another, to the *Ætolians*; requesting them, That as he had not been slow to stir in their behalf, but adventured himself upon the utmost of danger, when all others were backward; so they would be pleased to send him what help they might, since his bad fortune had caused him presently to need it. It hath been often said, That the ravenous *Ætolians* were only true to themselves, and regarded neither faith nor friendship, otherwise, than as it might conduce to their own ends. And so dealt they now. For since *Nabis* his mercenary forces, which upheld his Tyranny, were in a manner consumed: they thought it expedient for their Estate, to put him out of the way; and, by so doing, to assure *Lacedæmon* unto themselves. To this purpose, they sent thither *Alexamenus*, one whom they thought a man fit for such a work. To him they gave a thousand Foot, and thirty Horse, chosen for the purpose. These thirty were by *Democritus* the Prætor brought into the Counsel of the *Apocleti*, where they were commanded to be no wiser than they should be, nor to think that they were sent to make war with the *Achæans*, or to do ought else, save only what *Alexamenus* should command them; which were it never so desperate, and in seeming against all reason; yet must they understand, that unless they performed it, they should have no good welcome home. So *Alexamenus* came to the Tyrant, whom he encouraged with brave words: telling him that *Antiochus* was already in *Europe*, and would be anon in *Greece*, meaning to cover all the Land and Sea with his mighty Armies; and that the *Romans* were like to find other manner of work, than of late with *Philip*: since the Elephants of this great King, without other help, would suffice to tread them down. As for the *Ætolians*, he said that if need should so require, they would presently send away to *Lacedæmon* all the forces that they could raise: But that they were very desirous at the present, to make as goodly a muster as they could, before the great King; which caused them to send him thither afore with no greater company. Hereupon he willed *Nabis* to take heart; bring forth his men, that had been long pent up in the City; and train them without the walls: as if shortly he should employ them in work of conquest, rather than defence: *Nabis* was glad of this: and daily exercised his men in the field: riding up and down with this *Alexamenus*, and no more than three or four horse about him, from one point to another, to order and behold them. During this time of exercise, *Alexamenus* made it his fashion, to step aside alone to his *Ætolians*, and say somewhat as he thought fit: which done, he still returned again to *Nabis*. But when he saw time for the great work which he had in hand; he then went aside to his thirty horsemen, and bade them remember the task enjoyned them at their setting forth; telling them, that they were all in case of banished men, unless they would anon come up to him, and help him to finish that which they should see him take in hand. Herewithall the Tyrant began to draw near them: and *Alexamenus* making towards him, charged him on the sudden, and struck him down. The thirty *Ætolians* never stood to deliberate upon the matter, but all flew in; and, before any succour could arrive, had made an end of this wretched *Nabis*. Presently upon the fact committed, the Tyrant his Mercenaries ran unto the dead body: where in stead of seeking revenge, they stood foolishly gazing as beholders. *Alexamenus* with his *Ætolians* hasted into the City, and seized on the Palace: where he fell to ransacking the Treasure; and troubled himself with none other care, as though all were already done. Such of his followers as were dispersed in the Town, did also the like; with the greater indignation of the Citizens: who seeing themselves free by the death of the Tyrant, could not indure to see those that had slain him, begin to tyrannize anew. Wherefore all the Town was shortly in arms: and for lack of another Captain, they took a little Boy of the Royal stock, that had been brought up with *Nabis* his children, whom they mounted upon a good Horse, and made him their Chief. So they fell upon the *Ætolians* that were idly straggling about; and put them all to the sword. *Alexamenus* with not many of his Company, were slain in keeping the Citadel: and those few that escaped thence into *Arcadia*, were taken by the Magistrates; who sold them all as bond-slaves. In this doubtful Estate of things at *Lacedæmon*, *Philopœmen* came thither: who calling out the chief of the City, and speaking such words unto them, as *Alexemanus* should have done after he had slain the Tyrant: easily perswaded them for their own good and safety, to incorporate themselves with the *Achæans*. Thus by the enterprise, no less dishonourable than difficult, of the *Ætolians*: and the small, but effectual, travel of *Philopœmen*, the *Achæans* made a notable purchase: and *Lacedæmon*, that had hitherto been governed either by Kings, or by Tyrants that called themselves Kings, became the member of a Common-wealth, whereof the name had scarce any reputation, when *Sparta* ruled over all *Greece*.



## §. VII.

Antiochus, *perswaded by* Thoas *the Ætolian, comes over into* Greece *ill attended. Sundry passages between him, the Ætolians, Chalcidians, and others. He wins* Chalcis, *and thereby the whole Isle of* Eubœa. *The vanity of the Kings Embassadours and the Ætolians, with the civil answer of* Titus *to their discourse, before the Achæans. That it concerned the Greeks to have desired peace between the Romans and* Antiochus, *as the best assurance of their own liberty. Of many petty Estates that fell to the King. Of* Aminander; *and an idle vanity, by which King* Philip *was lost.* Hannibal *gives good counsel in vain. Some Towns won in* Thessaly. *The King retires to* Chalcis, *where he marrieth a young wife, and revels away the rest of Winter. Upon the coming of the Roman Consul all forsake* Antiochus. *He with two thousand Ætolians keeps the Straights of* Thermopylæ. *He is beaten, and flees into* Asia: *leaving all* Greece *unto the Victors.*

ANatiochus was troubled much in *Asia* with *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus*, that would not hearken to any Composition. He thought it neither safe nor honourable, to leave them enemies behind him: and to win them by force, was more than hitherto he was able. Yet was he desirous, with all speed convenient, to shew himself in *Greece*: where he had been told, that his presence would effect wonders. It was said, that in all the country there was a very small number, which bore hearty affection unto the *Romans*: That *Nabis* was already up in arms: That *Philip* was like a Bandog in a chain, desiring nothing more, than to break loose: and that the *Ætolians*, without whom the *Romans* had done nothing, nor nothing could have done, were ready to confer upon him the greatness, which they had unworthily bestowed upon insolent *Barbarians*. Of all this the least part was true. Yet that which was true made such a noise, as added credit unto all the rest. While st therefore the King was thinking to send *Hannibal* into *Africk*, there to molest the *Romans*, and so give him the better leisure of using his own opportunities in *Greece*: *Thoas* the *Ætolian* came over to him, and bade him lay all other care aside; for that his countreymen had already taken *Demetrias*, a Town of main importance, that should give him entertainment, whence he might proceed as became the greatness of his vertue and fortune. This did serve to cut off all deliberation. As for *Hannibal*, *Thoas* was bold to tell the King, first, that it was not expedient for him to divide his forces at such a time, when the very reputation of his numbers, brought into *Greece*, might serve to lay open unto him all places, without need of using violence: and secondly, That in any such great enterprise there could not be chosen a more unfit man to be employed in the Kings service, than was that famous *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*. For he said, that the King should as greatly feel the loss of a Fleet or Army, perishing under such a notable commander if his fortune were bad, as if the same had miscarryed under one of meaner quality: whereas nevertheless if *Hannibal* prevailed, *Hannibal* alone should have all the honour, and not *Antiochus*. In this regard he was of opinion, that such a renowned Warriour should be alwayes near unto the Kings person, to give advice: which being followed as often as it was found commodious, the good success would wholly redound unto the honour of him that had the soveraign Command; even of the King himself. *Antiochus* gladly hearkned unto this admonition; being jealous of the vertue, that shined brighter than the Majesty of his own fortune. And thereupon he laid aside the determination, which tended more to the advancement of his desires, than did any thing else by him then or after thought upon.

Presently after this, He made ready for *Greece*. Before his setting forth, in a frivolous pomp of ceremony, he went up from the Sea-side to *Ilium*; there to do sacrifice to *Minerva* of *Troy*. Thence passing over the *Ægean* Sea, He came to *Demetrias*. *Eurylochus* the *Magnetian*; the same whom the *Ætolians* had lately waited on home, when by that pretext

pretext they won *Demetrias* ; was now the chief man, and ruler of his Nation. He therefore with his Countreymen, in great frequency, came to do their duties to the King *Antiochus*, and bid him welcome. The King was glad of this : and took it as a sign of good luck, to be so entertained at the beginning. But it may be suspected, that the *Magnetians* found not the like cause of joy. For whereas they had expected a Fleet and Army somewhat like to that of *Xerxes* : they saw three hundred ships ; of which, no more than forty were serviceable for the Wars, with an Army of ten thousand Foot, five hundred Horse, and six Elephants. The *Ætolians* no sooner heard of his coming than they called a Parliament, and made a Decree, whereby they invited him into their Country. He knew before that they would so do ; and was therefore well onward on his way towards them, when they met with him that brought the Decree. At his coming to *Lamia*, the *Ætolians* gave him as joyful entertainment as they could devise. Being brought into their Council, he made an Oration : wherein he desired them to hold him excused, that he came not followed with a greater Army. This was, he said, in true estimation, a sign of his good will : in that he staid not to make all things ready, but hasted unto their aid, even whileſt the season was unfit for Navigation. Yet it should not be longer, ere the hope of all those which had expected him, would be satisfied unto the full. For it was his meaning to fill all *Greece* with Armies, and all the Sea-coast with his Fleets. Neither would he spare for any charge, travel, or danger, to follow the business which he had undertaken : even to drive the *Romans* and their authority out of *Greece* ; leaving the Country free indeed, and the *Ætolians* therein the chief. Now as the Armies that were following him, should be very great ; so was it his meaning, that all provisions to them belonging should be correspondent ; because he would not be any way burdensome unto his Confederates. But at the present he must needs intreat them, having thus hastily come over unto their aid, unprovided of many necessaries, that they would help him with Corn and other victuals, whereof he stood in need. So he left them to their consultation : the conclusion whereof was, after a little dispute, (for a vain motion was made by some, that the differences between the *Romans* and them, should be put by Compromise to the decision of *Antiochus*) that they would yield unto the Kings desire, and assist him with all their forces. Here we may observe, how vain a thing it is for an absolute Prince to engage himself, as did *Antiochus*, in a business of dangerous importance upon the promised assurance of a State that is meerly popular. For if the vehemency of *Thoas*, and some other of that Faction, had not prevailed in this Council ; the *Ætolians*, for gain of two or three Towns, yea, for hope of such gain that might have deceived them, were like to have abandoned this King their friend, unto the discretion of the *Romans*. And what remedy had there been, if this had so fallen out ? He could have bemoaned himself to *Thoas*, and complained of the wrong : but he must have been contented with this answer, That the fault was in those of the opposite side ; whom *Thoas* would therefore have pronounced to be very wicked men. It happened much better for the present, though in the future it proved much worse, both for him, and for the *Ætolians*. He was chosen General of all their forces : and thirty Commissioners were appointed to be about him, as a Council of War for the Nation. These armed such as readily they could, whileſt it was in dispute where they should begin the War. *Chalcis* was thought the meetest place to be first undertaken : whither if they came suddenly, they should not peradventure need to use much force. The King had brought with him into *Ætolia* but a thousand Foot, leaving the rest behind him at *Demetrias*. With these he hasted away directly toward *Chalcis* ; being overtaken by no great number of the *Ætolians*, which accompanied him thither. At his coming the Magistrates, and some of the chief Citizens, issued forth to parle with him. There the *Ætolians* began, as they had lately done before, to tell, how the *Romans* had only in words and false semblance, set *Greece* at liberty. But such liberty as might be true and useful, they said, would never be obtained ; untill by removing the necessity of obeying their pleasure that were most mighty, every several estate had where to find redress of any pressure. And to this end was the great *Antiochus* come thither ; a King well able to counterpoise, yea to overweigh the *Romans* : who nevertheless desired them only, so to joyn with him in League, as that if either the *Romans* or he should offer them wrong, they might keep it in their power, to seek redress at the others hands. The *Chalcidians* made hereto the same answer, which ; to the like allegations, they had made not long before : That their freedom was not imaginary, but absolute ; for which they were to thank the *Romans* ; without whose good liking, they would enter into no new confederacy.



confederacy. That which they spake of themselves, they could likewise affirm of all the *Greeks* : forasmuch as none of them paid any tribute, was kept under by any Garrison, or lived otherwise than by their own *Laws*, and without being tied unto conditions which displeased them. Wherefore they wondred, why the King should thus trouble himself to deliver Cities that were already free. But since he, and the *Ætolians*, requested their friendship ; they besought both him and the *Ætolians*, to do a friendly Office, in departing from them quietly, and leaving them in such good case as they were. With this answer the King departed : for he was not, as then, strong enough to force them. But very soon after, he brought thither a greater power, which terrified them, and made them yield : before all the succours could arrive, wich *Titus* had sent for their defence.

The chief City of *Eubœa* being thus gotten, all the rest of the Island shortly yielded to *Antiochus*. Four or five hundred *Roman* Souldiers, that came over late to have defended *Chalcis*, reposed themselves at *Delium*, a little town of *Bœotia*, lying over against the Island ; where was a Temple and Grove, consecrated unto *Apollo*, that had the priviledge of an inviolable Sanctuary. In this place were some of them walking, and beholding the things there to be seen, whilst others were busied as they found cause, without fear of any danger ; as being in such a place, and no war hitherto proclaimed. But *Menippus* one of *Antiochus* his Captains, that had wearied himself in many vain Treaties of peace took advantage of their carelesness, and used them with all extremity of war. Very few of them escaped : fifty were taken, and the rest slain. Hereat *Quintius* was grieved ; yet so, as it pleased him well to consider, that his *Romans* had now more just cause than before, to make War upon the King.

*Antiochus* liked well these beginnings, and sent Embassadors into all quarters of *Greece* ; in hope, that his reputation should perswade very many to take his part. The wiser sort returned such answer, as the *Chalcidians* had done. Some reserved themselves untill he should come among them : knowing that either, if he came not, he must hold them excused for not daring to stir : or if he came, the *Romans* must pardon their just fear, in yielding to the stronger. None of those that lay far off, joyned with him in true meaning, save the *Eleans*, that always favoured the *Ætolians*, and now feared the *Achæans*. Little reason there was, that he should think to draw the *Achæans* to his party. Nevertheless he assayed them, upon a vain hope, that the envie which *Titus* was said to bear unto *Philopœmens* vertue, had bred a secret dislike between that Nation and the *Romans*. Wherefore both he and the *Ætolians* sent Embassadors to the Council at *Ægium* that spared not brave words, if the *Achæans* would have been so taken. The Kings Embassador told of great Armies and Fleets that were coming ; reckoning up the *Dahans*, *Medians*, *Elimeans*, and *Cadusians* : names that were not every day heard of, and therefore as he thought, the more terrible. Then told he them what notable men at Sea, the *Sidonians*, *Tyrians*, *Aradians*, and *Pamphylians* were ; such indeed as could not be resisted. Now concerning money and all warlike furniture : it was, he said, well known, that the Kingdoms of *Asia* had alwayes thereof great plenty. So as they were much deceived : who considering the late War made against *Philip*, did think that this with *Antiochus* would prove the like ; the case was too far different. Yet this most powerful King, that for the liberty of *Greece* was come from the utmost parts of the East ; requested no more of the *Achæans*, than that they would hold themselves as neutral, and quietly look on, whileſt he took order with the *Romans*. To the same effect spake the *Ætolian* Embassador, and further added, that in the battel at *Cynoscephalæ*, neither *Titus* had done the part of a General, nor the *Romans* of good Souldiers : but that both he and his Army had been there destroyed, had they not been protected by vertue of the *Ætolians*, which carried the day. *Titus* was present at the Council, and heard all this : to which he made as fit answer, as could have been desired. He told the *Achæans*, That neither the Kings Embassadour, nor the *Ætolian*, did so greatly labour to perswade those unto whom they addressed their Orations ; as to vaunt themselves the one unto the other. So as a man might well discern, what good correspondence in vanity it was, that had thus linked the King and the *Ætolians* together. For even such brags as here they made before the *Achæans*, who knew them to be lyars, had the *Ætolians* also made unto King *Antiochus* : proclaiming the victory over *Philip* to be meerly their Act : and the whole Countrey of *Greece* to be dependent on them. Interchangeably had they been feasted by the King, with such tales as his Embassador told even now ; of *Dahans*, and *Aradians*, and *Elimæans*, and a many others : that were all but a company of *Syrians*, such as were wont to be sold about for bondslaves, and good for little else. These divers names

names of rascal people were, he said, like to the diversity of Venison, wherewith a friend of his at *Chalcis* (no such vaunter as were these Embassadors) had sometime feasted him. For all that variety, whereat he wondred, was none other, as his Host then merrily told him; than so many pieces of one tame Swine, drest after several fashions, with variety of sawces. Setting therefore aside this vanity of idle pomp: it were good to make judgement of the great King, by his present doing. He had notwithstanding all this great noise, no more than ten thousand men about him: for which little Army he was fain in a manner to beg victuals of the *Ætolians*: and take up money at usury, to defray his charges. And thus he ran up and down the Countrey; from *Demetrias* to *Lamia*; thence back to *Chalcis*; and being there shut out, to *Demetrias* again. These were the fruits of lies: wherewith, since both *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* had each deluded other; meet it was that they should, as perhaps already they did, repent, whilest wiser men took heed by their example. To a favourable Auditory much perswasion is needless. The *Achæans* did not love so well the *Ætolians*, as to desire that they should become Princes of *Greece*: but rather wished to see them, of all other, made the veriest abjects. Wherefore they stood not to hearken after news, what *Antiochus* did, how he sped in *Eubœa*, or what other Cities were like to take his part: but readily proclaimed War against him, and against the *Ætolians*.

How the hatred between these two Nations grew inveterate; sufficiently appears in the story foregoing. Now have they gotten each their Patrons; the one, the *Romans*; the other, King *Antiochus*. Herein did each of them unwisely: though far the greater blame ought to be laid on the turbulent spirits of the *Ætolians*. For when the *Romans* departed out of *Greece*, and left the Country at rest: there was nothing more greatly to have been desired, than that they might never find occasion to return with an Army thither again. And in this respect ought the *Greeks* to have sought, not how *Smyrna* and *Lampascus* might recover their liberty (which had never been held a matter worth regarding, untill now of late) but how the powers of the East and West, divided and kept asunder by their Countrey, as two Seas by an *Isthmus*, or neck of land, might be kept from overflowing the bar that parted them. Neither had the *Romans* any better pretence for their seeking to make free those base *Asiatiques*, who originally were *Greekish*; than the general applause, wherewith all the nation entertained this their loving offer. Yet were *Lysimachia*, and the Towns in *Thrace*, lately gotten by *Antiochus*, pretended as a very great cause of fear, that should move them to take arms even in their own defence. But if all *Greece* would have made intercession, and requested that things might continue as they were, promising joyntly to assist the *Romans*, with their whole forces both by Land and Sea, whensoever King *Antiochus* should make the least offer to stir against them: then had not only this quarrel been at an end; but the *Roman* Patronage over the Country, had been far from growing, as soon after it did, into a Lordly rule.

The *Achæans* were at this time, in a manner the only Nation of *Greece*, that freely and generously declared themselves altogether for the *Romans*, their friends and benefactors. All the rest gave doubtful answers of hope unto both sides: or if some few, as did the *Thessalians*, were firm against *Antiochus*; yet helped they not one another in the quarrel, nor shewed themselves his enemies, till he pressed them with open force. The *Bœotians* willingly received him, as soon as he entred upon their borders, not so much for fear of his power, as in hatred of *Titus* and the *Romans*, by whom they had been somewhat hardly used. *Aminander* the *Athamanian*, besides his old friendship with the *Ætolians*, was caught with a bait, which it may be doubted, whether he did more foolishly swallow, or *Antiochus* cast out. He had married the daughter of an *Arcadian*, that was an idle-headed man, and vaunted himself to be descended from *Alexander* the Great: naming his two sons, in that regard, *Philip* and *Alexander*. *Philip*, the elder of these brethren, accompanied his sister to the poor Court of *Athamania*: where having made his folly known, by talking of his Pedegree; He was judged by *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, a man fit for their turns. They made him believe, that in regard of his high parentage, and the famous memory of *Alexander* his forefather; it was their purpose, to do their best for the conquest of *Macedon* to his behoof: since no man had thereto so good title as he. But for the enabling them hereunto; it behoved him to draw *Aminander* to their party, that so they might the sooner have done with the *Romans*. *Philip* was highly pleased herewith; and by perswasions of himself, or of his sister, effected as much as they desired. But the first piece of service done by this imaginary King (whether it proceeded from his own phrenzie in hope to get love of the *Macedonians* that should be his subjects: or whether



whether from some vanity in King *Antiochus* that employed him) wrought more harm to his friends, than he and *Aminander* were able to do good. There were two thousand men committed to his leading: with which he marched unto *Cynoscephalæ*, there to gather up the bones of the slaughtered *Macedonians*; whom their King had suffered all this while to lie unburied. The *Macedons* troubled not themselves to think on this charitable act, as if it were to them any benefit at all: but King *Philip* took it in high indignation; as intended meerly unto his despight. Wherefore he presently sent unto the *Romans*; and gave them to understand, that he was ready with all his power to aid them wherein soever they should be pleased to use him.

The *Ætolians*, *Magnetians*, *Eubœans*, *Bœotians*, and *Athamanians*, having now all joyned with him: *Antiochus* took counsel of them about the prosecution of the War in hand. The chief question was, Whether it were meet for him to invade *Thessaly*, that would not hearken to his perswasions: or whether to let all alone until the Spring: because it was now mid-winter. Some thought one thing, and some another; confirming each his own sentence, with the weightiest reasons which he could alledge: as in a matter of great importance. *Hannibal* was at this meeting: who had long been cast aside, as a vessel of no use, but was now required to deliver his opinion. He freely told the King, That what he should now utter, was even the same which he would have spoken, had his counsel at any time before been asked since their coming into *Greece*. For the *Magnetians*, *Bœotians*, and other their good friends, which now so willingly took their parts: what were they else than so many poor estates, that wanting force of their own, did adjoyn themselves for fear unto him, that was strongest for the present: and would afterwards, when they saw it expedient, be as ready to fall to the contrary side, alledging the same fear for their excuse? Wherefore he thought it most behooveful to win King *Philip* of *Macedon* unto their party: who (besides that being once engaged, he should not afterwards have power to recoyle and forsake them at his pleasure) was a mighty Prince; and one that had means to sustain the *Roman* War with his proper forces. Now that *Philip* might be easily perswaded to join with them, the benefit likely to redound unto himself, by their society, was a very strong Argument: though indeed what need was there, of proving by inference the likelihood of this hope: For, said He, *These* Ætolians *here present*; *and namely, this* Thoas *being lately Embassadour from them into* Asia, *among other motives which he then used to excite the King unto this Expedition, insisted mainly on the same point. He told us that* Philip *was moved beyond all patience, with the Lordly insolence of the* Romans: *likening that King to some wild beast, that was chained or lockt up within some grate, and would fain break loose. If this be so: let us break his chain, and pull down the grate, that he may regain his liberty, and satisfie his angry stomack, upon those that are common enemies to us and him. But if it prove otherwise, and that his fear be greater than his indignation: then shall it behoove us to look unto him; that he may not seek to please his good masters the* Romans, *by offending us. Your son* Seleucus *is now at* Lysimachia, *with part of your Army: if* Philip *will not hearken to your Embassage; let* Seleucus *be in readiness to fall upon* Macedon, *and find him work to defend his own on the other side, without putting us here to trouble. Thus much concerning* Philip, *and the present war in* Greece. *But more generally for the managing of this great enterprise, wherein you are now embarked against the* Romans, *I told you my opinion at the beginning: whereto had you then given ear, the* Romans *by this time should have heard other news, than that* Chalcis *in* Eubœa *was become ours.* Italy *and* Gaul *should have been on fire with war; and little to their comfort, they should have understood, that* Hannibal *was again come into* Italy. *Neither do I see what should hinder us even now from taking the same course. Send for all your Fleet and Army hither (but in any case let ships of burden come along with them, loaden with store of victuals: For, as the case now stands, we have here too few hands, and too many mouths) Wherefore let the one half be imployed against* Italy; *whilest you in person with the other half, tarrying on this side the* Ionian *Sea, may both take order for the affairs of* Greece, *and therewithal make countenance, as if you were even ready to follow us into* Italy: *yea, and be ready to follow us indeed, if it shall be requisite. This is my advice; who though perhaps I am not very skilful in all sorts of war; yet how to war with the* Romans, *I have been instructed by long experience, both to their cost and mine own. Of this Counsel which I give, I promise you my faithful and diligent service for the execution: but what counsel soever you please to follow, I wish it may be prosperous.* Many were pleased with the great spirit of the man, and said, he had spoken bravely: but of all this was nothing done; save only that one was sent into *Asia*, to make all things ready there. In the mean while they

they went in hand with *Theſſaly*; about which they had before diſputed. There when they had won one Town by force, many other places, doubting their own ſtrength, were glad to make ſubmiſſion. But *Lariſſa* that was chief of the Country, ſtood out: not regarding any terrible threats of the King, that lay before the wals with his whole Army. This their faith and courage was rewarded by good fortune. For *M. Bæbius*, a *Roman* Proprator, did ſend help thither. Likewiſe *Philip* of *Macedon* profeſſed himſelf enemy unto *Antiochus*, whereby the fame of the ſuccour coming to *Lariſſa*, grew ſuch, as wrought more than the ſuccour could have done, had it arrived. For *Antiochus* perceiving many fires on the Mountain tops afar off; thought that a great Army of *Romans* and *Macedonians* had been coming upon him. Therefore excuſing himſelf by the time of the year; He brake up his ſiege, and marched away to *Chalcis*. At *Chalcis* he fell in love with a young Maiden, daughter unto a Citizen of the Town; whom, without regard of the much diſproportion that was between them both in years and fortune, He ſhortly married; and ſo ſpent the winter following as delightfully as he could, without thinking upon the War in hand. His great men and Captains followed his example; & the ſouldiers as readily imitated their Captains in ſuch wiſe, that when he took the field, he might evidently perceive in what looſe manner of diſcipline his army had paſſed the winter. But *M. Acilius Glabrio*, the *Roman* Conſul, ſhall meet him very ſhortly, & help him to reclaim them from this looſneſs of nuptial Revels, by ſetting them to harder exerciſe.

*M. Acilius* was choſen Conſul with *P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica*. The war againſt *Antiochus* fell to him by lot; whereas otherwiſe, He was no way ſo honourable, as *Naſica*, his Colleague: unto whom fell a charge, of far leſs credit and importance. *Naſica*, beſides the great Nobility of his Family, had been long ſince, in time of the *Punick War*, crowned with the title of *The beſt man in Rome:* when the Senate for very fear and ſuperſtition, durſt not have ſo pronounced him, had they not ſo thought him, as being commanded by Oracle, that none other man than the very beſt, ſhould entertain an old ſtone, which the Devil then taught them to call *The Mother of the gods*. But no prerogative of Birth, Vertue or good opinion, gave ſuch advantage to the better man, as to make choice of his own Province: or arrogate more unto himſelf; than his lot ſhould afford him. This unpartial diſtribution of employments, helped well to maintain peace and concord.

*P. Scipio* was therefore appointed to make war againſt the *Bojians*; wherein he purchaſed the honour of a Triumph, nothing ſo glorious as was that of his Colleague; though purchaſed with harder ſervice, requiring the more ability in matter of War. But *M. Acilius* went over into *Greece*, with ten thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and fifteen Elephants. *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, notwithſtanding his late Alliance with King *Antiochus*; and *Philip* King of *Macedon*; had lately ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome*, making offer to come each of them in perſon with all his forces into *Ætolia*, there to aſſiſt the Conſul in this War. *Ptolomy* ſent alſo gold and ſilver, toward the defraying of charges; as one that meant none other than good earneſt. But he was too young and dwelt too far off. So his money was returned unto him with thanks; and his loving offer as lovingly refuſed. Unto *Philips* Embaſſadors, anſwer was made, that this his friendly offer was gratefully accepted: and that the Senate and People of *Rome* would think themſelves beholding to him, for the aſſiſtance that he ſhould give to *Acilius* the Conſul. *Maſaniſſa* likewiſe, and the *Carthaginians*, did ſtrive, which of them ſhould be moſt forward in gratifying the *Romans*. Each of them promiſed a great quantity of grain; which they would ſend partly to *Rome*, partly to the Army in *Greece*. And herein *Maſaniſſa* far out-went the poor City of *Carthage*: as alſo in that he offered to lend the Conſul five hundred horſe, and twenty Elephants. On the other ſide, the *Carthaginians* undertook to ſet out a Fleet at their own charges: and to bring in at one payment, all the Tribute-mony which was behind, and ought to be diſcharged by many yearly penſions. But the *Romans* did neither think it good, to let them arm a Fleet: nor would let them redeem themſelves out of Tribute, by paying all at once. As for the Corn, it was accepted, with condition that they ſhould be contented to receive the price of it.

The haſty and ridiculous iſſue of this War, that began with ſuch noiſe and preparations, were hardly credible: were not the difference exceeding great between the *Roman* and the *Aſiatique* Souldier. *Antiochus* had gotten this Spring a few towns of *Acarnania*, after the ſame manner as he had prevailed in other parts of *Greece*; partly by fair words, & treaſon of the Rulers; partly by terror, that was like to prove their excuſe when they ſhould again forſake him. But King *Philip* and *Bæbius* having recovered many places; & the *Roman* Conſul being arrived, againſt whom none made reſiſtance; he was glad to



to withdraw himſelf. *Aminander* fled out of his *Athamania*: which the *Macedonian* took and enjoyed; as in recompence of his good ſervice to the *Romans*. *Philip* the brother of *Aminanders* wife, was taken by the Conſul; made a mocking-ſtock, and ſent away priſoner to *Rome*. The *Theſſalians* uſed much more diligence in returning to their old friends, than they had done in yeelding to the King. All their Cities one after another, gave up themſelves: the Garriſons of *Antiochus*, compounding only for their own lives, and departing unarmed: yet ſo, that a thouſand of them ſtayed behind, and took pay of the *Romans*. This did wonderfully perplex *Antiochus*; who having withdrawn himſelf to *Chalcis*, and hearing how things went, cryed out upon his friends: and ſaid, That they had betrayed him. He had taken a great deal of toyl during one half of a winter, and ſpent the other half in ſuch Nuptials, as were little to his honour: after which, in time of need, he found all the promiſes of the *Ætolians* meerly verbal: and himſelf reduced into terms of great extremity. He therefore admired *Hannibal* as a wiſe man, yea, a very Prophet, that had foreſeen all this long before. Nevertheleſs, he ſent word to the *Ætolians*, that they ſhould now make ready all their forces: as conſidering their own need to be no leſs than his. But the *Ætolians* had cauſe to think, that they themſelves were ſhamefully diſappointed by *Antiochus*; who having promiſed to do great wonders, was in all this while ſeconded by no greater numbers out of *Aſia*, than ſo many as would fill up the ſame ten thouſand which he firſt brought over. Yet came there ſome of them, though fewer than at any time before, which joyned with him. Hereat the King was angry: and could get no better ſatisfaction, than that *Thoas* and his fellows had done their beſt in vain, to have made all the Nation take Arms. Since therefore neither his own men came over to him out of *Aſia*, nor his friends of *Greece* would appear in this time of danger: He ſeized upon the Straights of *Thermopylæ*; as meaning to defend them againſt the *Romans*, until more help ſhould come. Of the Straights of *Thermopylæ*, there hath been ſpoken enough * before, upon many occaſions: and then chiefly, when they were defended by *Leonidas* againſt the huge Army of *Xerxes*. Wherefore it may eaſily be conceived, how the *Romans*, that landed about *Apollonia*, and ſo came onwards into *Theſſaly*, were unable to paſs that Ledge of Mountains, dividing the one half of *Greece*; unleſs they could win this difficult entrance.

* l. 7. c. 6. ſect. 3.

But there was great difference between *Leonidas* and *Antiochus*. The former of theſe, with an handfull of men, defended this paſſage two or three dayes together, againſt a world of men coming to invade the Country. The latter, having taken upon him to do great miracles, and effect what he liſted himſelf in *Greece*: did commit himſelf unto the ſafety of this place, when he was charged by not many more than he had in his own Army. There whileſt he lay, He ſent earneſt meſſengers one after another to the *Ætolians*, entreating them not to forſake him thus; but at leaſt wiſe now to help, and keep the tops of the mountains, leſt the *Romans*, finding any by-path, ſhould come down upon him. By this importunity, he got of them two thouſand, that undertook to make good the few paſſages: by which only, and not without extreme difficulty, it was poſſible for the Enemy to aſcend. The *Roman* Conſul in like ſort prepared to force the Straights; without ſtaying to expect King *Philip*: that was hindred by ſickneſs from accompanying him. He had with him *M. Porcius Cato*, and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, that had both of them been Conſuls. Theſe he ſent forth by night with two thouſand men, to try whether by any means they could get up to the *Ætolians*. He himſelf encouraged his Army: not only by telling them with what baſe conditioned enemies they had to deal: but what rich Kingdoms *Antiochus* held, that ſhould bountifully reward them if they were victors. This was on the day before the battel. All that night *Cato* had a ſore journey (for what happened unto *L. Valerius* it is uncertain, ſave only that he failed in his intent) and ſo much the worſe, for that he had no ſkilful guide. Seeing therefore his men exceedingly tyred, with climbing up ſteepy Rocks, and crooked wayes: He commanded them to repoſe themſelves; whilſt he, being a very able man of body, took in hand the diſcovery, accompanied with no more than one of like metal to himſelf. After a great deal of trouble, he found at length a path: which he took to be, as indeed it was, the beſt way leading unto the Enemies. So thither he brought his men; and held on the ſame path till toward break of day. It was a place not haunted, becauſe in time of peace, there was a fair way thorow the Straights below, that required no ſuch trouble of climbing; neither had this entrance of the *Thermopylæ* been ſo often the Seat of War, as might cauſe any travellers to ſearch out the paſſages of thoſe deſolate Mountains. Wherefore the way that *Cato* followed, though it were the beſt; yet did it lead

him to a bog at the end, which would ſuffer him to paſs no further. So he ſtayd there until day-light: by which he diſcovered both the Camp of the *Greeks* underneath him; and ſome of the *Ætolians* very near unto him, that were keeping watch. He therefore ſent forth a luſty Crew of his men, whom he thought fitteſt for that ſervice; and willed them by any means to get him ſome priſoners. This was effected: and he thereby underſtood, that theſe *Ætolians* were no more than ſix hundred; as alſo that King *Antiochus* lay beneath in the Valley. So he preſently ſet upon the *Ætolians*, overthrew them, ſlew a great part of them, and chaſed the reſt, that by flying to their Camp, guided him unto it. The fight was already begun between the Armies below: and the *Romans*, that had eaſily repelled the Kings men, and driven them into their Camp, found it, in a manner, a deſperate piece of work to aſſault the Camp it ſelf, which occupied the whole breadth of the Straights, was notably fortified; and not only defended by *Antiochus* his long Pikes, which were beſt at that kind of ſervice; but by Archers and Slingers that were placed over them on the Hill-ſide, and powred down a ſhowr of weapons on their heads. But *Cato* his approach determined the matter. It was thought, at firſt, that the *Ætolians* had been coming to help the Kings men: but when the *Roman* Arms and Enſigns were diſcovered, ſuch was the terrour, that none made offer of reſiſtance; but all of them forſook the Camp, and fled. The ſlaughter was not great: for that the badneſs of the way did hinder the *Roman* Army from making purſuit. Yet this dayes loſs drave *Antiochus* out of *Greece*, who directly fled to *Chalcis*; and from thence with the firſt opportunity, got him back into *Aſia*.

All the Cities that had imbraced the friendſhip of *Antiochus*, prepared forthwith to entertain the *Romans*, and entreat for pardon: ſetting open their gates; and preſenting themſelves unto the Conſul, in manner of ſuppliants. Briefly, in few dayes all was recovered that *Antiochus* had gained: the *Ætolians* only ſtanding out, becauſe they knew not what elſe to do. Neither did the Conſul give them any reſpite. At his return from *Chalcis*, he met with King *Philip*, that having recovered health, came to joyn with him againſt *Antiochus*: over whom, ſince the victory was already gotten, He did gratulate unto the *Romans* their good ſucceſs; and offered to take part with them in the *Ætolian* War. So it was agreed, That the Conſul ſhould beſiege *Heraclea*; and *Philip Lamia*; at the ſame time. Each of them plied his work hard; eſpecially *Philip*, who fain would have taken *Lamia* before the Conſul ſhould come to help him. But it could not be. For his *Macedonians* that uſed to work by Myne, were over-much hindered by the ſtony ground. Yet was *Lamia* even ready to be taken, when the Conſul, having won *Heraclea*, came thither, and told *Philip*, that the ſpoil of theſe Towns was a reward unto thoſe that had fought at *Thermopylæ*. Herewith *Philip* muſt be contented; and therefore went his way quietly. But *Acilius*, that could ſo ill indure to ſee *Philip* in likelihood of thriving by the *Romans* victory, got not *Lamia* himſelf: until ſuch time as another Conſul was ready to eaſe him of his charge.

The loſs of *Heraclea* did ſo affright the *Ætolians*, that they thought no way ſafer than to deſire peace. Yet had they ſent unto King *Antiochus* preſently after his flight: intreating him not to forſake them utterly, but either to return with all thoſe forces which he had purpoſed to bring into *Greece*; or if any thing with-held him from coming in perſon, at leaſtwiſe to help them with mony and other aid. They prayed him to conſider, that this did not only concern him in honour; but appertained unto his own ſafety: ſince it would be much to his hurt, if the *Ætolians* being wholly ſubdued, the *Romans*, without any enemies at their backs, might ſet upon him in *Aſia*. He conſidered well of this, and found their words true. Therefore he delivered unto *Nicander*, one of their Embaſſadors, a ſumm of mony, that might ſerve to defray the charges of the War: promiſing that ere long he would ſend them ſtrong aid, both by Land and Sea. *Thoas*, another of their Embaſſadors, He retained with him; who willingly ſtayed, that he might urge the King to make his word good. But when *Heraclea* was taken from them; then did the *Ætolians* lay aſide all hope of amending their fortune by the help of *Antiochus*; and made ſuit unto the Conſul to obtain peace, upon any reaſonable condition. The Conſul would ſcarce vouchſafe to give them audience, but ſaid, He had other buſineſs in hand; only he granted them ten dayes of Truce, and ſent *L. Valerius Flaccus* with them to *Hypata*; willing them to make him acquainted with as much as they would have delivered unto himſelf. At their coming to *Hypata*, they began, as men favouring their own cauſe, to alledge how well they had deſerved of the *Romans*. Whereto *Flaccus* would not hearken. He told them plainly, That the memory of ſuch good offices paſt, was quite obliterated by the



the malice which they had ſhewed of late. Wherefore he willed them to acknowledge their fault, and to entreat pardon. Better they thought to do ſo even betimes, than to ſtay till they were reduced unto terms of more extremity. Hereupon they agreed to commit themſelves unto the faith of the *Romans*; and to that effect ſent Embaſſadors to the Conſul. This phraſe of *committing unto the faith*, ſignified, in their uſe of it, little elſe than the acknowledgement of a fault done, and the craving of pardon. But the *Romans* uſed thoſe words in another ſenſe; and counted them all one, as **yeelding to diſcretion*. Wherefore when the Conſul heard them ſpeak in this manner: He aſked them whether their meaning were agreeable to their words. They anſwered that it was: and ſhewed him the decree of their Nation, lately made to this purpoſe. Then, ſaid he, I command you firſt of all, That none of you preſume to go into *Aſia*, upon any buſineſs, private or publick: then, That ye deliver up unto me *Dicæarchus* the *Ætolian*, *Meneſtratus* the *Epirot*, *Aminander* the *Athamanian*, and ſuch of his Countrimen as have followed him in revolting from us. Whileſt he was yet ſpeaking; *Phameas* the Embaſſadour interrupted him; and prayed him not to miſtake the cuſtome of the *Greeks*, who had yeelded themſelves *unto his faith*; *not unto ſlavery*. *What?* (ſaid the Conſul) *Do ye ſtand to plead Cuſtome with me, being now at my diſcretion? Bring hither a chain.* With that, chains were brought; and an Iron collar, by his appointment, fitted unto every one of their necks. This did ſo affright them, that they ſtood dumb, and knew not what to ſay. But *Valerius* and ſome others entreated the Conſul, not to deal thus hardly with them, ſince they came as Embaſſadors; though ſince, their condition was altered. *Phameas* alſo ſpake for himſelf; and ſaid, That neither he, nor yet the *Apocleti* or ordinary Councel for the Nation, were able to fulfill theſe injunctions; without approbation of the general Aſſembly. For which cauſe he entreated yet further ten dayes reſpite; and had granted unto him Truce for ſo long.

*Lege excerp. i Polyb. 23.*

This ſurceaſance of War, during ten, and other ten dayes together, began preſently after the taking of *Heraclea*; when *Philip* had been commanded away from *Lamia*, that elſe he might have won. Now becauſe of the indignity herein offered unto that King, and to the end that he might not return home with his Army, like one that could not be truſted in employment: eſpecially the *Romans* being like hereafter to have further need of him in the continuance of this War: He was deſired to ſet upon the *Athamanians*, and ſome other petty Nations their borderers, whilſt the Conſul was buſie with the *Ætolians*; taking for his reward, all that he could get. And he got in that ſpace all *Athamania*, *Perrhæbia*, *Aperantia* and *Dolopia*. For the *Ætolians* hearing what had befallen their Embaſſadours, were ſo enraged, That although they were very ill provided for War, yet they could not endure to hear more talk of Peace. And it happened, that *Nicander* about the ſame time was come back from *Antiochus*, with mony and hopeful promiſes: the *Romans* abiding ſtill about *Heraclea*, and *Philip* having lately riſen from before *Lamia*, yet not being far gone thence. His mony *Nicander* conveighed into *Lamia*, by very unuſual dexterity. But he himſelf being to paſs further to the Aſſembly of the *Ætolians*, there to make report of his Embaſſage; was very much perplexed about this his journey, which lay between the *Roman* and *Macedonian* Camps. Yet he made the adventure: and keeping as far as he could from the *Roman* ſide, fell upon a Station of *Macedonians*; by whom he was taken, and led unto their King. He expected no good; but either to be delivered unto the *Romans*, or uſed ill enough by *Philip*. But it ſeems, that the King had not hitherto concocted well the indignity of his being ſent away from *Lamia*. For he commanded his ſervants to entreat *Nicander* friendly: and he himſelf being then at ſupper, did viſit him as ſoon as he roſe up: giving him to underſtand, That the *Ætolians* did now reap the fruits of their own madneſs; foraſmuch as they could never hold themſelves contented, but would needs be calling ſtrangers into *Greece*. They had pleaſed themſelves well, in their acquaintance firſt with the *Romans*, and then with King *Antiochus*; but himſelf, being their neighbour, they could never well endure. It was now therefore, he ſaid, high time for them to have regard unto his friendſhip, whereof hitherto they never made any tryal: for ſurely their good affection, one unto the other, would be much more available unto each of them, than their mutual catching of advantages; whereby they had wrought themſelves much diſpleaſure. Thus much the King willed *Nicander* to ſignifie unto his Countrimen; and privately to hold in mind the courteſie which he then did him, in ſending him ſafe home. So giving him a Convoy to guard him to *Hypata*, he lovingly diſmiſſed him. For this benefit, *Nicander* was alwayes after dutifully affected to the Crown of *Macedon*: ſo as in the war

war of *Perſeus* he made himſelf ſuſpected unto the *Romans*, and therefore was had away to *Rome*, where he ended his life.

When the Conſul underſtood, that the *Ætolians* refuſed to make their ſubmiſſion, in ſuch wiſe as he required it: he forthwith meant to proſecute the war againſt them, without any longer forbearance. They were preparing to make head againſt him at *Naupactus*: whither he therefore directly marched, to try what they could or durſt. The ſiege of *Naupactus* was of greater length, than the *Romans* had preconceived it: for it was a ſtrong City, and well manned. But *Acilius* ſtood upon point of honour; wherein he thought that he ſhould have been a loſer by riſing from before it without Victory. So he ſtayd there well-near all the following time of his Conſulſhip; whileſt the *Macedonian* King and the *Achæans*, made far better uſe of the *Roman* Victory. *Philip*, as is ſaid before, being allowed to take in ſuch places as had revolted unto *Antiochus*, and were not hitherto reclaimed, won the ſtrong City of *Demetrius*, and with an haſty courſe of Victory, ſubdued the *Athamanians* and others. The *Achæans* called to account the *Eleans* and *Meſſenians*: which had long been addicted to the *Ætolian* ſide; and followed it, in taking part with *Antiochus*. The *Eleans* gave good words; whereby they ſaved themſelves from trouble a while. The *Meſſenians* being more ſtout, before they were invaded, had none other help when the *Achæan* Prætor waſted their Country, than to offer themſelves unto the *Romans*. *Titus* was then at *Corinth*: to whom they ſent word, That at his Commandment their gates ſhould be opened; but that unto the *Achæans* it was not their meaning to yeeld. A meſſage from *Titus* to the *Achæan* Prætor, did ſuffice to call home the Army, and finiſh the War: as alſo the peremptory Command of the ſame *Titus*, cauſed the *Meſſenians* to annex themſelves unto the *Achæans*, and become part of their Common-weal. Such was now the Majeſty of a *Roman* Embaſſador. *Titus* did favour the *Achæans*; yet could not like it well, that either they or any other ſhould take too much upon them. He thought it enough, that they had their liberty, and were ſtrong enough to defend it againſt any of their neighbours. That they ſhould make themſelves great Lords, and able to diſpute with the *Romans* upon even terms, it was no part of his deſire. They had lately bought the Iſle of *Zacynthus*; which had once been *Philips*, and was afterward given by him to *Aminander*, who ſent a Governour thither. But when *Aminander* in this preſent war, was driven out of his own Kingdom by *Philip*; then did the Governour of *Zacynthus* offer to ſell the Iſland to the *Achæans*; whom he found ready Chapmen. *Titus* liked not of this: but plainly told them, That the *Romans* would be their own Carvers, and take what they thought good, of the Lands belonging to their Enemies; as a reward of the victory which they had obtained. It was bootleſs to diſpute. Wherefore the *Achæans* referred themſelves unto his diſcretion. So he told them, that their Commonwealth was like a Tortoiſe, whereof *Peloponneſus* was the ſhell: and that, holding themſelves within that compaſs, they were out of danger; but if they would needs be looking abroad, they ſhould lie open to blows, which might greatly hurt them. Having ſettled things thus in *Peloponneſus*, he went over to *Naupactus*: where *Glabrio* the Conſul had lain two months, that might have been far better ſpent. There, whether out of compaſſion which he had upon the *Ætolians*, or out of diſlike of King *Philips* thriving ſo faſt: he perſwaded the Conſul to grant unto the beſieged, and to the whole Nation, ſo long truce, that they might ſend Embaſſadors to *Rome*; and ſubmitting themſelves, crave pardon of the Senate. Moſt like it is, that *Naupactus* was in great danger: elſe would not the *Ætolians* have made ſuch earneſt ſuit as they did unto *Titus*, for procuring of this favour. But if *Glabrio* had been ſure to carry it in any ſhort ſpace, it may well be thought he would not have gone away without it; ſince the winning of that Town, wherein was then the whole flower of the Nation, would have made the promiſed ſubmiſſion much more humble and ſincere. When they came unto *Rome*, no entreaty could help them to better Condition, than one of theſe two; That either they ſhould wholly ſubmit themſelves to the good pleaſure of the Senate; Or elſe pay a thouſand talents, and make neither peace nor war with any; further than as the *Romans* ſhould give approbation. They had not ſo much mony: neither could they well hope to be gently dealt withall, if they ſhould give themſelves away *unto diſcretion*; which, what it ſignified, they now underſtood. Wherefore they deſired to have it ſet down, in what points, and how far forth they ſhould yeeld unto the good pleaſure of the Senate. But hereof they could get no certain anſwer: ſo that they were diſmiſſed as enemies, after long and vain attendance.

Whileſt the *Ætolians* were purſuing their hopes of peace, the Conſul had little to do in *Greece*, and therefore took upon him gravely to ſet things in order among the tractable *Achæans*.



*Achæans*. He would have had them to reſtore the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians* home into their Country; and to take the *Eleans* into the fellowſhip of their Commonwealth. This the *Achæans* liked well enough: but they did not like it, that the *Romans* ſhould be meddling in all occurrences. Wherefore they deferred the reſtitution of the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians*: intending to make it an Act of their own meer grace. As for the *Eleans*, they were loth to be beholding to the *Romans*, and thereby to diſparage the *Achæans*: into whoſe Corporation they were deſirous to be admitted, and ſaw that they ſhould have their deſire, without ſuch compulſive mediation.

The *Roman* Admiral *C. Livius*, much about the ſame time, fought a battel at Sea with *Polyxenidas*, Admiral to the King *Antiochus*. King *Eumenes* brought help to the *Romans*; though it was not great: and five and twenty ſail of *Rhodians* came after the battel, when they were following the Chaſe. The Kings Fleet was the better of ſail, but that of the *Romans* the better manned. Wherefore *Polyxenidas* being vanquiſhed in fight, was yet out of danger; as ſoon as he betook himſelf to a ſpeedy retrait.

And ſuch end had the firſt years war between King *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. After this, as many of the *Greeks* as had followed the vain hopes of the *Ætolians* were glad to excuſe themſelves by fear; thinking themſelves happy when by Embaſſadours they had obtained pardon. On the contrary ſide, *Philip* of *Macedon*, Arch-enemy of late unto the *Romans*, did now ſend to gratulate this their victory: and, in recompence of his good affection, had reſtored unto him *Demetrius* his younger Son; whom ſome few years they had kept as an hoſtage. Alſo King *Ptolomy* of *Egypt*, gratulating the *Roman* Victory, ſent word how greatly all *Aſia* and *Syria* were thereby terrified. In which regard he deſired the Senate not to foreſlow time; but to ſend an Army, as ſoon as might be, into *Aſia*: promiſing, that his aſſiſtance, wherein ſoever it pleaſed them to uſe it, ſhould not be wanting. This *Ptolomy* was the Son-in-law of King *Antiochus*: but he was the friend of fortune. He underſtood long before, as did all that were indifferent beholders of the contention, that the *Romans* were like to have the upper hand. The ſame did *Antiochus* now begin to ſuſpect, who had thought himſelf a while as ſafe at *Epheſus*, as if he had been in another world: but was told by *Hannibal*, That it was not ſo far out of *Greece* into *Aſia*, as out of *Italy* into *Greece*, and that there was no doubt but the *Romans* would ſoon be there, and make him try the chance of a battel for his Kingdom.

## §. VIII.

Lucius Scipio, *having with him* Publius *the African his elder Brother, for his Lieutenant, is ſent into* Greece. *He grants long Truce to the Ætolians, that ſo he might at leiſure paſs into* Aſia. *Much troubleſome buſineſs by Sea, and divers fights. An invaſion upon* Eumenes *his Kingdom; with the ſiege of* Pergamus, *raiſed by an handfull of the Achæans.* L. Scipio *the Conſul comes into* Aſia: *where* Antiochus *moſt earneſtly deſireth peace, and is denyed it. The battel of* Magneſia: *wherein* Antiochus *being vanquiſhed, yeeldeth to the Romans good pleaſure. The conditions of the peace. In what ſort the Romans uſed their victory.* L. Cornelius Scipio, *after a moſt ſumptuous triumph over* Antiochus, *is ſurnamed The Aſiatique, as his brother was ſtiled The African.*

LUcius *Cornelius Scipio*, the brother of *P. Scipio* the *African*, was choſen Conſul at *Rome* with *C. Lælius*. *Lælius* was very gracious in the Senate: and therefore being deſirous (as generally all Conſuls were) of the more honourable employment, offered to refer to the arbitrement of the Senate, if *L. Cornelius* would be ſo pleaſed, the diſpoſition of their Provinces; without putting it to the hazzard of a Lottery. *Lucius* having talked with his brother *Publius*, approved well of the motion. Such a queſtion had not of long time been put unto the Fathers: who therefore were the more deſirous to make an unblameable Decree. But the matter being otherwiſe ſomewhat indifferent, *P. Scipio* the *African* ſaid openly thus much, That if the Senate would appoint his brother to the war againſt *Antiochus*, He himſelf would follow his brother in that war, as his Lieutenant. Theſe words were heard with ſuch approbation, that the Controverſie was forthwith at an end. For if *Antiochus* relyed upon *Hannibal*, and ſhould happen to be directed wholly by that great Captain, what better man could they oppoſe than *Scipio*: that had been victorious againſt that ſame great Worthy? But indeed a worſer man might have ſerved well enough the turn. For *Hannibal* had no abſolute command, nor ſcarce any truſt of great importance: excepting now and then in conſultation; where his wiſdom was much approved, but his liberty and high ſpirit as much diſliked. It is worthy

thy of remembrance, as a ſign of the freedom that he uſed in his cenſures, even whileſt he lived in ſuch a Court. *Antiochus* muſtered his Army in preſence of this famous Captain: thinking, as may ſeem, to have made him wiſh, that he had been ſerved by ſuch brave men in *Italy*. For they were gallantly decked, both Men, Horſes, and Elephants, with ſuch coſtly furniture of gold, ſilver, and purple, as glittered with a terrible bravery on a Sunſhine day. Whereupon the King, well pleaſing himſelf with that goodly ſpectacle, asked *Hannibal* what he thought; and whether all this were not enough for the *Romans*. *Enough* (ſaid *Hannibal*) *were the Romans the moſt covetous men in all the world*: meaning that all this coſt upon the backs of cowardly *Aſiatiques*, was no better than a ſpoil to animate good Souldiers. How little this anſwer pleaſed the King, it is eaſie to gueſs. The little uſe that he made of this *Carthaginian*, teſtifies that his diſlike of the man, cauſed him to loſe the uſe of his ſervice, when he ſtood in greateſt neceſſity thereof.

The *Scipio*'s made all haſte away from *Rome* as ſoon as they could. They carried with them, beſides other Souldiers newly preſt to the war, about five thouſand Voluntaries, that had ſerved under *P. Africanus*. There was alſo a Fleet of thirty *Quinquereme* Gallies, and twenty *Triremes* newly built, appointed unto *L. Æmilius Regillus*, that was choſen Admiral the ſame year for that voyage. At their coming into *Greece*, they found the old Conſul *Glabrio* beſieging *Amphyſſa* a City of the *Ætolians*. The *Ætolians* after that they were denyed peace, had expected him once again at *Naupactus*. Wherefore they not only fortified that Town, but kept all the paſſages thereto leading; which heedleſſly, as in a time of confuſion, they had left unregarded the laſt year. *Glabrio* knowing this, deceived their expectation, and fell upon *Lamia*: which being not long ſince much weakened by *Philip*, and now by him attempted on the ſudden; was carried at the ſecond aſſault. Thence went he to *Amphyſſa*: which he had almoſt gotten, when *L. Scipio*, his ſucceſſor, came with thirteen thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe, and took charge of the Army. The Town of *Amphyſſa* was preſently forſaken by the Inhabitants: but they had a Caſtle, or higher Town, that was impregnable; whereinto they all retired. The *Athenian* Embaſſadors had dealt with *P. Scipio*, in behalf of the *Ætolians*: entreating him to ſtand their friend, and help them in obtaining ſome tolerable condition of peace. He gave them gentle words, and willed them to perſwade the *Ætolians*, that they ſhould faithfully, and with true meaning deſire it. This was gladly taken. But many meſſages paſſing to and fro: though *Publius* continued to put them in good hope; yet the Conſul made ſtill the ſame anſwer, with which they had been chaſed from *Rome*. The Concluſion was, That they ſhould ſue for a longer time of reſpite from war: whereby at more leiſure they might attend ſome better diſpoſition of the Senate; or any helpful commodity which time ſhould afford. So they obtained half a years truce: after which, the winter was like to afford them another half years leiſure of breathing. Hereof were they not more glad, than was *P. Scipio*: who thought all time loſt, which with-held the War from paſſing over into *Aſia*.

The buſineſs of *Ætolia* being thus laid aſide, and the old Conſul *Glabrio* ſent home into *Italy*, the *Scipio*'s marched into *Theſſaly*; intending thence to take their way by Land, through *Macedon* and *Thrace* unto the *Helleſpont*. Yet they conſidered, that hereby they muſt commit themſelves unto the loyalty of King *Philip*: who might either do them ſome miſchief by the way, if he were diſpoſed to watch a notable advantage: or at the leaſt, would he be unfaithful; though he were not ſo couragious, yet might he take ſuch order with the *Thracians*, that even for want of victuals, if by no greater inconvenience, they ſhould be diſgracefully forced to return. He had promiſed them the utmoſt of his furtherance: wherein, whether he meant ſincerely, they thought to make ſome tryal; by cauſing a Gentleman to ride Poſt unto him, and obſerve his doings as he ſhould take him on the ſudden. The King was merry at a feaſt, and drinking when the Meſſenger came: whom he lovingly bade welcome; and ſhewed him the next day, not only what proviſion of victuals he had made for the Army, but how he had made bridges over the Rivers, and mended the bad wayes by which they were to paſs. With theſe good news *Gracchus* returned back in haſte unto the *Scipio*'s: who entring into *Macedon*, found all things in a readineſs, that might help to advance their journey. The King entertained them royally, and brought them on their way, even to the *Helleſpont*: where they ſtayed a good while, until their Navy was in readineſs to tranſport them into *Aſia*.

Much was done at Sea in the beginning of this year; though, for the moſt part, little of importance. *Polyxenidas*, the Admiral of *Antiochus*, was a baniſhed *Rhodian*: true to the King; and deſirous of revenge upon his Country-



Countrymen, that had expelled him. He, hearing that the *Rhodian* Fleet was at *Samos*, the *Romans* and *Eumenes* having not as yet put to Sea, thought to do ſomewhat upon thoſe that were ſo early in their diligence, before their fellows ſhould arrive to help them. Yet went he craftily to work, and ſent word, as in great ſecrecy, to the *Rhodian* Admiral, That if the ſentence of his baniſhment might be repealed, He would, in requital thereof, betray all the Kings Fleet. After many paſſages to and fro, this was believed: and the *Rhodian* Admiral grew ſo careleſs, expecting ſtill when he ſhould receive a watch-word from *Polyxenidas* that he himſelf was taken by *Polyxenidas* in his own Haven. The Kings Fleet ſetting forth from *Epheſus* by night; and, for fear of being diſcovered, reſting one day in harbour by the way, came the ſecond night to *Samos*: where, by morning it was ready to enter the Haven. *Pauſiſtratus* the *Rhodian* Admiral ſeeing this, thought it his beſt way of reſiſtance to beſtow his men on the two headlands or points of the Haven; ſo to guard the mouth of it: for that he ſaw no likelihood of defending himſelf by Sea. But *Polyxenidas* had already landed ſome Companies in another part of the Iſland: which falling upon the back of *Pauſiſtratus*, compelled him to alter his directions, and command his men aboord. This could not be without great confuſion: ſo as the enemies took him out of all order, and ſunk or boorded all his Navy, five excepted, that by a ſudden device made ſhift to eſcape. Each of them hung out a burning Creſcent upon two poles, at the Beak-head; and then rowed forwards directly upon the enemy: who having not bethought himſelf what ſhift to make againſt ſuch unexpected danger of firing, was content to give way unto theſe deſperate Gallies; for fear leſt they ſhould burn, together with themſelves, a part of the Kings Fleet.

Not long after this, the *Romans* had ſome loſs by tempeſt: whereof *Polyxenidas* could not take ſuch advantage as he had hoped; becauſe, putting to Sea for that purpoſe, he was driven back again by the like foul weather. But the *Rhodians*, to ſhew that they were not diſcouraged, ſet forth twenty other Gallies: the *Romans* alſo with King *Eumenes*, repaired their fleet; and all of them together, in great bravery preſented battel to *Polyxenidas* before the Haven of *Epheſus*. When he durſt not accept it: they went from place to place, attempting many things, as either they were entreated by the *Rhodians*, or perſwaded by ſome appearing hopes of doing good. Yet performed they little or nothing: for that one while they were hindred by ſtorms at Sea; and another while by ſtrong reſiſtance made againſt them at Land.

*Eumenes* with his Fleet was compelled to forſake them; and return home to the defence of his own Kingdom. For *Antiochus* waſted all the grounds about *Elæa* and *Pergamus*: and leaving his ſon *Seleucus* to beſiege the royal City of *Pergamus*, did with the reſt of his Army ſpoil the whole Country thereabout. *Attalus* the brother of King *Eumenes*, was then in *Pergamus*; having with him no better men to defend the City, than were they that lay againſt it. Wherefore he had reaſon to ſtand in fear; being too much inferior in number. There came to his aid a thouſand foot, and an hundred horſe of the *Achæans*: old ſouldiers all, and trained up under *Philopœmen*, whoſe Scholar, in the art of war, *Diophanes* their commander was. This *Diophanes* beholding from the walls of *Pergamus*, which was an high town, the demeanour of the enemy; began to diſdain that ſuch men as they ſhould hold them beſieged. For *Seleucus* his army which was encamped at the hill-foot, ſeeing that none durſt ſally forth upon them, grew ſo careleſs: as otherwiſe than by ſpoiling all behind their backs, they ſeemed to forget that they were in an enemies country. *Diophanes* therefore ſpake with *Attalus*: and told him that he would go forth to viſit them. *Attalus* had no liking to this adventure; for he ſaid, that the match was nothing equal. But the *Achæan* would needs have his will: & iſſuing forth, encamped not far from the enemy. They of *Pergamus* thought him little better then mad. As for the beſiegers; they wondred at firſt what his meaning was: but when they ſaw that he held himſelf quiet, they made a jeſt of his boldneſs; and laughed to ſee with what an handful of men he looked ſo ſtoutly. So they returned unto their former negligence and diſorders. Which *Diophanes* perceiving, He commanded all his men to follow him, even as faſt as they well might: and he himſelf, with the hundred horſe, brake out on the ſudden upon the ſtation that was next at hand. Very few of the enemies had their horſes ready ſadled, but more few, or none had the hearts to make reſiſtance: ſo as he drave them all out of their Camp; & chaſed them as far as he might ſafely adventure, with great ſlaughter of them, and no loſs to his own. Hereat all the Citizens of *Pergamus* (who had covered the walls of the town, men and women, to behold this ſpectacle) were very joyful; and highly magnified the vertue of theſe *Achæans*. Yet

would they not therefore iſſue forth of their gates, to help the *Achæans* in doing what remained to be done. The next day *Seleucus* incamped half a mile further from the Town, than he had done before: and againſt him went forth *Diophanes* the ſecond time; who quietly reſted a while in his old Station. When they had ſtayed many hours, looking who ſhould begin: *Seleucus* in fair order as he came, withdrew himſelf toward his lodging that was further off. *Diophanes* moved not whileſt the enemy was in ſight: but as ſoon as the ground between them hindred the proſpect, he followed them in all haſte, and ſoon overtaking them with his Horſe, charged them in the Rere; ſo as he brake them, and with all his forces purſued them at the heels, to their very Trenches. This boldneſs of the *Achæans* and the baſeneſs of his own men, cauſed *Seleucus* to quit the ſiege, little to his honour. Such being the quality of theſe *Aſiatiques*, *Philopœmen* had cauſe to tell the *Romans*, That he envied their victory. For when *Antiochus* lay feaſting at *Chalcis* after his marriage, and his ſouldiers betook themſelves to Riot, as it had been in a time of great ſecurity: a good man of war might have cut all their throats, even as they were tipling in their victualling houſes; which *Philopœmen* ſaid that he would have done, had he been General of the *Achæans*, and not as he then was, a private man.

*Antiochus* was full of buſineſs: and turning his care from one thing to another, with a great deal of travel, brought almoſt nothing to paſs. He had been at *Pergamus*: into which *Eumenes*, leaving the *Romans*, did put himſelf with a few of his Horſe and light armature. Before *Pergamus* he left his ſon, as before hath been ſhewed, and went to *Elæa*: whither he heard that *Æmylius* the *Roman* Admiral was come to bring ſuccour to *Eumenes*. There he made an Overture of peace: about which to conſult, *Eumenes* was ſent for by *Æmylius*, and came from *Pergamus*. But when it was conſidered, that no concluſion could be made without the Conſul: this Treaty brake off. Then followed the overthrow newly mentioned, which cauſed *Seleucus* to give over the ſiege of *Pergamus*. Afterwards, four or five Towns of ſcarce any worth or note were taken by the King: and the *Syrian* Fleet, being of ſeven and thirty Sail, was beaten by the *Rhodian* which was of like number. But of this victory the *Rhodians* had no great cauſe to rejoyce: for that *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, who, together with *Apollonius* a Courtier of *Antiochus*, was Admiral of the *Syrians*, did them in a manner as great hurt as they could do to *Apollonius*; and having the victory taken out of his hands by *Apollonius* his flight, yet made ſuch a retreat, that the *Rhodians* durſt not far adventure upon him. Now of theſe Actions which were but as Prefaces unto the war, the laſt and greateſt was a victory of the *Romans* by Sea, againſt *Polyxenidas* the Kings Admiral. The battel was fought by *Myonneſus* a Promontory in *Aſia*: where *Polyxenidas* had with him fourſcore and nine Gallies; and five of them greater than any of the *Romans*. This being all the ſtrength which he could make by Sea: we may note the vanity of thoſe brags, wherewith *Antiochus* vaunted the laſt year, That his *Armada* ſhould cover all the ſhores of *Greece*. The *Romans* had eight and fifty Gallies; the *Rhodians* two and twenty: the *Roman* being the ſtronger built, and more ſtoutly manned; the *Rhodians* more light-timbred and thin planckt, having all advantage of ſpeed, and good Sea-men. Neither forgot they to help themſelves by the ſame device, with which five of their Gallies had lately eſcaped from *Samos*. For with fire in their Prows they ran upon the enemy: who declining them for fear, laid open his ſide: and was thereby in greater danger of being ſtemmed. After no long fight, the Kings Navy hoyſted ſail: and, having a fair wind, bore away toward *Epheſus* as faſt as they could. Yet forty of their Gallies they left behind them: whereof thirteen were taken, all the reſt burnt or ſunk. The *Romans* and their fellows loſt only two or three ſhips: but got hereby the abſolute Maſtery of the Sea.

The report of this miſadventure, may ſeem to have taken from *Antiochus* all uſe of reaſon. For as if no hope had been remaining to defend thoſe places that he held in *Europe*, he preſently with-drew his Garriſons from *Lyſimachia*: which might eaſily have been kept even till the end of Winter following, & having reduced the beſiegers (if the ſiege had been continued obſtinately) unto terms of great extremity, He alſo gave over the ſiege of *Colophon*: and laying aſide all thought ſave only of defence, drew together all his Army; and ſent for help to his Father-in-law, King *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*.

Thus the *Roman* Conſul, without impediment, not only came to the *Helleſpont*, but had yielded unto him all places there, belonging to *Antiochus* on *Europe* ſide. The Fleet was alſo then in a readineſs to tranſport him over into *Aſia*: where *Eumenes* had taken ſuch care before, that he landed quietly at his own good eaſe; even as if the Country had been his already. The firſt news that he heard of the enemy was by an Embaſſador that came to ſue for peace. This Embaſſador declared in his Maſters name, That the ſame things which had hindered him from obtaining peace of the *Romans* heretofore, did now perſwade him, that he ſhould eaſily come to good agreement with them. For in all diſputations heretofore, *Smyrna*, *Lampſacus*, and *Lyſimachia*, had been the places about which they varied. Seeing therefore the King had now already given over *Lyſimachia*, and was further purpoſed, not to ſtrive with the *Romans* about *Lampſacus* and *Smyrna*: what reaſon was there, why they ſhould need to trouble him with war? If it was their deſire, that any other Towns upon the Coaſt of *Aſia*, not mentioned by them in any former Treaties, ſhould be alſo ſet at liberty, or otherwiſe delivered into their hands: the King would not refuſe to gratifie them therein. Briefly, let them take ſome part of *Aſia*: ſo as the bounds dividing them from the King, might not be uncertain, and it ſhould be quietly put into their hands. If all this were not enough, the King would likewiſe bear half the charges, whereat they had been in this War. So praying the *Romans* to hold themſelves contented with theſe good offers, and not to be too inſolent upon confidence of their fortune, he expected their anſwer. Theſe offers which to the Embaſſador ſeemed ſo great, were judged by the *Romans* to be very little. For they thought it reaſonable, that the King ſhould bear all the charges of the war, ſince it began through his own fault: and that He ſhould not only depart out of thoſe few Towns, which he held in *Æolis* and *Ionia*; but quite out of *Aſia the leſs*, and keep himſelf on the other ſide of Mount *Taurus*. When the Embaſſador therefore ſaw, that no better bargain could be made, He dealt with *P. Scipio* in private: and to him he promiſed a great quantity of gold, together with the free reſtitution of his ſon, who (it is uncertain by what miſchance) was taken priſoner, and moſt honourably entertained by the King. *Scipio* would not hearken to the offer of gold: nor otherwiſe to the reſtitution of his ſon, than upon Condition, That it might be with making ſuch amends for the benefit, as became a private man. As for the publick buſineſs: He only ſaid thus much, That ſince *Antiochus* had already forſaken *Lyſimachia*, and ſuffered the war to take hold on his own Kingdom; there was now none other way for him, than either to fight, or yield to that which was required at his hands. Wherefore, ſaid he, tell your King in my name, that I would adviſe him to refuſe no Condition whereby he may have peace.



The King was not any whit moved with his advice. For ſeeing that the Conſul demanded of him no leſs, than if he had been already ſubdued: little reaſon there was that he ſhould fear to come to battel; wherein he could loſe, as he thought, no more, than by ſeeking to avoid it he muſt give way. He had with him threeſcore and ten thouſand Foot, and twelve thouſand Horſe; beſides two and fifty Indian Elephants; and many Chariots armed with hooks or ſythes, according to the manner of the Eaſtern Countrys. Yet was he nothing pleaſed, to hear that the Conſul drew near him apace, as one haſtening to fight. But howſoever he was affected: He made ſo little ſhew of fear, that hearing *P. Scipio* to lie ſick at *Elæa*, He ſent thither unto him his ſon without ranſome: as one both deſirous to comfort this noble Warrior in his ſickneſs, and withall not deſirous to retain the yong Gentleman for a pledge of his own ſafety. Thus ought his bounty to be conſtant. Otherwiſe it might be ſuſpected, That herein he dealt craftily. For ſince he could have none other ranſome of *Scipio*, than ſuch as an honourable man, that had no great ſtore of wealth, might pay: better it was to do ſuch a courteſie before the battel, as would afterwards have been little worth; than to ſtay until the *Romans*, perhaps victorious, ſhould exact it at his hands. *P. Scipio* was greatly comforted with the recovery of his ſon; ſo as the joy thereof was thought, to have been much available unto his health. In recompence of the Kings humanity, He ſaid only thus much unto thoſe that brought him this acceptable Preſent, *I am now able to make your King none other amends, than by adviſing him not to fight until he ſhall hear that I am in the Camp.* What he meant by this, it is hard to conjecture. *Antiochus* reſolved to follow his counſel: and therefore withdrew himſelf from about *Thyatira*, beyond the River of *Phrygius* or *Hyllus*, unto *Magneſia* by *Sypilus*: where encamping, he fortified himſelf as ſtrongly as he could. Thither followed him *L. Scipio* the Conſul, and ſate down within four miles of him. About a thouſand of the Kings Horſe, moſt of them *Gallo-Greeks*, came to bid the *Romans* welcome: of whom at firſt they ſlew ſome; and were anon, with ſome loſs, driven back over the River. Two dayes were quietly ſpent, whileſt neither the King nor the *Romans* would paſs the water. The third day the *Romans* made

the adventure: wherein they found no disturbance; nor were at all opposed, until they came within two miles and a half of *Antiochus* his Camp. There as they were taking up their lodging, they were charged by three thousand Horse and Foot: whom the ordinary *Corps de guarde* repelled. Four dayes together after this, each of them brought forth their Armies; and set them in order before the Trenches, without advancing any further. The fift day the *Romans* came half way forward, and presented battel; which the King would not accept. Thereupon the Consul took advice what was to be done. For either they must fight upon whatsoever disadvantage, or else resolve to abide by it all Winter, far from any Country of their friends, and therefore subject unto many difficulties: unless they would stain their honour by returning far back, to Winter in a more convenient place; and so defer the war until the next Spring. The *Roman* Souldier was throughly perswaded of that Enemies base temper. Wherefore it was the general Cry, That this great Army should be assailed, even in the Camp where it lay: as if rather there were so many beasts to be slaughtered, than men to be fought with. Yet a day or two passed, in discovering the fortifications of *Antiochus*, and the safest way to set upon him. All this while *P. Scipio* came not. Wherefore the King, being loth to dishearten his men, by seeming to stand in fear of the Enemy, resolved to put the matter to trial. So when the *Romans* took the field again, and ordered their Battels: He also did the like; and advanced so far, that they might understand his meaning to fight.

The *Roman* Army consisted of four Legions, two *Roman* and two *Latine*: in each of which were five thousand and four hundred men. The *Latines*, as usually, were in the points; the *Roman*, in the mean battel. All of them, according to their wonted form, were divided into *Maniples*. The *Hastati* had the leading: after them followed the *Principes*, at such distance as was usual; and last of all, the *Triarii*. Now beside these, there were about three thousand *Auxiliaries*; partly *Achæans*, and partly such as belonged to *Eumenes*: which were placed in an equal Front beyond the *Latines* in the right wing. Utmost of all (save some five hundred *Cretians*, and of the *Trallians*) were almost three thousand Horse: of which, *Eumenes* had brought thither eight hundred; the rest being *Roman*. The left wing was fenced by the bank of the River: yet four troops of Horse were placed there, though such help seemed in a manner needless. Two thousand Voluntaries, *Macedonians* and *Thracians*, were left to guard the Camp. The Consul had with him sixteen *African* Elephants, which he bestowed in his Rere: forasmuch as had they come to fight with those of *Antiochus*, they only would have served to discourage his men; as being sure to be beaten: the *Indian* being far the greater, and more couragious beasts: whereof *Antiochus* had likewise much advantage in number.

The Kings Army being compounded of many Nations, diversly appointed, and not all accustomed to one manner of fight, was ordered according to the several kinds, in such wise as each might be of most use. The main strength of his Foot consisted in sixteen thousand, armed all *Macedonian*-like, and called *Phalangiers*. These he placed in the midst, and divided into ten Battalions: every one having two and thirty in File, and fifty in Front. Between every Battalion were two Elephants, goodly beasts, and such as being adorned with Frontals, high Crests, Towers on their backs, and besides him that governed the Elephant, four men in every Tower, made a gallant and terrible shew. On the right hand of these were fifteen hundred horse of the *Gallo-Greeks*: then, three thousand Barbd Horse: and a Regiment of almost a thousand Horse, called the *Agema*, that were all *Medians*, the choice of the Country, and accompanied by some others. All which Troops of Horse, divided in their several kinds, do seem to have followed one another in depth, rather than to have been stretched out in Front. Adjoyning unto these, were sixteen Elephants together in one flock. A little further to the right hand, was the Kings own Regiment; called the *Argyraspides*, or *Silvershields*, by a name borrowed from their furniture, but nothing like so valiant as those of the same name, that had served under Great *Alexander*: then, twelve hundred Archers on Horseback, three thousand light-armed Foot, two thousand & five hundred Archers of *Mysia*; with four thousand slingers and Archers of the *Cirtæans*, and *Elymæans*. On the left hand of the *Phalangiers*, were placed the like numbers of *Gallo-Greeks*, and Barbd Horse: as also two thousand Horse that were sent from *Ariarathes*, with two thousand and seven hundred of divers Nations: and a Regiment of a thousand Horse more lightly armed, that were called *The Kings Troop*; being *Syrians*, *Phrygians*, and *Lydians*. In Front of all these Horse were the Chariots armed with hooks or sythes, and the *Dromedaries*, whereon sate *Arabians* with long Rapiers, that would serve to reach from those high Camels. Beyond these were, as in the right wing, a rabble of many Nations, *Carians*, *Cicilians*, *Pamphylians*, *Pisidians*, *Cyrtæans*, *Elymæans*, and many others, having also with them sixteen Elephants. *Antiochus* himself commanded in the right wing: *Seleucus* in the left: and three of his principal Captains commanded over the *Phalangiers*.



The first onset was given by the *Dromedaries*, and armed Chariots: of which the one, being like to terrifie the Horse; the other, to break the Squadrons of the Foot; *Eumenes* with a few light-armed *Cretians*, Archers, Darters, and Slingers, easily made frustrate the danger threatned by them both. For with shoutings, and noises, and some wounds, they were driven out of the field; and running back upon their own men, did the same harm which they had intended to the Enemies. Wherefore the *Roman* Horse following this advantage, charged upon the left wing: whereas they found no resistance; some being out of order; others being without courage. It is shameful to rehearse, and so strange, that it may hardly seem credible: that the *Phalangiers*, with such variety of *Auxiliaries*, made little or no resistance; but all of them fled, in a manner, as soon as they were charged. Only the King, *Antiochus* himself, being in the left wing of his own battel: and seeing the *Latines*, that stood opposite unto him, weakly flanked with Horse: gave upon them couragiously, and forced them to retire. But *M. Æmilius*, that had the Guard of the *Roman* Camp, issued forth with all his power to help his fellows: and, what by perswasion, what by threats, made them renew the fight. Succour also came from the right wing, where the *Romans* were already victorious: whereof when *Antiochus* discovered the approach; He not only turned his Horse about, but ran away upon the spur without further tarriance. The Camp was defended a little while: and with no great valour; though by a great multitude that were fled into it. *Antiochus* is said to have lost in this battel fifty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse; besides those that were taken. Of the *Romans*, there were not slain above three hundred Foot, and four and twenty Horse: of *Eumenes* his followers five and twenty.

*Antiochus* fled to *Sardes*, and from thence to *Apamea*, the same night; hearing that *Seleucus* was gone thither before. He left the custody of *Sardes*, and the Castle there, to one whom he thought faithful. But the Towns-men and Souldiers were so dismayed with the greatness of the Overthrow; that one mans faith was worth nothing. All the Towns in those parts, without expecting summons, yeelded up themselves by Embassadours: whom they sent to the *Romans*, whilest they were on the way. Neither were many daies spent, ere *Antiochus* his Embassadour was in the Camp: having none other errand, than to know what it would please the *Romans* to impose upon the King his Master. *P. Scipio* was now come to his brother, who obtained leave to make the answer, because it should be gentle. They required no more than they had lately done: which was, that he should quite abandon his Dominions on this side *Taurus*. For their charges in that War, they required fifteen thousand Talents: five hundred in hand; two thousand and five hundred, when the Senate and people of *Rome* should have confirmed the peace; and the other twelve thousand, in twelve years next ensuing, by even portions. Likewise they demanded four hundred Talents for *Eumenes*; and some store of Corn, that was due to him upon a reckoning. Now besides twenty hostages which they required, very earnest they were to have *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, and *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, with some others who had stirred up the King to this war, delivered into their hands. But any wise man might so easily have perceived, thas it would be their purpose to make this one of their principal demands; as no great art was needful to beguile their malice. The Kings Embassadour had full commission, to refuse nothing that should be enjoyned. Wherefore there was no more to do, than to send immediately to *Rome* for the ratification of the Peace.

There were new Consuls chosen in the mean while at *Rome*, *M. Fulvius*, and *Cn. Manlius Volso*. The *Ætolians* desired peace, but could not obtain it: because they would accept neither of the two Conditions to them before propounded. So it was decreed, That one of the Consuls should make war upon the *Ætolians*; the other, upon *Antiochus* in *Asia*. Now, though shortly there came news that *Antiochus* was already vanquished in battel, and had submitted himself unto all that could be required at his hands: yet since the State of *Asia* was not like to be so throughly settled by one Victory, but that many things might fall out worthy of the *Romans* care; *Cn. Manlius*, to whom *Asia* fell by lot, had not his Province changed.

Soon

Soon after this, came the Embaſſadours of King *Antiochus* to *Rome*, accompanied with the *Rhodians*, and ſome others: yea, by King *Eumenes* in perſon; whoſe preſence added a goodly luſtre to the buſineſs in hand. Concerning the peace to be made with King *Antiochus*, there was no diſputation: it was generally approved. All the trouble was about the diſtribution of the purchaſe. King *Eumenes* reckoned up his own deſerts, and comparing himſelf with *Maſaniſſa* hoped that the *Romans* would be more bountiful to him, than they had been to the *Numidian*, ſince they had found him a King indeed, whereas *Maſaniſſa* was only ſuch in title; and ſince, both he and his Father had alwayes been their friends, even in the worſt of the *Roman* fortune. Yet was there much adoe to make him tell what he would have: He ſtill referring himſelf to their courteſie; and they deſiring him to ſpeak plain. At length he craved that they would beſtow upon him, as much of the Country by them taken from *Antiochus*, as they had no purpoſe to keep in their own hands. Neither thought he it needful, that they ſhould trouble themſelves with the care of giving liberty to many of the *Greek* Towns, that were on *Aſia* ſide. For ſince the moſt of thoſe Towns had been partakers with the King in his War; it was no reaſon that they ſhould be gainers by his overthrow. The *Rhodians* did not like of this. They deſired the Senate to be truly Patrons of the *Grecian* liberty; and to call to mind, that no ſmall part of *Greece* it ſelf had been ſubject unto *Philip*, and ſerved him in his War: which was not alledged againſt them as a cauſe why they ſhould not be made free, after that *Philip* was overcome. But the main point whereon they inſiſted, was this, That the Victory of the *Romans* againſt King *Antiochus*, was ſo great, as eaſily might ſatiſfie the deſires of all their friends. The Senate was glad to hear of this; and very bountifully gave away ſo much, that every one had cauſe to be well pleaſed.

Such end had the war againſt King *Antiochus*: after which, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, returning home, had granted unto him the honour of a Triumph: the pomp whereof exceeded in riches, not only that of *Titus Quintus Flaminius*, but of any ten that *Rome* had beheld until that day. Now foraſmuch as the ſurname of *The African* had been given unto *P. Scipio*, it was thought convenient by ſome to reward *L. Scipio* with the title of *The Aſiatique*: which the fortune of his Victory had no leſs deſerved; though the vertue, requiſite to the purchaſe thereof, was no way correſpondent.

## §. IX.

*The Ætolians, and the Gallo-Grecks, vanquiſhed by the Roman Conſuls* Fulvius *and* Manlius. Manlius *hardly obtains a Triumph: being charged (among other objections) with attempting to have paſſed the bounds appointed as fatal to the Romans by* Sibyl. *Of* Sibyls *Prophecies; the Books of* Hermes; *and that Inſcription,* Simoni Deo Sancto. *The ingratitude of* Rome *to the two* Scipio's: *and that beginning and faction among the Roman Nobility.*

*Marc. Fulvius* and *Cn. Manlius* had the ſame charge divided between them, which *L. Cornelius Scipio*, now ſtiled *Aſiaticus*, had lately undergone. It was found more than one mans work, to look at once to *Greece* and to *Aſia*. And for this reaſon was it apparent, that *L. Scipio* had granted ſo long a Truce to the *Ætolians*. But ſince, in this long *Interim* of *Truce*, that haughty little Nation had not ſought to humble it ſelf to the *Roman Majeſty*, it was now to be brought unto more lowly terms than any other of the *Greeks*. The beſt was, that ſo great a ſtorm fell not unexpected upon the *Ætolians*. They had foreſeen the danger, when their Embaſſadours were utterly denyed peace at *Rome*: and they had provided the laſt remedy; which was, to entreat the *Rhodians* and *Athenians* to become interceſſours for them. Neither were they ſo dejected with any terrible apprehenſions, that they could not well deviſe, even upon helping themſelves by repurchaſe of Countries loſt, where they ſpyed advantage.

Poor King *Aminander* lived in exile among them, whilſt *Philip* of *Macedon* kept, for him, poſſeſſion of his Land and Caſtles. But the *Athamanians* (beſides that many of them bore a natural affection to their own Prince) having been long accuſtomed to ſerve a Mountain Lord, that converſed with them after an homely manner; could not endure the proud and inſolent manner of command, uſed by the Captains of *Philip* his Garriſons. They ſent therefore ſome few of them to their King, and offered their ſervice towards his reſtitution. At the firſt there were only four of them; neither grew they, at length, to more than two and fifty, which undertook the work. Yet, aſſurance that all the reſt would follow, made *Aminander* willing to try his fortune. He was at the borders with a thouſand *Ætolians*, upon the day appointed: at what time his two and fifty adventurers, having divided themſelves into four parts, occupied, by the ready aſſiſtance of the multitude, four of the chief Towns in the Country, to his uſe. The fame of this good ſucceſs at the firſt; with divers Letters running from place to place, whereby men were exhorted to do their beſt in helping forward the Action, made the Lieutenants of *Philip* unable to think upon reſiſtance. One of them held the Town of *Theium* a few dayes; giving thereby ſome leiſure unto his King to provide for the reſcue. But when he had done his beſt, he was forced thence, and could only tell *Philip*, whom he met on the way, that all was loſt. *Philip* had brought from home ſix thouſand men; of whom, when the greater part could not hold out, in ſuch a running march, he left all ſave two thouſand behind him, and ſo came to *Athenæum*, a little *Athamanian* Caſtle, that ſtill was his, as being on the frontier of *Macedon*. Thence he ſent *Zeno*, who had kept *Theium* a while, to take a place lying over *Argithea*, that was chief of the Country. *Zeno* did as he was appointed: yet neither he, nor the King had the boldneſs to deſcend upon *Argithea*; for that they might perceive the *Athamanians*, all along the hill ſides, ready to come down upon them, when they ſhould be buſie. Wherefore nothing was thought more honourable than a ſafe retrait: eſpecially when *Aminander* came in ſight with his thouſand *Ætolians*. The *Macedonians* were called back fromwards *Argithea*, and preſently withdrawn by their King towards his own borders. But they were not ſuffered to depart in quiet at their pleaſure. The *Athamanians* and *Ætolians* way-laid them, and purſued them ſo cloſely, that their retrait was in manner of a plain flight, with great loſs of men and arms, few of thoſe eſcaping, that were left behind, as to make a countenance of holding ſomewhat in the Country, until *Philip* his return.

The *Ætolians* having found the buſineſs of *Athamania* ſo eaſie, made an attempt in their own behalf, upon the *Amphilochians* and *Aperantians*. Theſe had belonged unto their Nation, and were lately taken by *Philip*; from whom they diligently revolted, and became *Ætolians* again. The *Dolopians* lay next; that had been ever belonging to the *Macedonian*, and ſo did ſtill purpoſe to continue. Theſe took Arms at firſt: but ſoon laid them away; ſeeing their neighbours ready to fight with them in the *Ætolian* quarrel, and ſeeing their own King ſo haſtily gone, as if he meant not to return.

Of theſe Victories the joy was the leſs; for that news came of *Antiochus* his laſt overthrow, and of *M. Fulvius* the new Conſul his haſting with an Army into *Greece*. *Aminander* ſent his excuſes to *Rome*, praying the Senate not to take it in deſpight, that he had recovered his own from *Philip* with ſuch help as he could get. Neither ſeems it that the *Romans* were much offended to hear of *Philip* his loſſes: for of this fault they neither were ſharp correctors, nor earneſt reprovers. *Fulvius* went in hand with the buſineſs about which he came, and layed ſiege to *Ambracia*, a goodly City, that had been the chief ſeat of *Pyrrhus* his Kingdom. With this he began, for that it was of too great importance to be abandoned by the *Ætolians*: yet could not by them be relieved, unleſs they would adventure to fight upon equal ground. To help the *Ambracians*, it was not in the *Ætolians* power: for they were, at the ſame time, vexed by the *Illyrians* at Sea, and ready to be driven from their new Conqueſt, by *Perſeus* the Son of *Philip*, who invaded the Countries of the *Amphilochians* and *Dolopians*. They were unable to deal with ſo many at once; and therefore as earneſtly ſought peace with the *Romans*, as they ſtoutly made head againſt the reſt. In the mean while the *Athenian* and *Rhodian* Embaſſadors came, who beſought the Conſul to grant them peace. It helped well that *Ambracia* made ſtrong reſiſtance, and would not be terrified by any violence of the Aſſailants, or danger that might ſeem to threaten. The Conſul had no deſire to ſpend half his time about one City, and ſo be driven to leave unto his ſucceſſour the honour of finiſhing the War. Wherefore he gladly hearkened unto the *Ætolians*, and bade them ſeek peace with faithful intent, without thinking it over-dear, at a reaſonable price; conſidering with how great a part of his Kingdom their friend *Antiochus* had made the ſame purchaſe. He alſo gave leave to *Aminander*, offering his ſervice as a Mediatour, to put himſelf into *Ambracia*, and try what good his perſwaſions might do with the Citizens. So after many demands and excuſes, the concluſion was ſuch as was grievous to the weaker, but not unſufferable. The ſame Embaſſadours of the *Athenians* and *Rhodians*, accompanied thoſe of the *Ætolians* to *Rome*, for procuring the confirmation of Peace. Their eloquence and credit was the more needful in this interceſſion, for that *Philip* had made a very grievous complaint about the loſs of thoſe Countries, which they had lately taken from him. Hereof the Senate could not but take notice; though it did not hinder the peace, which thoſe good Mediatours of *Rhodes* and *Athens* did earneſtly ſolicite. The *Ætolians* were

were bound to uphold the Majesty of the people of *Rome*, and to observe divers Articles, which made them the less free, and more obnoxious to the *Romans*, than any people of *Greece*; they having been the first that called these their Masters into the Country. The Isle of *Cephalonia* was taken from them by the *Romans*: who kept it for themselves (as not long since they had gotten *Zacynthus* from the *Achæans*, by stiffly pressing their own right) that so they might have possession along the Coast of *Greece*, whilest they seemed to forbear the Country. But concerning those places, whereto *Philip*, or others might lay claim, there was set down an order so perplexed, as would necessarily require to have the *Romans* Judges of their Controversies, when they should arise. And hereof good use will be shortly made: when want of employment elsewhere, shall cause a more Lordly Inquisition to be held, upon the affairs of *Macedon* and *Greece*.

*Cn. Manlius*, the other Consul, had at the same time War in *Asia*, with the *Gallo-Greeks* and others. His Army was the same that had followed *L. Scipio*; of whose victory, his acts were the consummation. He visited those Countries on the hither side of *Taurus*, that had scarce heard of the *Romans*; to whom they were abandoned by *Antiochus*. Among these there were some petty Lords or Tyrants, some free Cities, and some that were together at wars, without regard of the great alteration that happened in *Asia*. From every of these he got somewhat; and by their quarrels found occasion to visit those Provinces, into which he should else have wanted an errand. He was even loaden with booty, when, having fetcht a compass about *Asia*, he came at length upon the *Gallo-Greeks*. These had long domineered over the Country: though, of late times, it was rather the fame and terrour of their fore-passed acts, than any present vertue of theirs, which held them up in reputation. Of the *Romans* they had lately such trial, when they served under King *Antiochus*, as made them to acknowledge themselves far the worse men. Wherefore they thought it no small part of their safety, that they dwelt upon the River *Halys*, in an In-land Country, where those enemies were not very like to search them out. But when such hopes failed; and when some Princes of their own Nation, that had been friends of *Eumenes*, exhorted the rest to yeeld: then was no counsel thought so good, as to forsake their houses and Country, and, with all that they could carry or drive, to betake themselves unto the high Mountains of *Olympus* and *Margana*. These Mountains were exceeding hard of ascent, though none should undertake the custody. Being therefore well manned and victualled for a long time; as also the natural strength being helpt by such fortification as promised greatest assurance: it was thought, that the Consul would either forbear the attempt of forcing them, or easily be repelled; and that finally, when he had stayed there a while, winter, and much want, should force him to dislodge. Yet all this availed not. For, whereas the *Gallo-Greeks* had been careless of furnishing themselves with casting weapons, as if stones would have served well enough for that purpose: the *Romans*, who came far otherwise appointed, found greater advantage in the difference of Arms, than impediment in disadvantage of ground. Archers and Slingers did easily prevail against casters of stones; especially being such as were these *Gallo-Greeks*, neither exercised in that manner of fight, nor having prepared their stones before-hand, but catching up what lay next, the too great, and the too little, oftner than those of a fit size. Finally the *Barbarians*, wanting defensive Arms, could not hold out against the Arrows and weapons of the *Roman* light armature: but were driven from a piece of ground, which they had undertaken to make good, up into their Camp on the top of the Mountain; and being forced out of their Camp, had none other way left, than to cast themselves headlong down the steep Rocks. Few of the men escaped alive: all their wives, children, and goods, became a prey unto the *Romans*. In the very like manner were the rest of that Nation overcome soon after, at the other Mountain: only more of them saved themselves by flight, as having fairer way at their backs.

These wars being ended: *Fulvius* and *Manlius* were appointed by the Senate, each of them to retain as Proconsul, his Province for another year. *Fulvius*, in his second year, did little or nothing. *Manlius* gave peace to those whom he had vanquished; as likewise to *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*, and some others, not by him vanquished, but submitting themselves for fear of the *Roman* Arms. He drew from them all, what profit he could: and laid upon them such conditions, as he thought expedient. He also did finish the league of peace with *Antiochus*; whereto he swore, and received the Kings oath by Embassadours, whom he sent for that purpose. Finally, having set in order the matters



matters of *Asia*, he took his way toward the *Hellespont*, loaden with spoil, as carrying with him (besides other treasures) all that the *Gallo-Greeks* had in so many years extorted from the wealthy Provinces that lay round about them. Neither did this Army of *Manlius* return home, rich in money alone, or cattel, or things of needful use, which the *Roman* Souldier had been wont to take as the only good purchase; but furnished with sumptuous houshold-stuff, and slaves of price, excellent Cooks, and Musicians for banquets; and in a word, with the seeds of that luxury, which finally over-grew and choaked the *Roman* vertue.

The Country of *Thrace* lay between *Hellespont* and the Kingdom of *Macedon*, which way *Manlius* was to take his journy homeward. *L. Scipio* had found no impediment among the *Thracians*: either for that he passed through them, without any such booty as might provoke them; or perhaps rather, because *Philip* of *Macedon* had taken order, that the *Barbarians* should not stir. But when *Manlius* came along with a huge train of baggage, the *Thracians* could not so well contain themselves. Neither was it thought, that *Philip* took it otherwise than very pleasantly, to have this *Roman* Army robbed, and well beaten on the way. He had cause to be angry, seeing how little himself was regarded, and what great rewards were given to *Eumenes*. For he understood, and afterwards gave the *Romans* to understand, that *Eumenes* could not have abidden in his own Kingdome, if the people of *Rome* had not made war in *Asia*: whereas contrariwise, *Antiochus* had offered unto himself three thousand talents, and fifty ships of war, to take part with him and the *Ætolians*; promising moreover to restore unto him all the *Greek* Cities, that had been taken from him by the *Romans*. Such being the difference between him and *Eumenes*, when the war began: he thought it no even dealing of the *Romans*, after their victory, to give away not only the half of *Asia*, but *Chersonesus*, and *Lysimachia* in *Europe*, to *Eumenes*; whereas upon himself they bestowed not any one Town. It agreed not indeed with his Nobility to go to *Rome* and begg Provinces in the Senate, as *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* had lately done. He had entertained lovingly the two *Scipio's*, whom he thought the most honourable men in *Rome*; and was grown into near acquaintance with *Publius*, holding correspondence with him by letters, whereby he made himself acquainted with the wars in *Spain* and *Africk*. This perhaps he deemed sufficient, to breed in the *Romans* a due respect of him. But *Eumenes* took a surer way. For the *Scipio's* had not the disposing of that which they won from *Antiochus*: as neither indeed had *Manlius*, nor the ten Delegates assisting him; but the Senate of *Rome*, by which those Delegates were chosen, and instructed how to proceed. When *Philip* therefore saw these upstart Kings of *Pergamus*, whom he accounted as base companions, advanced so highly, and made greater than himself: yea himself unregarded, contemned, and exposed to many wrongs: then found he great cause to wish, that he had not so hastily declared himself against *Antiochus*, or rather that he had joyned with *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, by whom he might have been freed from his insolent Masters. But what great argument of such discontentedness the *Macedonian* had, we shall very shortly be urged to discourse more at large. At the present it was believed, that the *Thracians* were by him set on, to assail the *Romans* passing through their Country. They knew all advantages, and they fell, unexpected, upon the carriages that were bestowed in the midst of the Army; whereof part had already passed a dangerous wood through which the baggage followed; part was not yet so far advanced. There was enough to get, and enough to leave behind: though both the getting and the saving, did cost many l'ves, as well of the *Barbarians*, as of the *Romans*. They fought until it grew night: and then the *Thracians* withdrew themselves; not without as much of the booty, as was to their full content. And of such trouble there was more, though less dangerous, before the Army could get out of *Thrace* into *Macedon*. Through the Kingdom they had a fair march into *Epirus*; and so to *Apollonia*, which was their handle of *Greece*.

Liv. l. 39.

To *Manlius*, and to *Fulvius*, when each of them returned to the City, was granted the honour of Triumph. Yet not without contradiction: especially to *Manlius*, whom some of the ten Delegates, appointed to assist him, did very bitterly tax, as an unworthy Commander. Touching the rest of their accusation; it sufficeth that he made good answer, and was approved by the chief of the Senate. One clause is worthy of more particular consideration. Reprehending his desire to have hindred the peace with *Antiochus*; they said, *That with much ado he was kept from leading his army over* Taurus, *and adventuring upon the calamity threatned by* Sibyl's *verses, unto those that should pass the fatal bounds.* What calamity or overthrow this was, wherewith *Sibyls* prophecy threatned the Roman Captain or Army, that should

Liv. l. 40.

paſs over *Taurus*, I do not conceive. *Pompey* was the firſt that marched with an Army beyond thoſe limits: though the victories of *Lucullus* had opened unto him the way, and had before hand won, in a ſort, the Countries on the other ſide of the Mount; which *Lucullus* gave to one of *Antiochus* his race, though *Pompey* occupied them for the *Romans*. But we find not, that either *Lucullus* or *Pompey* ſuffered any loſs, in preſuming to neglect the bounds appointed by *Sibyl*. Indeed the accompliſhment of this Prophecy, fell out near about one time, with the reſtitution of *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, that was forbidden unto the *Romans* by the ſame *Sibyl*. It may therefore ſeem to have had reference unto the ſame things, that were denounced as like to happen upon the reduction of the *Egyptian* King. Whether the Oracles of *Sibyl* had in them any truth, and were not, as *Tully* noteth, *ſowed at randome in the large field of Time*, there to take root, and get credit by event; I will not here diſpute. But I hold this more probable, than that the reſtitution of *Ptolomy* to his Kingdom by *Gabinius* the *Roman*, ſhould have any way betokened the coming of our Saviour: as ſome both ancient and modern Chriſtian Writers have been well pleaſed to interpret *Sibyl* in that prophecy. Of the *Sibylline* predictions, I have ſometimes thought reverently: though not knowing what they were (as I think few men know) yet following the common belief and good authority. But obſervation of the ſhameful Idolatry, that upon all occaſions was advanced in *Rome* by the books of *Sibyl*, had well prevailed upon my credulity, and made me ſuſpect, though not the faith and pious meaning, yet the judgement of *Euſebius*: when that learned and excellent work of Maſter *Caſaubon* upon the Annals of Cardinal *Baronius*, did altogether free me from mine error; making it apparent, That not only thoſe prophecies of *Sibyl*, wherein Chriſt ſo plainly was ſhewed, but even the books of *Hermes*, which have born ſuch reputation, were no better than counterfeited pieces, and at firſt entertained (whoſoever deviſed them) by the undiſcreet zeal of ſuch, as delighted in ſeeing the Chriſtian Religion ſtrengthened with foreign proofs. And in the ſame rank, I think, we ought to place that notable Hiſtory, reported by *Euſebius* from no mean Authors, Of the honour which was done to *Simon Magus* in *Rome*; namely of an Altar to him erected, with an inſcription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, that is, *To Simon the holy god*. For what can be more ſtrange, than that a thing ſo memorable, and ſo publick, ſhould have been quite omitted by *Tacitus*, by *Suetonius*, by *Dion*, and by all which wrote of thoſe times? Philoſophers and Poets would not have ſuffered the matter to eſcape in ſilence, had it been true; neither can it be thought that *Seneca*, who then lived and flouriſhed, would have abſtained from ſpeaking any word of an argument ſo famous. Wherefore I am perſwaded, that this inſcription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, was, by ſome bad *Criticiſme*, taken amiſs in place of *Semoni Sango*: a title four hundred years older than the time of *Simon Magus*. For the goods of one *Vitruvius* a Rebel, had many ages before been conſecrated *Semoni Sango*, that is, *To the Spirit or Demi-god Sangus*, in whoſe Chappel they were beſtowed. So as either by the ill ſhape of the old *Roman* letters, or by ſome ſpoil that time had wrought upon them; it might eaſily come to paſs, that the words ſhould be miſ-read, *Simoni Sancto*, and that ſome Chriſtian who had heard of *Simon Magus*, but not of *Sangus*, thereupon ſhould frame the conjecture, which now paſſeth for a true Hiſtory. Such conjectures, being entertained without examination, find credit by Tradition, whereby alſo, many times, their faſhion is amended, and made more Hiſtorical, than was conceived by the Author. But it cannot be ſafe, to let our faith (which ought to ſtand firm upon a ſure foundation) lean over-hardly on a well painted, yet rotten poſt.

*Tull. de Divin. lib. 2.*

*Iſaac Caſaub. Exercita. 1. ad Annal. Baron. 10. & 11.*

*Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. 6.13.*

Now concerning the Triumph of *Cn. Manlius*, it may be numbred among a few of the richeſt, which ever the City beheld. Out of that which he brought into the Treaſury, was made the laſt payment of thoſe moneys which the Commonwealth had borrowed from private men, in the ſecond *Punick War*. So long was it, that *Rome* had ſtill ſome feeling of *Hannibal*: which being paſt, there was remaining neither care, nor memory, or any danger. This Triumph of *Manlius* was deferred by him, even ſo long as he well could: for that he thought it not ſafe, to make his entrance into the City, until the heat of an Inquiſition, then raging therein, ſhould be allayed. The two *Scipio's* were called one after another, into judgement, by two Tribunes of the people; men, only by this accuſation, known to Poſterity. *P. Scipio* the *African*, with whom they began, could not endure that ſuch unworthy men ſhould queſtion him, of purloining from the Common Treaſury, or of being hired with bribes by *Antiochus*, to make an ill bargain for his Country. When therefore his day of anſwer came; he appeared before the Tribunes,



Tribunes, not humbly as one accuſed, but followed by a great train of his friends and Clients, with which he paſſed through the midſt of the Aſſembly, and offered himſelf to ſpeak. Having audience, he told the people, That upon the ſame day of the year he had fought a great battel with *Hannibal*, and finiſhed the *Punick War* by a ſignal victory. In memory whereof, he thought it no fit ſeaſon to brabble at the Law; but intended to viſit the *Capitol*, and there give thanks to *Jupiter*, and the reſt of the gods, by whoſe grace, both on that day and at other times, he had well and happily diſcharged the moſt weighty buſineſs of the Commonweal. And hereto he invited with him all the Citizens: requeſting them, *That if ever ſince the ſeventeenth year of his life, until he now grew old, the honourable places by them conferred upon him, had prevented the capacity of his age, and yet his deſerts had exceeded the greatneſs of thoſe honourable places: then would they pray, that the Princes and great ones of their City might ſtill be like to him.* Theſe words were heard with great approbation: ſo as all the people, even the Officers of the court followed *Scipio*, leaving the Tribunes alone, with none about them, excepting their own ſlaves and a Cryer, by whom ridiculouſly they cited him to judgement, until for very ſhame, as not knowing what elſe to do, they granted him, unrequeſted, a further day. After this, when the *African* perceived that the Tribunes would not let fall their ſuit, but enforce him to ſubmit himſelf to a diſgraceful trial: he willingly relinquiſhed the City, and his unthankful *Romans*, that could ſuffer him to undergo ſo much indignity. The reſt of his time he ſpent at *Liternum*: quietly with a few of his inward friends, and without any deſire of ſeeing *Rome* again. How many years he lived, or whether he lived one whole year, in this voluntary baniſhment; it is uncertain. The report of his dying in the ſame year, with *Hannibal* and *Philopœmen*, as alſo of his private behaviour at *Liternum*, render it probable, that he outlived the Tribune-ſhip of his accuſers; who meant to have drawn him back to his anſwer, if one of their Colleagues (as one of them had power to hinder all the reſt from proceeding) had not cauſed them to deſiſt. Howſoever it was; the ſame Tribunes went more ſharply to work with *L. Scipio the Aſiatique*. They propounded a Decree unto the People, touching money received of *Antiochus*, and not brought into the common Treaſury; that the Senate ſhould give charge unto one of the Prætors, to inquire, and judicially determine thereof. In favour of this Decree, an Oration was made by *Cato*, the ſuppoſed author of theſe contentions, and inſtigator of the Tribunes. He was a man of great, but not perfect vertue, temperate, valiant, and of ſingular induſtry; frugal alſo, both of the publick, and of his own; ſo as in this kind he was even faulty: for though he would not be corrupted with bribes, yet was he unmerciful and unconſcionable, in ſeeking to increaſe his own wealth, by ſuch means as the Law did warrant. Ambition was his vice; which being poyſoned with envie, troubled both himſelf and the whole City; whilſt he lived. His mean birth cauſed him to hate the Nobility, eſpecially thoſe that were in chief eſtimation. Neither did he ſpare to bite at ſuch as were of his own rank, men raiſed by deſert, if their advancement were like to hinder his: but lately before this, when *Glabrio*, whoſe Lieutenant he had been at *Thermopylæ*, was his Competitor for the Cenſorſhip, and likely to carry it, he took an Oath againſt him, which was counted as no better than malicious perjury, That he had not brought into the common Treaſury ſome veſſels of gold and ſilver, gotten in the Camp of *Antiochus*. Now the hatred which he bare unto the *Scipio's* grew partly, (beſides his general ſpight at the Nobility) from his own firſt riſing, wherein he was countenanced by *Fabius Maximus*, who brooked not the *African*; partly from ſome check, that was given unto himſelf, in the *African* voyage, by *P. Scipio*, whoſe Treaſurer he then was. For when *Cato* did utter his diſlike of the Conſuls bad husbandry (judging Magnificence to be no better) in ſome peremptory manner; *Scipio* plainly told him, That he had no need of ſuch double diligence in his Treaſurer. Wherefore, either not caring what lies he publiſhed, or for want of judgement, thinking unworthily of the vertue that was far above him, *Cato* filled *Rome* with untrue reports againſt his General; whoſe noble deeds confuted ſufficiently the author of ſuch falſe tales. And thus began the hatred: which being not regarded nor thought upon by the *Scipio's*, whilſt it was nouriſhed by their enemy, brake out upon advantage, eſpecially againſt *L. Scipio*: his brother being dead, or out of the way. A ſevere inquiry and judgment being appointed of purpoſe againſt *Scipio*, matters were ſo carried, that he was ſoon condemned in a ſumm of money, far exceeding his ability to pay. For *non-payment*, his body ſhould have been laid up in priſon: but from this rigour of the Law he was freed by *Tiberius Gracchus*, the ſame Tribune who had cauſed the ſuit againſt the *African* to be let fall. n his ſtate, which

was confiscated to the use of the City, when there neither appeared any sign of his having been beholding to *Antiochus*, nor was found so much as what he had been condemned to pay; then fell his accusers, and all whose hands had been against him, into the indignation of *the People*. But for this was *L. Scipio* no whit the better. His kindred, friends, and Clients, made such a Collection for him, as would have set him in better estate than before, if he had accepted it. He took no more than such of his own goods, as were of necessary use, being redeemed for him by his nearest friends.

And thus began the Civil war of the *Tongue* in the *Roman* pleadings: which had either not been, or not been much regardable, until now, since the Punick War. Security of danger from abroad, and some want of sufficient employment, were especial helps to the kindling of this fire; which first caught hold upon that great Worthy, to whose vertue *Rome* was indebted, for changing into so great security her extream danger. But these factious contentions did no long while contain themselves within heat of words, and cunning practice. For when the Art of leading the multitude, in such quarrelsome business, grew to perfection, they that found themselves overmatched by their adversaries at this kind of weapon, began to make opposition, first, with clubs and stones, afterward with swords; and finally, proceeded from frayes and murders in the streets, unto battel in the open field. *Cornelia*, daughter of *Scipio* the *African*, a Lady of rare vertue, that in honour of her two sons was more commonly named, *Mother of the Gracchi*, saw those her two sons whilest they were but young, slaughtered in *Rome*, together with some of their friends, by those whom they opposed, and their death not revenged by order of Law, but rather approved by the Senate. At these times the Senators began to take upon them Authority, more than was to them belonging. They conferred upon the Consuls all the whole power of the City, under this form, *Let the Consuls provide, that the Commonweal receive no detriment*. By this Decree of theirs, and by their proclaiming any Citizen *enemy to the State*, they thought to have won a great advantage over the multitude. But after the death of *C. Gracchus*, and of *Saturnius* a popular man; whom by such authority they did put out of the way; it was not long ere *Marius* a famous Captain of theirs, was so condemned, who by force of arms returned into the City, and murdered all the principal Senators: whereupon began the Civil Wars; which giving unto *Sylla*, who prevailed therein, means to make himself absolute Lord of *Rome*, taught *Cæsar*, a man of higher spirit, to affect and obtain the like soveraign power, when by the like Decree of the Senate he was provoked. It is true, that never any Consul had finally cause to rejoyce, of his having put in execution such authority to him committed by the Senate. But as the fury of the multitude, in passing their Laws, by hurling of stones, and other violence, made the City stand in need of a Soveraign Lord: so the vehemency of the Senate, in condemning as enemies those that would not submit themselves, when they were over-topped by voyces in the House, did compel *Cæsar*, or give him at least pretence, to right himself by arms: wherewith prevailing against his adversaries, he took such order, that neither Senate nor people, should thenceforth be able to do him wrong. So by intestine discord, the *Romans* consuming all or most of their principal Citizens, lost their own freedom, and became subjects unto the arbitrary government of One: suffering this change in three generations, after this beginning of their insolent rule, wherein they took upon them as the highest Lords on earth, to do even what they listed. Yet had not *Rome* indeed attained hitherto unto compleat greatness, nor believed of her self as if she had, whilest a King sate crowned on the Throne of *Alexander*, continuing and upholding the reputation of a former Empire. Wherefore this consummation of her honour was thought upon betimes. How it was effected, the sequel will discover.

CHAP.



## CHAP. VI.

### The Second Macedonian War.

#### §. I.

*The Condition wherein those Princes and Estates remained, which were Associates of the Romans, when the War with* Antiochus *was finished. The Romans quarrel with* Philip. *They deal insolently with the Achæans. The Macedonian, being unready for War, obtains peace at* Rome, *by his Son* Demetrius; *of whom thenceforth he becomes jealous.*

AFter the overthrow of *Antiochus*, although *Philip* of *Macedon*, *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, the Commonweal of the *Achæans*, and all other the States of *Greece*, were governed by the same Laws and Magistrates, as they formerly had been, before the arrival of the *Romans* in those parts: yet, in very truth (the publick declaration excepted) they were none other than absolute Vassals to the people of *Rome*. For of those five Prerogatives belonging to a Monarch, or unto Soveraign Power, in whomsoever it rest; namely, *To make Laws*, *To create Magistrates*, *To arbitrate Peace and War*, *To beat Mony*, and *to reserve* (as the French call it) *le dernier Ressort*, or *the last Appeals*, the *Romans* had assumed four; and the greatest of them so absolutely, that is, *The Appeal*, or last resort, as every petty injury offered to each other by the forenamed Kings or States, was heard and determined either by the *Roman* Embassadours, or Commissioners, in those places whence the Complaint came, or otherwise by the Senators themselves within *Rome*; from whose arbitrement, or direction, if either King or Commonweals declined, He or they were beaten, and inforced to obedience; or had their Estates and Regalities utterly dissolved. Nevertheless it is true, that they had their own Laws, and Officers of their own ordaining: yet so, as neither the Laws were of force, when the *Romans* interposed their will to the contrary, neither was their election of Magistrates so free, as that they had not therein especial regard unto the good pleasure of these their Masters.

And to such degree of servitude the several Estates of *Greece* did bow very gently: either as being thankful for their deliverance from a yoke more sensibly grievous; or, as being skilful in the Art of flattery, and therein taking delight, since therein consisted their chief hope of thriving; or, as being more fearful of displeasing the strongest, than mindful of their own honour. But *Eumenes* living further off, and being most obsequious unto the *Romans*, was not, of long time, questioned about any of his doings: his conformity unto them in matter of war and peace, together with the diversion of their thoughts another way, giving him leave to use his own even as he listed, until they should otherwise dispose of him. Neither was it a little available to him, that his Kingdom bordered upon the Nations, by them not throughly subdued. For upon the same reason (as well as upon his own high deserts) were they very loving unto *Masanissa*, and to his House, until *Carthage* was ruined, and their Dominion settled in *Africk*: as likewise afterwards to the Kings of *Mauritania*, *Cappadocia*, and others: holding people in subjection unto themselves, by the Ministry of Kings; especially of such Kings, as were useful and obsequious unto them.

Now the *Macedonian* was of a more noble temper; and shewed himself not forgetful of his own former greatness, the honour of his race, or the high reputation of his Kingdom. But such magnanimity was none otherwise construed by the *Romans*, than as want of due reverence to their estate, and a valuation of himself against them: which, in the pride of their fortune, they could not endure. Wherefore notwithstanding that he had lately given passage to their Armies thorow his Country, prepared the wayes for them, and furnished them both with victuals, and other things needful, to transport them over the *Hellespont* into *Asia*, against *Antiochus*: yet upon the complaint of *Eumenes* and the States of *Thessaly* and *Thrace*, he was commanded to abandon the Cities of *Ænus* and *Maronea*, with all Pieces and places demanded by any of his neighbours; whereof many of them he had lately conquered, by direction or licence, even from the *Romans* themselves.

These

Theſe Towns of *Ænus* and *Maronea* had been part of *Lyſimachus* his Kingdom: who from *Thrace* Northwards, and to the North-weſt, extended his Dominion very far. He is thought to have made himſelf Lord of *Tranſylvania:* in which Province it is ſaid, * That innumerable Medals of gold have been found, in the age of our Grand-fathers, each of them weighing two or three Crowns, and ſtamped with his Image on the one ſide, on the other ſide with *Victory*. Of all theſe Lordſhips, the poſſeſſion, or rather the title (for he lived not to ſettle his Eſtate in *Europe*) fell to *Seleucus Nicanor* by right of war, wherein he vanquiſhed and ſlew *Lyſimachus:* as alſo, by the like right, *Ptolomy Ceraunus* thought them his own, when he had murdered *Seleucus*. But the inundation of the *Gaules*, which the Kingdom of *Macedon* could not ſuſtain, did ſhortly and eaſily waſh away from that Crown, together with the more part of *Thrace*, all thoſe heaps of Land newly thereto annexed. Somewhat of this was afterwards regained by *Antigonus* the Son of *Demetrius* and his ſucceſſors: though not much; for they were otherwiſe buſied. The fury of the *Gauls* being over-paſt, thoſe Countries which lately had been oppreſſed by them, recovered their liberty; and not only held it, but learned, ſome of them, eſpecially the *Dardanians* and wild *Thracians*, to find their advantages, and make uſe of them, even upon *Macedon*. Againſt the miſchiefs commonly done by theſe, King *Philip* did provide the moſt convenient remedies: by ſhutting up the wayes, whereby the *Dardanians* might enter into his Kingdom; and by occupying *Lyſimachia*, with ſome other Towns in *Thrace*, which he fortified, as Bulwarks of his own Country, againſt the *Barbarians*. Now, although it behoved him thus to do, for the defence of his own eſtate: yet foraſmuch as theſe Towns were, in a manner, at abſolute liberty, his poſſeſſion of them was thought to partake more of violence than of juſtice. And in this reſpect he was formerly accuſed by the *Ætolians*, of wrongful uſurpation and oppreſſion, in his having occupied *Lyſimachia*. Hereto he made a good anſwer. That his Garriſon did only ſave it from the *Thracians:* who, as ſoon as he thence withdrew his men, did ſeize upon the Town, and ruine it. The like perhaps he might have ſaid, touching *Ænus* and *Maronea*; That they were places unable to defend themſelves, and Gates, by which the *Barbarians* might have entrance into his Kingdom. But this Plea had not availed him, in the diſputation about *Lyſimachia:* and in the preſent queſtion, the *Romans* were not without their own title; ſince *Antiochus* had gotten all the Country thereabout, whileſt *Philip* was buſied in his former war: and ſince they, by their victory, had gotten unto themſelves all the title, which *Antiochus* thereto could pretend. Wherefore he only ſubmitted his right unto the good pleaſure of the Senate: referring it unto their diſpoſition, Whether *Ænus* and *Maronea* ſhould be ſet at liberty: whether left in his hand, or whether beſtowed upon *Eumenes*; who begged them, as an appendix to *Lyſimachia* and *Cherſoneſus*, that were already his by their gift. What they would determine, he might eaſily perceive, by the demeanor of their Embaſſadors towards him: who ſitting as Judges between him and all that made complaint upon him, gave ſentence againſt him in every controverſie. Neverthleſs, he ſent Embaſſadours to *Rome*, there to maintain his right unto theſe Towns; wherein he thought, that equity (if it might prevail) was wholly on his ſide. For he had holpen their Conſuls in the war againſt *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians:* wherein whatſoever he had gotten for himſelf, was now taken from him by their Embaſſadors: and would they now deprive him of thoſe two Towns, lying ſo fitly for the guard of his Kingdom, which he had gotten to himſelf out of the ruines of *Antiochus*, like as out of his own ruines *Antiochus* had gotten in thoſe quarters a great deal more? By ſuch allegations either he was likely to prevail, or at leaſtwiſe to gain time, wherein he might bethink himſelf what he had to do. It was not long ere he had word from *Rome*, That the Senate were no more equal to him, than had been their Embaſſadors. Wherefore, conſidering how inſolently the *Maronites* had behaved themſelves, in pleading againſt him for their liberty, he took counſel of his own paſſion; and (as by nature he was very cruel) gave order to *Onomaſtus*, that was Warden of the Sea-coaſts, to handle theſe *Maronites* in ſuch ſort, as they might have little joy of the liberty by them ſo earneſtly deſired. *Onomaſtus* employed *Caſſander*, one of the Kings men dwelling in *Maronea*, and willed him to let in the *Thracians* by night, that they might ſack the Town, and uſe all cruelties of war. This was done: but ſo ill taken by the *Roman* Embaſſadors who had better notice, than could have been feared, of theſe proceedings; that the King was by them directly charged with the crime, and called more ſtrictly, than became his Majeſty, to an accompt. He would have removed the blame from himſelf, and layd it even upon the *Maronites:* affirming, that

* *Hiſt. of Hungary by Mart. Fumec. lib. 5.*



that they, in heat of their Factions, being ſome inclinable to him, otherſome to *Eumenes*, had fallen into ſuch outrage, that they had cut one anothers throats. And hereof he willed the Embaſſadours to enquire among the *Maronites* themſelves: as well knowing, that they who ſurvived, were either his own friends; or ſo terrified and amazed by the late execution of his vengeance among them, that they durſt not utter an offenſive word. But he found the *Romans* more ſevere, and more thorowly informed in the buſineſs, than to reſt contented with ſuch an anſwer. He was plainly told, That if he would diſcharge himſelf of the crime objected; he muſt ſend *Onomaſtus* and *Caſſander* to *Rome*, there to be examined as the Senate ſhould think fit. This did not a little trouble him. Yet he collected his ſpirits, and ſaid, that *Caſſander* ſhould be at their diſpoſition: but concerning *Onomaſtus*, who had not been at *Maronea*, nor near to it, he requeſted them not to preſs him; ſince it ſtood not with his honour ſo lightly to give away his friends. As for *Caſſander*, becauſe he ſhould tell no tales; He took order to have him poyſoned by the way. By this we ſee, that the Doctrine which *Machiavel* taught unto *Cæſar Borgia*, to imploy men in miſchievous actions, and afterwards to deſtroy them when they have performed the miſchief, was not of his own invention. All ages have given us examples of this goodly policy, the latter having been apt ſcholars in this leſſon to the more ancient: as the reign of *Henry* the eighth, here in *England*, can bear good witneſs; and therein eſpecially the Lord *Cromwell*, who periſhed by the ſame unjuſt Law that himſelf had deviſed, for the taking away of another mans life.

Such actions of *Philip* made an unpleaſant noiſe at *Rome*, and were like to have brought upon him the war which he feared, before he was ready to entertain it. Wherefore he employed his younger Son *Demetrius* as Embaſſadour unto the Senate: giving him inſtructions, how to make anſwer to all complaints, and withall to deliver his own grievances in ſuch wiſe, that if ought were amiſs, yet might it appear that he had been ſtrongly urged to take ſuch courſes. The ſumm of his Embaſſage was, to pacifie the *Romans*, and make all even for the preſent. *Demetrius* himſelf was known to be very acceptable unto the Senate; as having been well approved by them, when he was Hoſtage in *Rome:* and therefore ſeemed the more likely to prevail ſomewhat; were it only, in that regard would be born unto his perſon.

Whileſt this buſineſs with the *Macedonian* hung in ſuſpence, and whileſt he, by his readineſs to make ſubmiſſion, ſeemed likely to divert from himſelf ſome other way the *Roman* Arms: the ſame Embaſſadors, that had been Judges between him and his neighbours, made their progreſs thorow the reſt of *Greece*; and took notice of the Controverſies, which they found between ſome Eſtates in the Country. The greateſt cauſe that was heard before them, was the complaint of the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians* againſt the *Achæans*. It was objected unto the *Achæans*, That they had committed a grievous ſlaughter upon many Citizens of *Lacedæmon:* That unto this cruelty they had added a greater, in throwing down the walls of the City: as alſo further, in changing the Laws, and abrogating the famous Inſtitutions of *Lycurgus*. Hereto *Lycortas* the Prætor of the *Achæans*, made anſwer, That theſe baniſhed *Lacedæmonians*, who now took upon them to accuſe the Nation that had once protected them, were notoriouſly known to be the men, who had themſelves committed that murder, whereof ſhameleſly they laid the blame upon others: the *Achæans* having not only called thoſe unto judgment, that were ſuppoſed to be chief Authors of a Rebellion againſt both them and the *Romans:* and theſe Plaintiffs having ſlain them, upon private, though juſt hatred, as they were coming to make anſwer for themſelves. Concerning their throwing down the walls of *Lacedæmon*, he ſaid it was moſt agreeable to *Lycurgus* his Ordinance: who, having perſwaded his Citizens to defend their Town and liberty by their proper vertue, did inhibit unto them all kind of fortifications: as the Retraits and Neſts either of Cowards, or (whereof *Lacedæmon* had woful experience) of Tyrants and Uſurpers. Further he ſhewed, how the ſame Tyrants that had built theſe walls, and hemmed in the *Spartans*, had alſo quite aboliſhed *Lycurgus* his Ordinances; and governed the City by their own lawleſs Will. As for the *Achæans*; they communicated their own Laws, which they held for the beſt, or elſe would ſoon change them, and take better, unto the *Lacedæmonians*; whom they found without Laws, or any tolerable form of policy. For concluſion, *Lycortas* plainly told *App. Claudius*, the chief of the Embaſſadours, That he and his Countrymen held it ſtrange, being friends and faithful Allies of the *Romans*, to ſee themſelves thus conſtrained, to anſwer and give account of their actions, as vaſſals and ſlaves unto the *people of Rome*. For if they were indeed at liberty: why might not the

*Achæans*

*Achæans* as well require to be satisfied about that which the *Romans* had done at *Capua*, as the *Romans* did busie themselves, to take account how things went at *Lacedæmon* & Per if the *Romans* would stand upon their greatness; and intimate, as they begun, that the liberty of their friends was nothing worth, longer than should please themselves to ratifie it: then must the *Achæans* have recourse unto those Agreements that were confirmed by oath, and which, without perjury, could not be violated; as reverencing, and indeed fearing the *Romans*, but much more, the immortal gods. To this bold answer of *Lycortas*, *Appius* found little to reply. Yet taking state upon him; he pronounced more like a Master than a Judge, that if the *Achæans* would not be ruled by fair means, and earn thanks whilest they might; they should be compelled with a mischief, to do what was required at their hands, whether they would or no. This altercation was in the Parliament of the *Achæans*, which groaned to hear the Lordly words of *Appius*. Yet fear prevailed above indignation: and it was permitted unto the *Romans* to do as they lifted. Hereupon the Embassadours restored some banished and condemned men: but the *Roman* Senate, very soon after, did make void all judgments of death or banishment, that had been laid by the *Achæans*, upon any Citizen of *Lacedæmon*; as likewise they made it a matter of disputation, whether or no the City and Territory of *Lacedæmon* should be suffered to continue a member of the *Achæan* Common-wealth: or, taken from them, and made as it had been an Estate by it self. By bringing such a matter into question, the *Romans* well declared, that they held it to depend upon their own will, how much or how little any of their Confederates should be suffered to enjoy: though by contributing *Sparta* to the counsel of *Achaia*, they discovered no less, as to them seemed, the love which they bare unto the *Achaians*, than the power which they had over them.

Into such slavery had the *Greeks*, and all Kings and Common-weals whatsoever, bordering upon any part of the Mediterranean Seas, reduced themselves, by calling in the *Romans* to their succour. They wanted not the good counsel and persuasions of many wise and temperate men among them; they had also the examples of the *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Africans*, all subdued by the *Romans*; and, by seeking Patronage, made meer Vassals; to instruct them, what in the like case they should expect: yet could not the true reasons of Estate and Policy so prevail with them, but their private passions, and neigbouring hatred, which hath evermore bought revenge at the price of self-ruine, brought them from the honour which they enjoyed, of being free Princes and Cities, into most base and fearful servility.

All this made well for *Philip* of *Macedon*: who, though he saw the *Greeks* very far from daring to stir against those, by whom both he and they were kept in awe; yet was he not without hope, that (few of them excepted, whom the *Romans* by freeing from his subjection, had made his implacable enemies) in hearty affection all the Country would be his, whensoever he should take Arms, as shortly he was like to do. Young *Demetrius*, coming home from *Rome*, brought with him the desired ratification of peace; though qualified with much indignity soon following. He had been lovingly used at at *Rome*, and heard with great favour in the Senate. There, being confounded with the multitude of objections, whereto his youth, unskilful in the Art of wrangling, could not readily make answer: it was permitted unto him, to read such brief notes as he had received from his Father, and out of those the Senate were contented to gather satisfaction; more for *Demetrius* his own sake, as they then said, and wrote into *Macedon*, than for any goodness in the defence. Such pride of theirs, in remitting his faults at the intreaty of his Son, together with some insolence of his Son, growing (as appeared) from this favour of the *Romans*; did increase in *Philip* his hatred unto *Rome*, and breed in him a jealousie of his too forward Son. To set him forward in these passions, there came daily new Embassadours from *Rome*, some bringing one commandment, some another; and some requiring him to fulfill those things, which had been imposed upon him by their fore-goers. Neither were there wanting that observed his countenance: and when he had fulfilled all that was required at his hands; yet laid it to his charge, that he had done things unwillingly, and would be obedient no longer than he needs must. With these Embassadours young *Demetrius* was conversant: rather perhaps out of simplicity, and for that they made much of him, than for any ambitious respect; yet a great deal more than was pleasing to his Father. So the rumour grew current through all *Macedon*, That *Perseus*, the elder Son of the King, should not succeed unto his Father; but that the Diademe should be conferred upon *Demetrius*, if not by some other pretence, yet by meer favour of the *Romans*. This offended not only *Perseus*, but *Philip* himself: who suspected



suspected his younger Son, as more *Roman* than his own; and accordingly misconstrued all his doings. But ere we proceed unto the bitter fruits of this jealousie, it will not be amiss to speak of some memorable accidents that were in the mean time.

## §. II.

*The death of* Philopœmen, Hannibal, *and* Scipio. *That the Military profession is of all other the most unhappy: notwithstanding some examples, which may seem to prove the contrary.*

THE *Romans* wanting other matter of quarrel in the Continent of *Greece*, had of late been so peremptory with the *Achæans*; that they seemed not unlikely to take part against them in any controversie that should be moved. Hereupon the *Messenians*, who against their will were annexed unto the *Achæan* Common-wealth, having long been of a contrary Faction thereto; grew bold to withdraw themselves from that Society, with purpose to set up again the Estate of their own, severed from communion with any other. This was the device of some that were powerful in their City; who finding the multitude only inclinable to their purpose, and not over-strongly affected in the business, were careful to seek occasion of reducing things to such pass, that all their Citizens might be entangled in a necessity of standing out, and of not returning to the *Achæan* League. And hereupon they began to do some acts of hostility, whereby it was probable that blood should be drawn, and either side so far exasperated, that little hope of agreement would be left. Upon the fame of their commotion and proceedings; *Philopœmen*, then Prætor of the *Achæans*, levied such forces as he could in haste, and went against them. Many principal Gentlemen of the *Achæans*, especially of the *Megalopolitans*, were soon in a readiness to wait upon him. Besides these, which were all, or for the most part, horse; he had some Auxiliaries out of *Thrace* and *Crete*, that usually were kept in pay. Thus accompanied, he met with *Dinocrates*, Captain of the *Messenians*; whom he charged, and forced to run. But whilest his horse-men were too earnest in following the chase; there arrived by chance a supply of five hundred from *Messene*, which gave new courage unto those that fled. So the Enemies began to make head again: and with the help of those, who very seasonably came to their aid, compelled *Philopœmens* horse-men to turn back. *Philopœmen* himself had long been sick of an Ague, and was then very weak: yet the greatness of his courage would not suffer him to be negligent of their safety, which had so willingly adventured themselves under his conduct. He took upon him to make the Retrait: and suffering his horse-men to pass along by him in a narrow lane, he often turned about against the *Messenians*; whom, the reputation and the knowledge of his great worth, did terrifie from approaching over near to him. But it fell out unhappily, that being cast to ground by a fall off his horse, and being withall in very weak plight of body, he was unable to get up again. So the Enemies came upon him, and took him; yet scarce believed their fortune to be so good, although their eyes were witnesses. The first messenger that brought these news to *Messene*, was so far from being believed, that he was hardly thought to be in his right wits. But when the truth was affirmed by many reports, all the City ran forth to meet him, and behold the spectacle seeming so incredible! They caused him to be brought into the Theatre, that there they might satisfie themselves with beholding him. The greatest part of them had compassion on his mis-fortune: and in commemoration both of his virtue, and of the singular benefits by him done unto them, especially in delivering them from *Nabis* the Tyrant; began to manifest their good will for his delivery. Contrariwise, *Dinocrates* and his Faction were desirous hastily to take away his life: because they held him a man implacable, and one that would never leave any disgrace, or injury done to him, unrevenged. They durst not one trust another with the keeping of him: but committed him into a strong vault under ground, that had been made for the custody of their Treasure. So thither they let him down fast bound, and with an Engine laid an heavy stone upon the mouth of the Vault. There he had not stayed long, ere his enemies had concluded his present death. The Hangman of the City was let down unto him with a cup of poyson, which *Philopœmen* took in his hand: and asking no more than whether the Horse-men were escaped, and particularly whether *Lycortas* was safe; when he heard an answer to his mind, he said it was well: and so with a chearful countenance, drank his last draught. He was seventy years old, and weakned with long sickness, whereby the poyson wrought the sooner, and easily took away his life. The *Achæans*, when they missed him in

in their flight, were marvellously offended with themselves, for that they had been more mindful to preserve their own lives, than to look unto the safety of so excellent a Commander. Whilest they were devising what to do in such a case: they got advertisement of his being taken. All *Achaia* was by this report vehemently afflicted: so as Embassadours were forthwith dispatched unto *Messene*, craving his enlargement: and yet preparation made withall, to obtain it by force, in case that fair means would not serve. *Lycortas* was chosen General of the Army against *Messene*: who coming thither, and laying siege to the Town, enforced it in short space to yeeld. Then *Dinocrates* knowing what he was to expect, laid hands upon himself, and made an end of his own life. The rest of those that had been partakers in the murder, were compelled to wait in bonds upon the ashes of *Philopœmen* that were carryed home in solemn pomp to *Megalopolis*; where they were all of them slain at his funeral, as sacrifices to his Ghost whom they had offended. *Q. Martius*, a *Roman* Embassadour, was then in *Greece*; whence, upon one occasion or other, the *Roman* Embassadours were seldome absent. He would have intermedled in this business of *Messene*, had not *Lycortas* made short work, and left him nothing to do.

About the same time was *T. Quintius Flaminius* sent Embassadour to *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*: not so much to withdraw him from prosecuting the war against *Eumenes*, as to entreat him that he would deliver *Hannibal*, the most spightful enemy in all the world unto the Senate and People of *Rome*, into his hands. *Prusias* (therein unworthy of the Crown he wore) did readily condescend: or rather (as *Livie* thinks) to gratifie the *Romans*, he determined either to kill *Hannibal*, or to deliver him alive to *Flaminius*. For upon the first conference between the King and *Flaminius*, a troop of souldiers were directed to guard and environ the lodging where *Hannibal* lay. That famous Captain having found cause before this to suspect the faith of *Prusias*, had devised some secret sallies under ground to save himself from any treasonable and sudden assault. But finding now that all parts about him were fore-closed, he had recourse to his last remedy: which he then was constrained to practise, as well to frustrate his enemies of their triumphing over him, as to save himself from their torture and mercilesse hands; who, as he well knew, would neither respect his famous enterprizes, his honour, nor his age. When therefore he saw no way to escape, nor counsel to resort unto, he took the poison into his hand, which he alwayes preserved for a sure Antidote against the sharpest diseases of adverse fortune; which being ready to swallow down, he uttered these words: *I will now* (said he) *deliver the* Romans *of that fear which hath so many years possest them; that fear, which makes them impatient to attend the death of an old man. This victory of* Flaminius, *over me, which am disarmed, and betrayed into his hands, shall never be numbred among the rest of his heroical deeds: No, it shall make it manifest to all the Nations of the world, how far the ancient* Roman *virtue is degenerate and corrupted. For such was the nobleness of their forefathers, as when* Pyrrhus *invaded them in* Italy, *and was ready to give them battel at their own door, they gave him knowledge of the treason intended against him by poyson; whereas these of a latter race, have employed* Flaminius, *a man who hath heretofore been one of their Consuls, to practise with* Prusias, *contrary to the honour of a King, contrary to his Faith given, and contrary to the Laws of Hospitality, to slaughter or deliver up his own Guest.* He then cursing the person of *Prusias*, *and all his, and desiring the immortal gods to revenge his fidelity*, drank off the poyson, and dyed.

In this year also (as good Authors have reported) to accompany *Philopœmen* and *Hannibal*, died *Scipio* the *African*; these being all of them, as great Captains as ever the world had; but not more famous than unfortunate. Certainly, for *Hannibal*, whose Tragedy we have now finished, had he been Prince of the *Carthaginians*, and one who by his authority might have commanded such supplies, as the War which he undertook, required; it is probable, that he had torn up the *Roman* Empire by the roots. But he was so strongly croft by a cowardly and envious Faction at home, as his proper virtue, wanting publick force to sustain it, did lastly dissolve it self in his own, and in the common misery of his Country and Common-weal.

Hence it comes, to wit, from the envy of our equals, and jealousie of our Masters, be they Kings or Common-weals, that there is no profession more unprosperous than that of men of war, and great Captains, being no Kings. For besides the envy and jealousie of men, the spoils, rapes, famine, slaughter of the innocent, vastation and burnings, with a world of miseries laid on the labouring man, are so hateful to God, as with good reason did *Monluc* the Marshal of *France* confess, That, *were not the mercies of* God *infinite, and without restriction, it were*



*were in vain for those of his profession to hope for any portion of them: seeing the cruelties, by them permitted and committed, were also infinite.* Howsoever, this is true, That the victories which are obtained by many of the greatest Commanders, are commonly either ascribed to those that serve under them, to Fortune, or the cowardise of the Nation against whom them serve. For the most of others, whose virtues have raised them above the level of their inferiours, and have surmounted their envy: yet have they been rewarded in the end, either with disgrace, banishment, or death. Among the *Romans* we find many examples hereof; as *Coriolanus*, *M. Livius*, *L. Æmilius*, and this our *Scipio*, whom we have lately buried. Among the *Greeks* we read of not many that escaped these rewards. Yea long before these times, it was a Legacy that *David* bequeathed unto his victorious Captain *Joab*. With this fear *Alexander* feasted *Permenio*, *Philotas*, and others; and prepared it for *Antipater* and *Cassander*. Hereunto *Valentinian* the Emperour invited *Ætius*: who, after many other victories, overthrew *Attelia* of the *Hunnes*, in the greatest battel for the well fighting and resolution of both Armies, that ever was strucken in the world; for there fell of those that fought, beside run-awayes, an hundred and fourscore thousand. Hereupon it was well and boldly told unto the Emperour by *Proximus*, That in killing of *Ætius*, he had cut off his own right hand with his left: for it was not long after, that *Maximus* (by whose perswasion *Valentinian* slew *Ætius*) murdered the Emperour; which he never durst attempt, *Ætius* living. And, besides the loss of that Emperour, it is true, That with *Ætius*, the glory of the Western Empire was rather dissolved, than obscured. The same unworthy destiny, or a far worse, had *Bellisarius*; whose undertakings and victories were so difficult and glorious, as after-ages suspected them for fabulous. For he had his eyes torn out of his head by *Justinian*: and he died a blind beggar. *Narses* also, to the great prejudice of Christian Religion, was disgraced by *Justin*. That rule of *Cato* against *Scipio*, hath been well observed in every age since then, to wit, That the Common-weal cannot be accounted free, which standeth in awe of any one man. And hence have the *Turks* drawn another Principle, and indeed, a *Turkish* one, That every warlike Prince should rather destroy his greatest men of war, than suffer his own glory to be obscured by them. For this cause did *Bajazet* the second dispatch *Bassa Acomat*; *Selim*, strangle *Bassa Mustapha*; and most of those Princes bring to ruine the most of their *Visiers*. Of the *Spanish* Nation, the great *Gonsalvo*, who drave the *French* out of *Naples*: and *Ferdinando Cortese*, who conquered *Mexico*; were crowned with Nettles, not with Lawrel. The Earls of *Egmond* and *Horn* had no heads left them to wear Garlands on. And that the great Captains of all Nations have been paid with this Copper Coin; there are examples more than too many. On the contrary, it may be said, That many have acquired the State of Princes, Kings, and Emperours, by their great ability in matter of War. This I confess. Yet must it be had withall in consideration, that these high places have been given or offered unto very few, as rewards of their military virtue; though many have usurped them, by the help and favour of those Armies which they commanded. Neither is it unregardable, That the Tyrants, which have oppressed the liberty of free Cities: and the Lieutenants of Kings or Emperours, which have traiterously cast down their Masters, and stepped up into their seats; were not all of them good men of war: but have used the advantage of some commotion, or many of them by base and cowardly practices, have obtained those dignities, which undeservedly were ascribed to their personal worth. So that the number of those that have purchased absolute greatness by the greatness of their warlike virtue; is far more in seeming than in deed. *Phocas* was a Souldier, and by the help of the Souldiers he got the Empire from his Lord *Mauritius*: but he was a coward; and, with a barbarous cruelty, seldom found in any other than cowards, he slew first the children of *Mauritius*, a Prince that never had done him wrong, before his face; and after them *Mauritius* himself. This his bloody aspiring was but as a debt, which was paid unto him again by *Heraclius*: who took from him the Imperial Crown, unjustly gotten; and set it on his own head. *Leontius* laid hold upon the Emperour *Justine*, cut off his Nose and Ears, and sent him into banishment: but Gods vengeance rewarded him with the same punishment, by the hands of *Tiberius*; to whose charge he had left his own men of war. *Justine* having recovered forces, lighted on *Tiberius*, and barbed him after the same fashion. *Philippicus* commanding the forces of *Justine*, murdered both the Emperour and his Son. *Anastasius*, the vassal of this new Tyrant, surprised his Master *Philippicus*, and thrust out both his eyes. But with *Anastasius*, *Theodosius* dealt more gently: for having wrested the Sceptre out

of his hands, he enforced him to become a Priest. It were an endless and a needless work to tell, how *Leo* rewarded this *Theodosius*, how many others have been repaid with their own cruelty, by men alike ambitious and cruel; or how many hundreds, or rather thousands, hoping of Captains to make themselves Kings, have by Gods justice miserably perished in the attempt. The ordinary, and perhaps the best way of thriving by the practice of Arms, is to take what may be gotten by the spoil of Enemies, and the liberality of those Princes and Cities, in whose service one hath well deserved. But scarce one of a thousand have prospered by this course. For that observation, made by *Salomon*, of unthankfulness in this kind, hath been found belonging to all Countries and Ages: *A little City, and a few men in it, and a great King came against it, and compassed it about, and builded Forts against it: And there was found a poor and wise man therein, and he delivered the City by his wisdom: but none remembred this poor man.* Great Monarchs are unwilling to pay great thanks, lest thereby they should acknowledge themselves to have been indebted for great benefits: which the unwiser sort of them think to savour of some impotency in themselves. But in this respect they are often times couzened and abused; which proves that weakness to be in them indeed, whereof they so gladly shun the opinion. Contrariwise, free Estates are bountiful in giving thanks, yet so, as those thanks are not of long endurance. But concerning other profit which their Captains have made, by enriching themselves with the spoyl of the Enemy, they are very inquisitive to search into it; and to strip the well-deservers out of their gettings: yea most injuriously to rob them of their own, upon a false supposition; that even they whose hands are most clean from such offences, have purloyned somewhat from the common Treasury. Hereof I need not to produce examples: that of the two *Scipio's* being so lately recited.

Eccles. 9. 14. & 15.

In my late Soveraigns time, although for the wars, which, for her own safety, she was constrained to undertake, her Majesty had no less cause to use the service of Martial men both by Sea and Land, than any of her Predecessors for many years had: yet according to the destiny of that profession, I do not remember that any of hers, the Lord Admiral excepted, her eldest, and most prosperous Commander, were either enriched, or otherwise honoured, for any service by them performed. And, that her Majesty had many advised, valiant, and faithful men, the prosperity of her affairs did well witness, who in all her dayes never received dishonour by the cowardise or infidelity of any Commander, by her self chosen and imployed.

For as all her old Captains by Land died poor men, as *Malbey, Randol, Drewry, Reade, Wilford, Layton, Pellam, Gilbert, Constable, Bourchier, Barkeley, Bingham*, and others: so those of a later and more dangerous imployment, whereof *Norrice* and *Vere* were the most famous, and who have done as great honour to our Nation (for the means they had) as ever any did; those (I say) with many other brave Colonels, have left behind them (besides the reputation which they purchased with many travels and wounds) nor title nor estate to their posterity. As for the L. *Thomas Burrough*, and *Peregrine Berty* L. *Willoughby* of *Ersby*, two very worthy and exceeding valiant Commanders, they brought with them into the world their Titles and Estates.

That her Majesty in the advancement of her Men of War did sooner believe other men than her self, a disease unto which many wise Princes, besides her self, have been subject; I say, that such a confidence, although it may seem altogether to excuse her Noble Nature, yet can it not but in some sort accuse her of weakness. And exceeding strange it were, were not the cause manifest enough, that where the prosperous actions are so exceedingly prized, the Actors are so unprosperous and so generally neglected. The cause, I say, which hath wrought one and the same effect in all times, and among all Nations, is this, that those which are neerest the person of Princes (which Martial-men seldom are) can with no good grace commend, or at least magnifie a profession far more noble than their own, seeing therein they should only mind their Masters of the wrong they did unto others, in giving less honour and reward to men of far greater deserving, and of far greater use than themselves.

But his Majesty hath already paid the greatest part of that debt. For besides the relieving by Pensions all the poorer sort, he hath honoured more Martial men than all the Kings of *England* have done for this hundred years.

He hath given a Coronet to the L. *Thomas Howard* for his chargeable and remarkable service, as well in the year 1588. as at *Calice*, the Islands, and in our own Sea; having first commanded as a Captain, twice Admiral of a Squadron, and twice Admiral in Chief. His Majesty hath changed the Baronies of *Montjoy* & *Burley* into Earldoms; and created *Sidney* Vicount, *Knolles, Russel, Carew, Danvers, Arundel* of Warder, *Gerald*, and *Chichester*, Barons, for their governments and services in the *Netherlands*, *France*, *Ireland*, & elsewhere.



## §. III.

Philip, *making provision for war against the Romans, deals hardly with many of his own subjects. His negotiation with the Bastarnæ. His cruelty. He suspecteth his Son* Demetrius. Demetrius *accused by his brother* Perseus; *and shortly after slain by his fathers appointment.* Philip *repenteth him of his sons death, whom he findeth to have been innocent: and intending to revenge it on* Perseus, *he dieth.*

QVintius Martius the *Roman* Embassador, who travelled up and down, seeking what work might be found about *Greece*, had received instruction from the Senate, to use the utmost of his diligence in looking into the Estate of *Macedon*. At his return home, that he might not seem to have discovered nothing, he told the *Fathers*, That *Philip* had done whatsoever they enjoyned him: yet so, as it might appear, that such his obedience would last no longer, than meer necessity should enforce him thereunto. He added further, That all the doings and sayings of that King, did wholly tend unto rebellion, about which he was devising. Now it was so indeed, that *Philip* much repented him of his faithful obsequiousness to the *Romans*, and foresaw their intent, which was, to get his Kingdom into their own hands; which safety of their honour, if they could find convenient means; or otherwise (as to him seemed apparent) by what means soever. He was in an ill case: as having been already vanquished by them; having lost exceedingly both in strength and reputation; having subjects that abhorred to hear of War with *Rome*; and having neither neighbour nor friend, that, if he were thereto urged, would adventure to take his part: yet he provided as well as he could devise, against the necessity which he daily feared. Such of his own people as dwelt in the maritime Towns, and gave him cause to suspect that they would do but bad service against the *Romans*, he compelled to forsake their dwellings, and removed them all into *Emathia*. The Cities and Country, whence these were transplanted, he filled with a multitude of *Thracians*, whose faith he thought a great deal more assured against those enemies that were terrible to the *Macedonians*. Further, he devised upon alluring the *Bastarnæ*, a strong and hardy Nation, that dwelt beyond the River of *Danubius*, to abandon their seat, and come to him with all their multitude: who, besides other great rewards, would help them to root out the *Dardanians*, and take possession of their Country. These were like to do him notable service against the *Romans*; being not only stout fighting men, but such, as being planted in those quarters by him, would bear respect unto him alone. The least benefit that could be hoped by their arrival, must be the utter extirpation of the *Dardanians*; a people alwayes troublesome to the Kingdom of *Macedon*, whensoever they found advantage. Neither was it judged any hard matter, to perswade those *Bastarnæ*, by hope of spoil, and other incitements, unto a more desperate Expedition, through *Illyria*, and the Countries upon the *Adriatick* Sea, into *Italy* it self. It was not known who should withstand them upon the way: rather it was thought, that the *Scordisci*, and peradventure some others through whose Country they were to pass, would accompany them against the *Romans*, were it only in hope of spoil. Now to facilitate the remove of these *Bastarnæ* from their own habitations, into the Land of the *Dardanians*, upon the border of *Macedon*; a long and tedious journey unto them, that carried with them their wives and children: *Philip* with gifts did purchase the good will of some *Thracian* Princes, Lords of the Countries through which they were to pass. And thus he sought means to strengthen himself with the help of the wild Nations, which neither knew the *Romans*, nor were known unto them; since he was not like to find assistance from any civil Nation, about the whole compass of the *Mediterranean* Seas. But these devises were long ere they took effect: so as the *Bastarnæ* came not before such time as he was dead; his death being the overthrow of that purpose. In the mean time he neglected not the training of his men to war, and the exercise of them in some small Expedition against those wilde people that bordered upon him, and stood worst affected toward him.

But these his counsels and proceedings were miserably disturbed by the calamities that fell upon him, both in his Kingdom, and in his own house. The Families and whole Townships, which he had caused much against their wills to forsake their ancient dwellings, and betake themselves to such new habitations, as he in his discretion thought meeter for them, were vehemently offended at the change. Yet their anger at first contained it self within words: he having

ving done them no great wrong in that alteration, otherwise than by neglecting their affection to the places wherein they had long lived: which also he did unwillingly, being himself over-ruled by necessity, that seemed apparent. This evil therefore would soon have been determined, had not his cruel and vindicative nature made it worse. He could not pardon words proceeding from just sorrow: but imputed all to traiterous malice; and accordingly sought revenge where it was needless. In his rage he caused many to dye: among whom were some eminent men; and few or none of them deservedly. This increased the hatred of the people, and turned their former exclamations into bitter curses. Which grew the more general, when the King in a barbarous and base fury, mistrusting all alike whom he had injured, thought himself unlike to be safe, until he should have massacred all the children of those Parents, whom tyrannically he had put to death. In the execution of this his unmanly pleasure, some accidents, more tragical than perhaps he could have desired, gave men cause to think (as they could not in reason think otherwise) that, not without vengeance poured on him from Heaven, he felt the like misery in his own children. It is hard to say what the *Romans* intended, in the extraordinary favour which they shewed unto *Demetrius*, the Kings younger Son. It may well be (though it may be also suspected) that they had no purpose to make and nourish dissention between the brethren, but only to cherish the vertue and towardliness of *Demetrius*; like as we find it in their Histories. But their notable favour towards this young Prince, and his mutual respect of them, bred extreme jealousie in the Fathers head. If any custom of the *Romans*, the manner of their life, the fashion of their apparel, or the unsightly contriving and building (as then it was) of the Town of *Rome*, were jested at in ordinary discourse and table-talk; *Demetrius* was sure to be presently on fire, defending and praising them, even in such points as rather needed excuse. This, and his daily conversation with their Embassadours as often as they came, gave his Father cause to think, that he was no fit partaker of any counsel held against them. Wherefore he communicated all his devices with his elder Son *Perseus*: who fearing so much left his brother should step between him and the succession, converted wholly unto his destruction, that grace which he had with his Father. *Perseus* was then thirty years old; of a stirring spirit, though much defective in valour. *Demetrius* was younger by five years, more open and unwary in his actions, yet thought old and crafty enough, to entertain more dangerous practices than his free speeches discovered. The jealous head of the King having entertained such suspitions, that were much increased by the cunning practice of his elder Son, a slight occasion made the fire break out, that had long lain smothered. A Muster and ceremonious lustration of the Army, was wont to be made at certain times with great solemnity. The manner of it at the present was thus. They cleft in twain a Bitch; and threw the head and forepart, with the entrails, on the right hand, and the hinder part on the left hand of the way which the Army was to pass. This done, the Arms of all the Kings of *Macedon*, from the very first original, were born before the Army. Then followed the King between his two Sons: after him came his own band, and they of his Guard; whom all the rest of the *Macedonians* followed. Having performed other ceremonies, that Army was divided into two parts: which under the Kings two Sons, charged each other in manner of a true fight; using poles, and the like, in stead of their pikes and accustomed weapons. But in this present skirmish there appeared some extraordinary contention for the victory: whether happening by chance, or whether the two Captains did overcarnestly seek each to get the upper hand, as a betokening of their good success in a greater trial. Some small hurt there was done, and wounds given, even with those stakes, until *Perseus* his side at length recoyled. *Perseus* himself was sorry for this, as it had been some bad presage: but his friends were glad, and thought, that hereof might be made good use. They were of the craftier sort: who, perceiving which way the Kings favour bent, and how all the courses of *Demetrius* led unto his own ruine, addressed their services to the more malicious and crafty head. And now they said, that this victory of *Demetrius* would afford matter of complaint against him; as if the heat of his ambition had carryed him beyond the rules of that solemn pastime. Each of the brethren was that day to feast his own companions, and each of them had spies in the others lodging, to observe what was said and done. One of *Perseus* his Intelligencers behaved himself so indiscreetly, that he was taken and well beaten by three or four of *Demetrius* his men, who turned him out of doors. After some store of wine, *Demetrius* told his companions, that he would go visit his brother, and see what chear he kept.



kept. They agreed to his motion, excepting such of them as had ill handled his brothers man: yet he would leave none of his train behind, but forced them all to bear him company. They, fearing to be ill rewarded for their late diligence, armed themselves secretly to prevent all danger. Yet was there such good espial kept, that this their coming armed was forthwith made known to *Perseus*: who thereupon tumultuously locked up his doors, as if he stood in fear to be assaulted in his house. *Demetrius* wondred to see himself excluded, and fared very angerly with his brother. But *Perseus* bidding him be gone as an enemy, and one whose murdrous purpose was detected, sent him away with an entertainment no better than defiance. The next day the matter was brought before the King. The elder brother accused the younger unto the Father of them both. Much there was alledged, and, in effect, the same that hath been here recited, save that by misconstruction all was made worse. But the main point of the accusation, and which did aggravate all the rest, was, That *Demetrius* had undertaken this murder, and would perhaps also dare to undertake a greater, upon confidence of the *Romans*; by whom he knew that he should be defended and born out. For *Perseus* made shew, as if the *Romans* did hate him; because he bore a due respect unto his Father, and was sorry to see him spoiled, and daily robbed of somewhat by them. And for this cause he said it was, that they did animate his brother against him: as also that they sought how to win unto *Demetrius* the love of the *Macedonians*. For proof hereof he cited a Letter, sent of late from *Titus Quintius* to the King himself: whereof the contents were, That he had done wisely in sending *Demetrius* to *Rome*; and that he should yet further do well to send him thither again, accompanied with a greater and more honourable train of *Macedonian* Lords. Hence he enforced, That this counsel was given by *Titus*, of purpose to shake the allegiance of those, that should wait upon his brother to *Rome*; and make them, forgetting their duties to their old King, become servants to this young Traitor *Demetrius*. Hereto *Demetrius* made answer, by rehearsing all passages of the day and night foregoing, in such manner as he remembred them, and had conceived of them: bitterly reprehending *Perseus*, that converted matters of pastime, and what was done or spoken in wine, to such an accusation, whereby he sought his innocent brothers death. As for the love which the *Romans* did bear him, he said that it grew, if not by his own virtue, at least wise from their opinion thereof: so as by any impious practice, he were more like to lose it wholly, than to increase it. In this wretched pleading there wanted no such passions, as are incident to fathers, children, and brethren, besides those that are common to all Plaintiffs and Defendants, before ordinary Judges. The King pronounced like a Father, though a jealous Father, That he would conclude nothing upon the excess or errour, whatsoever it were, of one day and night, nor upon one hours audience of the matter, but upon better observation of their lives, manners, and whole carriage of themselves both in word and deed. And herein he may seem to have dealt both justly and compassionately. But from this time forward he gave himself over wholly to *Perseus*: using so little conference with his younger Son, that when he had matters of weight in hand, such especially as concerned the *Romans*, he liked neither to have him present, nor near unto him. Above all, he had especial care to learn out what had passed between *Demetrius* and *T. Quintius*, or any other of the *Roman* great ones. And to this purpose he sent Embassadours to *Rome*, *Philocles* and *Apelles*; men whom he thought no way interessed in the quarrels between the brethren, though indeed they altogether depended on the elder, whom they saw the more in grace. These brought home with them a Letter, said to be written by *Titus* (whose seal they had counterfeited) unto the King. The contents whereof were, A deprecation for the young Prince; with an intimation, as by way of granting it, That his youthful and ambitious desires had caused him to enter into practices unjustifiable, against his elder brother, which yet should never take effect: for that *Titus* himself would not be author, or abettor of any impious device. This manner of excuse did forcibly perswade the King to think his Son a dangerous Traitor. To strengthen him in this opinion, one *Didas*, to whom he gave *Demetrius* in custody, made shew as if he had pitied the estate of the unhappy Prince, and so wrung out of him his secret intentions, which he shortly discovered unto *Philip*. It was the purpose of *Demetrius* to fly secretly to *Rome*; where he might hope not only to live in safety, from his father and brother, but in greater likelihood, than he could find at home, of bettering such claim as he had in reversion unto the Crown of *Macedon*. Whatsoever his hopes and meanings were, all came to nought through the falsihood of *Didas*; who, playing on both hands, offered unto the Prince his help for making the escape, and in the mean while

while revealed the whole matter to the King. So *Philip* resolved to put his Son to death, without further expence of time. It was thought behoveful to make him away privily, for fear left the *Romans* should take the matter to heart, and hold it as a proof sufficient, at least, of the Kings despight against them, if not of his meaning to renew the war. *Didas* therefore was commanded to rid the unhappy Prince out of his life. This accursed minister of his Kings unadvised sentence, first gave poyson to *Demetrius*: which wrought neither so hastily, nor so secretly, as was desired. Hereupon he sent a couple of Ruffians, to finish the tragedy: who villainously accomplished their work, by smothering that Prince, in whose life consisted the greatest hope of *Macedon*.

In all the race of *Antigonus* there had not been found a King, that had thus cruelly dealt with any Prince of his own blood. The houses of *Lysimachus* and *Cassander* fell either with themselves, or even upon their heels; by intestine discord and jealousies, grounded on desire of soveraign rule, or fear of losing it. By the like unnatural hatred, had almost been cut off the lines of *Ptolomy* and of *Seleucus*: which, though narrowly they escaped the danger, yet were their Kingdoms thereby grievously distempered. Contrariwise, it was worthy of extraordinary note, how that upstart-family of the Kings of *Pergamus* had raised it self to marvellous greatness, in very short space, from the condition of meer slavery: whereof a principal cause was, the brotherly love maintained by them, with singular commendation of their piety. Neither was *Philip* ignorant of these examples; but is said to have propounded the last of them to his own children, as a pattern for them to imitate. Certainly he had reason so to do: not more in regard of the benefit which his enemies reaped by their concord, than in remembrance of the tender fosterage, wherewith King *Antigonus* his Tutor had faithfully cherished him in his minority. But he was himself of an unmerciful nature; and therefore unmeet to be a good perswader unto kindly affection. The murders by him done upon many of his friends, together with the barbarous outrages, which for the satiating of his blood-thirsty appetite, he delightfully had committed upon many innocents, both strangers and subjects of his own; did now procure vengeance down from Heaven, that rewarded him with a draught of his own poyson. After the death of his Son, he too late began to examine the crimes that had been objected; and to weigh them in a more equal ballance. Then found he nothing that could give him satisfaction, or by good probability induce him to think, that malice had not been contriver of the whole process. His only remaining Son *Perseus* could so ill dissemble the pleasure which he took in being freed from all danger of competition: as there might easily be perceived in him a notable change, proceeding from some other cause, than the remove of those dangers which he had lately pretended. The *Romans* were now no less to be feared than at other times; when he, as having accomplished the most of his desires, left off his usual trouble of mind, and carefulness of making provision against them. He was more diligently courted, than in former times, by those that well understood the difference between a rising and a setting Sun. As for old *Philip*, he was left in a manner desolate, some expecting his death, and some scarce enduring the tediousness of such expectation. This bred in the King a deep melancholy; and filled his head with suspitious imagination; the like whereof he had never been slow to apprehend. He was much vexed: and so much the more, for that he knew neither well to whom, nor perfectly whereof to complain. One honourable man, a Couzen of his, named *Antigonus*, continued so true to *Philip*, that he grew thereby hateful to *Perseus*: and thus becoming subject unto the same jealous impressions which troubled the King, became also partaker of his secrets. This Counsellor, when he found that the anger conceived against *Perseus* would not vent it self, and give ease to the King, until the truth were known whether *Demetrius* were guilty or no of the treason objected; as also that *Philocles* and *Apelles* (the Embassadours which had brought from *Rome* that Epistle of *Flaminius*, that served as the greatest evidence against *Demetrius*) were suspected of forgery in the business: made diligent enquiry after the truth. In thus doing he found one *Xychus*, a man most likely to have understood what false dealing was used by those Embassadors. Him he apprehended, brought to the Court, and presented unto the King; saying, that this fellow knew all, and must therefore be made to utter what he knew. *Xychus* for fear of torture, uttered as much as was before suspected: confessing against himself, that he had been employed by the Embassadours in that wicked piece of business. No marvel if the Fathers passions were extreme, when he understood that by the unnatural practice of one Son, he had so wretchedly cast away another, far more virtuous and innocent.



innocent. He raged exceedingly against himself, and withall against the Authors of the mischief. Upon the first news of this discovery, *Apelles* fled away, and got into *Italy*; *Philocles* was taken: and either for as much as he could not deny it when *Xychus* confronted him, yielded himself guilty; or else was put to torture. *Perseus* was now grown stronger, than that he should need to fly the Country: yet not so stout as to adventure himself into his fathers presence. He kept on the borders of the Kingdom towards *Thrace*, whilst his father wintred at *Demetrias*. *Philip* therefore, not hoping to get into his power this his ungracious son, took a resolution, to aliene the Kingdom from him, and confer it upon *Antigonus*. But his weak body, and excessive grief of mind, so disabled him in the travel thereto belonging, that ere he could bring his purpose to effect, he was constrained to yield to nature. He had reigned about two and forty years: always full of trouble; as vexed by others, and vexing himself with continual wars; of which that with the *Romans* was most unhappy, and few or none of the rest found the conclusion, which a wise Prince would have desired, of bringing forth together both honour and profit. But for all the evil that befell him, he might thank his own perverse condition: since his Uncle, King *Antigonus*, had left unto him an estate, so great, and so well settled, as made it easie for him, to accomplish any moderate desires, if he had not abhorred all good counsel. Wherefore he was justly punished by feeling the difference between the imaginary happiness of a Tyrant, which he affected, and the life of a King, whereof he little cared to perform the duty. His death, even whilst yet it was only drawing near, was fore-signified unto *Perseus*, by *Caligenes* the Physician, who also concealed it a while from those that were about the Court. So *Perseus* came thither on the sudden, and took possession of the Kingdom: which in fine he no less improvidently lost, than he had wickedly gotten.

## §. IV.

*How the* Bastarnæ *fell upon* Dardania. *The behaviour of* Perseus *in the beginning of his reign. Some wars of the* Romans: *and how they suffered* Masanissa *cruelly to oppress the* Carthaginians. *They quarrelled with* Perseus. *They allow not their Confederates to make war without their leave obtained. The Treason of* Callicrates, *whereby all* Greece *became more obnoxious to* Rome, *than in former times. Further quarrels to* Perseus. *He seeks friendship of the* Achæans, *and is withstood by* Callicrates. *The* Romans *discover their intent of warring upon him.*

IMmediately upon the death of *Philip*, came the *Bastarnæ* into *Thrace*; where order had been taken, long before, both for the free passage, and for the indempnity of the Country. This Compact was friendly observed, as long as no other was known than that *Philip* did live to recompence all that should be done, or sustained, for his service. But when it was heard, that a new King reigned in *Macedon*; and not heard withal, that he took any care what became of the enterprize: then was all dasht and confounded. The *Thracians* would no longer afford so good markets unto these strangers, as formerly they had done. On the other side, the *Bastarnæ* would not be contented with reason, but became their own carvers. Thus each part having lost their rich hopes reposed in *Philip*, grew careful of thriving in the present; with little regard of right or wrong. Within a while they fell to blows; and the *Bastarnæ* had the upper hand, so as they chased the *Thracians* out of the plain Countrys. But the victors made little use of their good fortune. For whether by reason of some overthrow, received by them in assaulting a place of strength; or whether because of extream bad weather, which is said to have afflicted them as it were miraculously: all of them returned home, save thirty thousand, which pierced on into *Dardania*. How these thirty thousand sped in their voyage, I do not find. It seems that by the careless using of some victories, they drew loss upon themselves: and finally took that occasion, to follow their companions back into their own Country.

As for *Perseus*, he thought it not expedient, in the novelty of his reign, to embroil himself in a war so dangerous, as that with the *Romans* was likely to prove. Wherefore he wholly gave his mind to the setling of his Estate, which well done, he might afterwards accommodate himself, as the condition of his affairs should require, either for war or peace. To prevent all danger of rebellion, he quickly took away the life of *Antigonus*. To win love of his people, he fare personally to hear their causes in judgement, (though herein he was so over-diligent and curious, that one might have perceived this his vertue of justice to be no better than fained) as also he gratified them with many delightful spectacles, magnificently by him

set forth. Above all he had care to avoid all neceſſity of war with *Rome*: and therefore made it his firſt work, to ſend Embaſſadors thither, to renew the league; which he obtained, and was by the Senate ſaluted King, and friend unto the State. Neither was he negligent in ſeeking to purchaſe good will of the *Greeks*, and other his neighbours: but was rather herein ſo exceſſively bountiful, that it may ſeem a wonder how in few years, to his utter ruine, he became ſo griping and tenacious. His fear was indeed the maſtring paſſion, which over-ruled him, and changed him into ſo many ſhapes, as made it hard to diſcern which of his other qualities were naturally his own. For proof of this, there is requiſite no more, than the relation of his actions paſt and following.

The *Romans* continued, as they had long, buſie in wars againſt the *Spaniards* and *Ligurians*; people often vanquiſhed, and as often breaking forth into new rebellion. They alſo conquered *Iſtria*; ſubdued the rebelling *Sardinians*; and had ſome quarrels, though to little effect, with the *Illyrians* and others. Over the *Carthaginians* they bore (as ever ſince the victory) a heavy hand: and ſuffered *Maſaniſſa* to take from them what he lifted. The *Carthaginians*, like obedient Vaſſals to *Rome*, were afraid, though in defence of their own, to take arms: from which they were bound by an Article of peace, except it were with leave of the *Romans*. *Maſaniſſa* therefore had great advantage over them, and was not ignorant how to uſe it. He could get poſſeſſion by force, of whatſoever he deſired, ere their complaining Embaſſadors could be at *Rome*: and then were the *Romans* not hardly entreated to leave things as they found them.

So had he once dealt before, in taking from them the Country of *Emporia*: and ſo did he uſe them again and again; with pretence of title, where he had any; otherwiſe, without it. *Gala* the Father of *Maſaniſſa* had won ſome land from the *Carthaginians*; which afterward *Syphax* wan from *Gala*, and within a while, reſtored to the right owners, for love of his wife *Sophonisba*, and of *Aſdrubal* his father-in-law. This did *Maſaniſſa* take from them by force: and by the *Romans* (to whoſe judgement the caſe was referred) was permitted quietly to hold it. The *Carthaginians* had now good experience, how beneficial it was for their Eſtate, to uſe all manner of ſubmiſſive obedience to *Rome*. They had ſcarcely digeſted this injury, when *Maſaniſſa* came upon them again, and took from them above ſeventy Towns and Caſtles, without any colour of right. Hereof by their Embaſſadors, they made lamentable complaint unto the *Roman* Senate. They ſhewed how grievouſly they were oppreſſed by reaſon of two Articles in their League: That they ſhould not make war out of their own Lands; nor with any Confederates of the *Romans*. Now although it were ſo that they might lawfully withſtand the violence of *Maſaniſſa*, invading their Country, howſoever he was pleaſed to call it his: yet ſince he was Confederate with the *Romans*, they durſt not preſume to bear defenſive arms againſt him, but ſuffered themſelves to be eaten up, for fear of incurring the *Romans* indignation. Wherefore they intreated, that they might have fairer juſtice; or be ſuffered to defend their own by ſtrong hand; or at leaſt, if right muſt wholly give place to favour, That the *Romans* yet would be pleaſed to determine, how far forth *Maſaniſſa* ſhould be allowed to proceed in theſe outrages. If none of theſe petitions could be obtained, then deſired they, that the *Romans* would let them underſtand, wherein they had offended ſince the time that *Scipio* gave them peace; and vouchſafe to inflict on them ſuch puniſhment as they themſelves in honour ſhould think meet: for that better and more to their comfort it were, to ſuffer at once what ſhould be appointed by ſuch Judges; than continually to live in fear, and none otherwiſe draw breath, than at the mercy of this *Numidian* Hangman. And herewithal the Embaſſadors threw themſelves proſtrate on the ground, weeping; in hope to move compaſſion.

Here may we behold the fruits of their envy to that valiant houſe of the *Barchines*; of their irreſolution in proſecuting a war ſo important, as *Hannibal* made for them in *Italy*; and of their half-penny-worthing in matter of expence when they had adventured their whole eſtate in the purchaſe of a great Empire. Now are they ſervants, even to the ſervants of thoſe men, whoſe fathers they have often chaſed, ſlain, taken and ſold as bond-ſlaves in the ſtreets of *Carthage*, and in all Cities of *Africk* and *Greece*. Now have they enough of that *Roman* peace, which *Hanno* ſo often and ſo earneſtly deſired. Only they want peace with *Maſaniſſa*, once their mercenary, and now their maſter or rather their tormentor; out of whoſe cruel hands, they beſeech their maſters to take the office of correcting them. In ſuch caſe are they, and adore the *Romans*, whom they ſee flouriſhing in ſuch proſperity as might have been their own. But the *Romans* had far better entreated *Varro*, who loſt the battel at *Cannæ*; than *Hannibal* that



that wan it was uſed by the *Carthaginians*: they had freely beſtowed, every man of them, all his private riches upon the Common-wealth; and employed their labours for the publick, without craving recompence: as alſo they had not thought it much, though being in extream want, to ſet out an Army into *Spain*, at what time the enemy lay under their own walls. Theſe were no *Carthaginian* vertues: and therefore the *Carthaginians*, having fought againſt their betters, muſt patiently endure the miſeries belonging to the vanquiſhed. Their pitiful behaviour bred peradventure ſome commiſeration; yet their tears may ſeem to have been miſtruſted, as proceeding no leſs from envy to the *Romans*, than from any feeling of their own calamity. They thought themſelves able to fight with *Maſaniſſa*: which eſtimation of their forces was able to make them, after a little while, enter into compariſons with *Rome*. Wherefore they obtained not ſuch leave as they ſought, of defending their own right by arms: but contrariwiſe, when without leave obtained, they preſumed ſo far, the deſtruction of *Carthage* was thought an eaſie puniſhment of that offence. At the preſent, they received a gentle anſwer; though they had otherwiſe little amends. *Guluſſa* the ſon of *Maſaniſſa* was then in *Rome*, and had not as yet craved audience. He therefore was called before the Senate; where he was demanded the reaſon of his coming; and had related unto him the complaint made by the *Carthaginians* againſt his father. He anſwered, That his Father not being throughly aware of any Embaſſadors thither ſent from *Carthage*, had therfore not given him inſtructions, how to deal in that buſineſs. Only it was known, that the *Carthaginians* had held Councel divers nights, in the Temple of *Æſculapius*: whereupon he himſelf was diſpatched away to *Rome*, there to intreat the Senate, that theſe common enemies of the *Romans*, and of his Father, might not be overmuch truſted; eſpecially againſt his Father, whom they hated moſt maliciouſly, for his conſtant faith to the people of *Rome*. This anſwer gave little ſatisfaction. Wherefore the Senate replyed, that for *Maſaniſſa* his ſake, they had done, and would do, whatſoever was reaſonable; but that it ſtood not with their juſtice, to allow of this his violence, in taking from the *Carthaginians*, thoſe Lands, which by the covenants of the League were granted unto them freely to enjoy. With this mild rebuke they diſmiſſed *Guluſſa*; beſtowing on him friendly preſents (as alſo they did on the *Carthaginians*) and willed him to tell his Father, that he ſhould do well to ſend Embaſſadors, more fully inſtructed in this matter. This happened when the *Macedonian* war was even ready to begin: at which time the *Romans* were not willing too much to offend, either the *Carthaginians* (for fear of urging them unſeaſonably to rebellion) or *Maſaniſſa*, at whoſe hands they expected no little help. So were they aided both by the *Carthaginians*, and *Maſaniſſa*: by the *Carthaginians*, partly for fear, partly for hope of better uſage in the future; by *Maſaniſſa*, in way of thankfulneſs; though if it had happned (which was unlikely) that they ſhould be vanquiſhed; he made none other account, than that all *Africk* round about him, and *Carthage* therewithal, ſhould be his own.

In the midſt of all theſe cares, the *Romans* had not been unmindful of *Perſeus*. They viſited him daily with Embaſſadors; that is, with honourable ſpies to obſerve his behaviour. Theſe he entertained kindly at firſt, until (which fell out ere long) he perceived whereto their diligence tended. Firſt they quarrelled with him about the troubles in *Dardania*: neither would they take any ſatisfaction, until the *Baſtarnæ* were thence gone; though he proteſted, that he had not ſent for them. Afterward they pried narrowly into his doings; and were no leſs ill contented with good offices, by him done, to ſundry of his neighbours, than with thoſe wrongs, which (they ſaid) he did unto other ſome. Where he did harm to any; they called it making war upon their friends. Where he did good; they called ſuch his bounty, ſeeking friends to take his part againſt them. The *Dolopians*, his ſubjects, (upon what occaſion it is uncertain) rebelled, and with exquiſite torments ſlew *Euphranor*, whom he had appointed their Governour. It ſeems that *Euphranor* had played the Tyrant among them. For they were a people without ſtrength to reſiſt the *Macedonian*: and therefore unlikely to have preſumed far, unleſs either they had been extreamly provoked; or elſe were ſecretly animated by the *Romans*. Whatſoever it was that bred this courage in them, *Perſeus* did ſoon allay it, and reclaim them by ſtrong hand. But the *Romans* took very angerly this preſumption of the King: even as if he had invaded ſome Country of their *Italian* Confederates, and not corrected his own rebels at home. Fain they would have had him to draw in the ſame yoke with the *Carthaginians*; whereunto had he humbled once his neck, they could themſelves have done the part of *Maſaniſſa*; though *Eumenes*, or ſome other fit for that purpoſe, had been wanting

wanting. And to this effect, they told him, That the Conditions of the League between them were such as made it unlawful both to his Father heretofore, and now to him, to take arms without their licence first obtained.

To the same pass they would also fain have reduced the *Greeks*, and generally all their adherents, even such as had entred into league with them upon equal terms: whom usually they rewarded with a frown, whensoever they presumed to right themselves by force of Arms, without seeking first the Oracle at *Rome*. Hereof the *Achæans* had good experience: whose confidence in their proper strength, made them otherwhiles bold to be their own carvers; and whose hope of extraordinary favour at *Rome* caused them the more willingly to refer their causes to arbitrement. For when they went about to have chastised the *Messenian* by war; *T. Quintius* rebuked them, as too arrogant, in taking such a work in hand, without his authority: yet by his authority he ended the matter, wholly to their good liking. Semblably at other times were they reprehended, even with Lordly threats, when they took upon them to carry any business of importance, by their own power, without standing unto the good grace of the *Romans*. Who nevertheless upon submission, were apt enough to do them right. Thus were they tamed by little and little, and taught to forget their absolute liberty, as by which they were not like to thrive; especially in usurping the practice of Arms, which belonged only to the Imperial City. In learning this hard lesson, they were such untoward Schollers, that they needed, and not long after felt, very sharp correction. Yet was there no smal part of blame to be imputed unto their Masters. For the *Roman* Senate, being desirous to humble the *Achæans*, refused not only to give them such aid as they requested, and as they challenged by the tenor of the League between them; but further, with a careless insolency, rejected this honest and reasonable petition, That the Enemy might not be supplied from *Italy*, with victuals or arms. Herewith not content, the Fathers, as wearied with dealing in the affairs of *Greece*, pronounced openly, That if the *Argives*, *Lacedæmonians*, or *Corinthians* would revolt from the *Achæans*; they themselves would think it a business no way concerning them.

*Polyb. Leg.* 51. & 53.

This was presently after the death of *Philopœmen*: at what time it was believed, that the Common-wealth of *Achaia* was like to fall into much distress: were it not upheld by countenance of the *Romans*. All this notwithstanding; when *Lycortas* Prætor of the *Achæans* had utterly subdued the *Messenians* far sooner than was expected; and when as not only no Town rebelled from the *Achæans*, but many entered into their Corporation; then did the *Romans* with an ill-favoured grace, tell the same Embassadors, to whose petition they had made such bad answer (and who as yet were not gone out of the City,) That they had straightly forbidden all manner of succour to be carried to *Messene*. Thus thinking, by a fained gravity, to have served their own turns, they manifested their condition; both to set on the weaker against the stronger and more suspected, and also to assume unto themselves a Soveraign power, in directing all matters of war, which dissemblingly they would have seemed to neglect. In like manner dealt they with all their Confederates: not permitting any of them to make war; whether offensive or defensive; though it were against meer strangers; without interposing the authority of the Senate and people of *Rome*: unless peradventure, sometimes they winked at such violence, as did help towards the accomplishment of their own secret malice. Now these *Roman* Arts, howsoever many (for gainful or timerous respects) would seem to understand them; yet were generally displeasing unto all men endued with free spirits. Only the *Athenians*, once the most turbulent City in *Greece*, having neither subjects of their own that might rebel, nor power wherewith to bring any into subjection; for want of more noble argument wherein to practise their eloquence that was become the whole remainder of their ancient commendations, were much delighted in flattering the most mighty. So they kept themselves in grace with the *Romans*, remaining free from all trouble, until the war of *Mithridates*: being men unfit for action, and thereby innocent; yet bearing a part in many great actions, as Gratulators of the *Roman* victories, and Pardon-cravers for the vanquished. Such were the *Athenians* become. As for those other Common-weals and Kingdoms, that with over-nice diligence, strove to preserve their Liberties and Lands from consuming by piece-meal: they were to be devoured whole, and swallowed up at once. Especially the *Macedonian*, as the most unpliant, and wherein many of the *Greeks* began to have affiance, was necessarily to be made an example, how much better it were to bow, than to break.

Neither *Perseus*, nor the *Romans* were ignorant,



norant, how the *Greeks* at this time stood affected. *Perseus*, by reason of his neer neighbourhood, and of the daily commerce between them and his subjects, could not want good information of all that might concern him, in their affairs. He well knew, that all of them now apprehended the danger which *Philopœmen* had long since foretold, of the miserable subjection, whereinto *Greece* was likely to be reduced, by the *Roman* Patronage. Indeed they not only perceived the approaching danger, but as being tenderly sensible of their liberty, felt themselves grieved with the present subjection, whereto already they were become obnoxious. Wherefore though none of them had the courage, in matters of the publick to fall out with the *Romans*; yet all of them had the care to choose among themselves none other Magistrates, than such as affected the good of their Country, & would for no ambition, or other servile respect, be flatterers of the greatness which kept all in fear. Thus it seemed likely, that all domestical conspiracies would soon be at an end; when honesty, and love of the Common-weal, became the fairest way to preferment. Of this careful provision for the safety of *Greece*, the *Romans* were not throughly advertised: either because things were diligently concealed from their Embassadors; whom all men knew to be little better then spies; or because little account was made of that intelligence, which was brought in by such Traitors (of whom every City in *Greece* had too many) as were men unregarded among their own people, and therefore more like to speak maliciously than truly; or perhaps because the Embassadors themselves, being all Senators, and capable of the greatest Office or charge, had no will to find out other matter of trouble, than was fitting to their own desires of employment. But it is hard to conceal that which many know, from those that are feared or flattered by many. The *Achæans* being to send Embassadors to *Rome*, that should both excuse them, as touching some point wherein they refused to obey the Senate; and inform the Senate better in the same business: chose one *Callicrates*, among others, to go in that Embassage. By their making choice of such a man, one may perceive the advantage, which mischievous wretches, who commonly are forward in pursuing their vile desires, have against the plain sort of honest men, that least earnestly thrust themselves into the troublesome business of the weal-publick. For this *Callicrates* was in such wise transported with ambition, that he chose much rather to betray his Country, than to let any other be of more authority than himself therein. Wherefore in stead of well discharging his credence, and alledging what was mecteſt in justification of his people, he uttered a quite contrary tale; and strongly encouraged the *Romans*, to oppress both the *Achæans*, and all the rest of *Greece*, with a far more heavy hand. He told the Senate, that it was high time for them, to look unto the setling of their authority, among his froward Countrimen: if they meant not wholly to forego it. For now there was taken up a custome, to stand upon points of confederacy, and laws: as if these were principally to be had in regard, any injunction from *Rome* notwithstanding.

Hence grew it, that the *Achæans*, both now, and at other times, did what best pleased themselves, and answered the *Romans* with excuses: as if it were enough to say, That by some condition of League, or by force of some Law, they were discharged or hindred from obeying the Decrees of the Senate. This would not be so, if he, and some other of his opinion might have their wills: who ceased not to affirm, That no Columns, or Monuments, erected, nor no solemn oath of the whole Nation, to ratifie the observance of Confederacy or Statute, ought to be of force, when the *Romans* willed the contrary. But it was even the fault of the *Romans* themselves, that the multitude refused to give ear unto such perswasions. For howsoever in popular Estates, the sound of liberty used to be more plausible, than any discourse tending against it: yet if they which undertook the maintenance of an argument, seeming never so bad, were sure by their so doing, to procure their own good; the number of them would increase apace, and they become the prevalent faction. It was therefore, strange how the *Fathers* could so neglect the advancement of those, that sought wholly to enlarge the amplitude of the *Roman* majesty. More wisely, though with seditious and rebellious purpose, did the *Greeks*; who many times, yea and ordinarily, conferred great honours, upon men otherwise of little account or desert, only for having uttered some brave words against the *Romans*. The *Fathers* hearing these and the like reasons, wherwith he exhorted them to handle roughly those that were obstinate, and by cherishing their friends, to make their party strong; resolved to follow this good counsel, in every point; yea to depress all those that held with the right, and to set up their own followers, were it by right or by wrong. And to this end, they not only dealt thenceforth more

*Pol. Leg.* 58.

more peremptorily with the *Achæans*, than had been their manner in former times; but wrote at the present unto all Cities of *Greece*, requiring them to see that their mandate (which was concerning the restitution of those that were banished out of *Lacedæmon*) should be fulfilled. Particularly in behalf of *Callicrates*, they advised all men to be such, and so affected, as he was, in their several common-weals. With this dispatch, *Callicrates* returned home a joyful man: having brought his Country into the way of ruine, but himself into the way of preferment. Nevertheless he forbore to vaunt himself of his eloquence used in the Senate. Only he so reported his Embassage, that all men became fearful of the danger, wherewith he threatned those that should presume to oppose the *Romans*. By such Arts he obtained to be made Prætor of the *Achæans*: in which Magistracy, as in all his courses following, he omitted nothing, that might serve to manifest his ready obsequiousness unto those whom he had made his Patrons.

Now, as the *Romans* by threatning terms won many flatterers, and lost as many true friends: so *Perseus* on the other side, thinking by liberal gifts, and hopeful promises, to assure unto himself those that ill could brook his enemies; got indeed a multitude of partakers, though little honester than his enemies had. Thus were all the Cities of *Greece* distracted with factions: some holding with the *Romans*, some with the *Macedonian*, and some few respecting only the good of the Estates wherein they lived. Hereat the Lords of the Senate were highly offended; and thought it an indignity not sufferable, That a King, no better than their Vassal, should dare to become head of a faction against them. This therefore must be reckoned in the number of his trespasses: whereof if not any one alone, yet all of them together, shall afford them just occasion to make War upon him. *Perseus* having finished his business among the *Dolopians*, made a journey to *Apollo* his Temple at *Delphi*. He took his Army along with him: yet went, and returned in such peaceable and friendly wise, that no place was the worse for his journey, but the good affection towards him generally increased thereby. With those that were in his way, he dealt himself; to such as lay further off, he sent Embassadours or Letters: praying them, That the memory of all wrongs whatsoever, done by his Father, might be buried with his Father; since his own meaning was to hold friendship sincerely with all his neighbours. The *Romans* perhaps could have been pleased better, if he had behaved himself after a contrary fashion, and done some acts of hostility in his passage. Yet, as if he ought not to have taken such a journey, without their licence; this also was made a valuable matter, and cast into the heap of his faults. He laboured greatly to recover the love of the *Achæans*: which his Father had so lost, that by a solemn decree, they forbade any *Macedonians* to enter their territories. It was jealousie perhaps, no less than hatred, which caused them, at the first, to make such a decree. For howsoever *Philip* had by many vile acts, especially by the death of the two *Arati*, given them cause to abhor him; yet in the publick administration of their estate, he had, for the more part, been to them so beneficial, that not without much ado, and at length, without any general consent, they resolve to forsake him. Wherefore it was needful, even for preservation of concord among them, to use all circumspection, that he might not, by his agents, negotiate, and hold intelligence with any, in a Country towards him so doubtfully affected: especially when by hearkening to his messages, they might make themselves suspected by their new friends. But the continuance of this decree, beyond the time of War, and when all danger of innovation was past, was uncivil, if not inhumane; as nourishing deadly hatred, without leaving means of reconciliation. And hereof the *Achæans* reaped no good fruit. For, although they were not, in like sort, forbidden the Kingdom of *Macedon*: yet understanding what would be due to them, if they should adventure thither, none of them durst set foot therein. Hence it came to pass, that their bond-men, knowing a safe harbour, out of which their Masters could not fetch them, ran daily away in great numbers: exceedingly to the loss of such, as made of their slaves very profitable use. But *Perseus* took hold upon this occasion: as fitly serving to pacifie those, whose enmity fain he would have changed into love. He therefore apprehended all these fugitives, to send them home again: and wrote unto the *Achæans*, That as for good will unto them, he had taken pains to restore back their servants, so should they do very well to take order for keeping them, that hereafter they might not run away again. His meaning was readily understood, and his Letters kindly accepted by the greater part; being openly rehearsed by the Prætor, before the Councel. But *Callicrates* took the matter very angerly; and bade them be advised what they did: for that this was none other, than a plain device, to make them depart from the friendship of the *Romans*. Herewithall



Herewithall he took upon him, somewhat liberally, to make the *Achæans* beforehand acquainted with the War, that was coming upon *Perseus* from *Rome*. He told them how *Philip* had made preparations for the same War; how *Demetrius* had been made away, because of his good affection to the *Romans*; and how *Perseus* had, since his being King, done many things, tending to the breach of peace. Briefly, He rehearsed all those matters, which were afterwards alledged by the *Romans*; the invasion of the *Bastarnæ*, upon the *Dardanians*; the Kings journey against the *Dolopians*; his voyage to *Delphi*; and finally, his peaceable behaviour, which was (he said) a dangerous temptation of men to his party. Wherefore he advised them to expect the event of things, and not over-hastily to enter into any degree of friendship with the *Macedonians*. Hereto good answer was made by the Prætors brother: That *Callicrates* was too carnest in so light a matter; and that, being neither one of the Kings Cabinet, nor of the *Roman* Senate, he made himself too well acquainted with all that had passed, or was like to follow. For it was well known, that *Perseus* had renewed his League with the *Romans*; that he was by them saluted King, and friend to the Estate; and that he had lovingly entertained their Embassadours: This being so; why might not the *Achæans*, as well as the *Ætolians*, *Thessalians*, *Epirots*, and all the *Greeks*, hold with him such correspondence, as common humanity required? Nevertheless *Callicrates* was grown a man so terrible, by his *Roman* acquaintance, that they durst not over-stiffly gainsay him. Therefore the matter was referred unto further deliberation: and answer made the whilst, That since the King had only sent a Letter without an Embassadour, they knew not how to resolve. Better it was to say thus, than, that they were afraid to do as they thought most reasonable and convenient. But when *Perseus* herewith not contented, would needs urge them further, and send Embassadours: then were they fain, without any good pretence, to put on a countenance of anger, and deny to give audience: which was proof sufficient (to one that could understand) of the condition wherein they lived. For hearkening to this advice of *Callicrates*; they were soon after highly commended by a *Roman* Embassadour: whereby it became apparent, that the *Romans* intended War upon the *Macedonian*; though hitherto no cause of War was given. Liv. lib. 42.

## §. V.

*How* Eumenes *King of* Pergamus *was hused with* Pharnaces, *the* Rhodians, *and others. His hatred to the* Macedonian: *whom he accuseth to the* Roman *Senate. The Senate honours him greatly, and contemns his enemies the* Rhodians; *with the causes thereof. The unusual stoutness of the* Macedonian *Embassadours.* Perseus *his attempt upon* Eumenes. *The brotherly love between* Eumenes *and* Attalus. Perseus *his device to poyson some of the* Roman *Senators: whereupon they decree War against him, and send him defiance. Other things concerning the justice of this War.*

EUmenes King of *Pergamus* had been troubled about these times, by the Kings *Pharnaces* and *Mithridates*, his neighbours. He had taken the right course, in making first his complaint to the *Romans*: by whom he was animated with comfortable words, and promise, That they, by their authority, would end the business to his content. But in conclusion, by the help of the Kings, *Prusias* and *Ariarathes*, he ended the War himself; and brought his Enemies to seek and accept peace, on such conditions as pleased him to give them. After this, being at good leisure; he began to consider how the affairs of *Macedon* stood under *Perseus*. His hatred to *Perseus* was very great: and therefore he was glad to understand, that the hatred of the *Romans*, to the same his Enemy was as great, and withall notorious. Now, besides his ancient and hereditary quarrel with the *Macedonian*; it vexed him exceedingly, That his own honours (whereof the *Greeks*, prodigal in that kind, had heaped immoderate store on his Father and him) began to wax every where stale: whilest *Perseus*, either by his currying favour, or by the envy born to the *Romans*, had gotten their best liking and wishes. For despight of this indignity, He stirred up the *Lycians* against the *Rhodians* his old friends: and in helping these rebels, was so violent, that he proceeded, in a manner, in open War. But small pleasure found he in these poor and indirect courses of revenge. Pol. Leg. 59. & 56.

The *Lycians* could not be saved by his Patronage from severe and cruel chastisement, given to them by the *Rhodians*. This rendered him contemptible: as likewise, his acts of hostility, little different from robberies, made him hateful to those which loved him before. As for his honours in the Cities of *Greece*; they not only continued falling into neglect; but were abrogated by a decree Polyb. Leg. 74.

decree of the *Achæans*, as too unmeasured; misbeseeming them to give, and affected by him beyond the proportion of his deservings. All this (which he needed not to have regarded, had he not been too vainly ambitious) befell him; especially for his being over-serviceable to the *Romans*, and for his malice to that noble Kingdom; which if it fell, the liberty of *Greece* was not like to stand. Now for the redress hereof, he thought it vain to strive any longer with bounty, against such an Adversary, as by hopeful promises alone, without any great performance, had over-topped him in the general favour. And therefore he resolved even to overturn the foundations of this popularity, by inducing the *Romans* utterly to take away from the eyes of men this Idol, the *Macedonian* Kingdom, which all so vainly worshipped. Neither would it prove a difficult matter, to perswade those that were already desirous: rather he was like to be highly thanked, for setting forward their wishes; and perhaps to be recompenced with some piece of the Kingdom, as he had been rewarded, for the like service, when *Antiochus* was vanquished.

*Liv. l. 42.*

To this end he made a second voyage to *Rome:* where, though he had little to say, which they knew not before, yet his words were heard with such attention, as if they had contained some strange novelty; and so pondered by the Fathers, as if the weight of them were to turn the ballance, that before was equal. The death of *Demetrius*, the expedition of the *Bastarnæ* into *Dardania*, that of *Perseus* himself against the *Dolopian*, and to *Delphi*, the great estimation of the *Macedonian* in *Greece*, his intermeddling in businesses of his neighbours, his riches and his great provisions, were all the material points of *Eumenes* his discourse. Only he descended unto particulars, having searched into all (as he professed) like unto a Spy. He said, that *Perseus* had thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, of his own, mony in a readiness to entertain ten thousand Mercenaries for ten years, Arms to furnish a number thrice as great: The *Thracians* his friends at hand, ready, at a call, to bring him Souldiers as many as he should require; and that he prepared victuals for ten years, because he would not be driven, either to live upon spoil, or to take from his own Subjects. Herewithall he prayed them to consider, that King *Seleucus*, the Son and successor of *Antiochus* the Great, had given his Daughter *Laodice* in marriage to *Perseus*; *Perseus* not wooing, but *Seleucus* offering the match; That King *Prusias* of *Bithynia*, by earnest suit, had gotten to wife the Sister of *Perseus*, and that these marriages were solemnized with great concourse of Embassages from all quarters. Neither spared he to tell them, (though seeming loth to utter it plainly) That even the envy to their Estate was the cause, why many that could not endure to hear of amity with *Philip*, were now grown marvellously well affected to his Son. All this, and some facts of *Perseus*, which might either be denyed or justified, (as that he had procured the death of some which were friends to the *Romans*, and that he had expelled *Abrypolis* the *Illyrian*, who invaded *Macedon*, out of his Kingdom, or Lordship) *Eumenes* failed not to amplifie unto the most; saying, That he thought it his duty to forewarn them: since it would be to himself a great shame, if *Perseus* got the start of him, and were in *Italy* making War upon the *Romans*, ere *Eumenes* could come thither to tell them of the danger.

It were too great folly, to believe that the *Romans* stood in fear of *Perseus*, lest he should set upon them in *Italy*. Nevertheless, forasmuch as they loved not to make war without fair pretence, not only of wrong done to them or their associates, but of further hurt intended: great thanks were given to *Eumenes*, who had every way furnished them with such goodly colour, to beautifie their intendment. Now, though it were so, that he told them little else than what they knew before: yet his person, and the manner of his coming, made all seem greater. For if upon any relation made by their own Embassadours, or upon tales devised by their flatterers and spyes, they had warred against *Perseus*, ere he had committed any open act of hostility against them; their injustice and oppression would have been most manifest. But when the wrongs to them done, were so notorious, and the danger threatning them so terrible, that such a Prince as *Eumenes* came out of his own Kingdom, as far as from *Asia*, to bid them look to themselves; who could blame them, if they took the speediest order to obtain their own right and security? Toward this justification of the war, and magnifying the necessity that enforced them thereto, their more than usual curiosity, in concealing what *Eumenes* had uttered in the Senate, when they could not but understand that his errand was well known; helped not a little. The *Macedonian* and *Rhodian* Embassadours were at *Rome*, provided of answers to the words, which they knew before-hand that he would speak; and with matter of recrimination. The vanity, either of him, of some about



about him, seems to have disclosed all: when the weariness of the *Fathers*, in hiding that which all men knew, made a notable shew of some fearful apprehension; against which, it behoved their wisdom to neglect no possible remedy. Wherefore careless audience was given to the *Rhodian* Embassadors; who accused *Eumenes*, as one more troublesome to *Asia*, than *Antiochus* had ever been, and a provoker of the *Lycians* to rebellion. The *Rhodians* had with great pomp conveighed by Sea unto *Perseus*, his Bride *Laodice*; which friendly office, as the *Macedonian* bountifully requited, so the *Romans* despightfully accepted. Hence it grew, that when the *Lycians*, as already vanquished, were setling themselves in their obedience to the people of *Rhodes*, Embassadors came from *Rome* with strange news, which gave new life to the rebellion. For the Senate pronounced That it stood not with the manner of the *Romans*, to alien quite from their own protection any people or Nation by them vanquished: and that the *Lycians* were by them assigned unto those of *Rhodes*, not as meer vassals, but as dependants and associates. For proof hereof, they referred themselves unto the Commentaries of the ten Embassadors; whom they had sent to dispose of things in *Asia*, after the victory against King *Antiochus*. Hereat *Eumenes*, *Masanissa*, the *Ætolians*, and all other Kings or Estates that were beholding to *Rome* for increasing the number of their subjects, had cause to find themselves agrieved, if they well considered the matter: since by force of this or the like decree, those their subjects might easily be made their fellows, whensoever it should please the Senate: though it were so, that all men knew the present meaning of the Senate: which was only to plague the *Rhodians* for their good will to *Perseus*, by setting them and the *Lycians* together by the ears. The *Fathers* could therefore see no reason to dislike *Eumenes*, upon this complaint made by the *Rhodian* Embassadors, which indeed more neerly touched themselves. Rather they honoured the King so much the more: for that others (as they would needs take it) conspired against him, because of his love to *Rome*.

*Polyb. Leg. 60 & 61.*

*Liv. lib. 41.*

But the *Macedonian* Embassage they heard not so carelesly as angrily: though peradventure it well contented them to find cause of anger. For whereas at other times all care had been taken, to pacifie them with gentle words and excuses: now heard they plainer language, and were told, That King *Perseus* desired much to give them satisfaction, concerning any deed or word of his, that might savour of hostility; but that, if his travel in this kind proved vain, then would he be ready to defend himself by arms, and stand to the chance of war, which often falls out contrary to expectation. These bigg words may seem to have proceeded from the vehemency of *Harpalus*, that was chief of the Embassadors; rather than from instruction given by the King, with whose faint heart they agreed not. Yet was there good reason, why *Perseus* himself might, at this time, think to speed better by a shew of daring, than he was like to do by any submission. For the eyes of all *Greece* being now cast upon him, as on the greatest hope of deliverance from the *Roman* servitude; it was not expedient, that he should lessen, or perhaps utterly cut off, the general expectation, and the good affection born to him, which thereon depended, by discovering his too much weakness of spirit, unanswerable to a work of such importance. Whefore he, or his Embassador for him, was bold to set a good countenance on a game not very bad, but subject (in appearance) to fortune, which might have been his, had he known how to use it.

Now that this bravery (as better it may be termed than courage) proceeded from the Kings own heat; it appears by his daring to adventure soon after, on a practice that more justly might anger the *Romans*, and give them fairer shew of reason to make war upon him. It was known that *Eumenes*, in returning home, would take *Delphi* in his way and there do sacrifice to *Apollo*. *Perseus* deadly hating him, and thirsting after his blood, resolved to way-lay him, and by making there of him a sacrifice, to rid his own hands of a most mischievous enemy. So there were appointed three or four stout Ruffians to do the murder: who placing themselves behind a broken mud-wall, on the side of a very narrow path leading up from the Sea to the Temple, did thence assault the King; whom they sorely bruised with great stones, and left for dead. They might have finished their work, such was the opportunity of the place which they had chosen; but fear of being apprehended, made them, without staying to see all sure, flee in such haste, that they killed one of their own companions, who could not hold pace with them; because he should not discover them. *Eumenes* was conveighed away to the little Isle of *Ægina*, where he was cured: being all the while kept so secretly, that the fame of his death was current in *Asia*. Hence it came, that his brother *Attalus* took upon him as King, and either took or would have taken to wife (supposing it

it be like a matter of State) *Stratonica* the daughter of King *Ariarathes*, whom he then thought the Widow of *Eumenes*. It may well be numbred among the rare examples of brotherly love, That when the King turned alive home, *Attalus* going forth to meet him and do his duty, as in former times, received none other check, than, *that he should forbear to marry with the Queen untill he were well assured of the Kings death*. More than this, *Eumenes* never spake of these matters; but bequeathed at his death, unto the same brother, both his Wife and Kingdom. As likewise *Attalus* forbore to attempt any thing to the prejudice of the King his Brother: though the *Romans* (with whom he continued and grew in special favour, when *Eumenes* fell into their hatred) were in good readiness, to have transferred the Kingdom from his Brother to him. By such concord of Brethren was the Kingdom of *Pergamus* raised and upheld; as might also that of *Macedon* have been, if *Demetrius* had lived and employed his grace with the *Romans*, to the benefit of *Perseus*.

It is likely that *Perseus* was very glad, when he understood that his Ministers had both accomplished his will, and had saved all from discovery. But as he was deceived in the main point, and heard shortly after, that *Eumenes* lived, so was he beguiled in that other hope, of the concealment; which he vainly esteemed the less material. For he had written to one *Praxo*, a Gentlewoman of *Delphi*, to entertain the men whom he sent about this business: and she, being apprehended by *C. Valerius*, a *Roman* Embassador, then attending upon the matters of *Greece*, was carried to *Rome*. Thus all came to light. *Valerius* also brought with him to *Rome*, out of *Greece* one *Rammius*, a Citizen of *Brundusium*; who coming newly from the Court of *Macedon*, loaden with a dangerous secret, had presently fought out the Embassador, and thereof discharged himself. *Brundusium* was the ordinary Port for ships passing between *Italy* and *Greece*. There had *Rammius* a fair house; wherein he gave entertainment, being a wealthy man, to Embassadors, and other honourable personages, both *Romans* and *Macedonians*, journying to and fro. By occasion of such his hospitality, he was commended to *Perseus*, and invited into *Macedon* with friendly letters; as one, whose many courtesies to his Embassadors, the King was studious to requite. At his coming he was much made of; and shortly, with more familiarity than he expected or desired, made partaker of the Kings secret. The summ of all was, That he must needs do a turn, in giving to such of the *Romans* as the King should hereafter name, a poyson of rare quality; sure in operation, yet not to be perceived either in the taking or afterward. He durst not refuse to accept this employment: for fear lest the vertue of this medicine should be tryed upon himself. But being once at liberty, he discovered all. *Rammius* was but one man, and one whom the King had never seen before, nor was like to see again: and therefore, besides that the Kings denial ought to be as good as such a fellows affirmation, the accusation was improbable. Thus did *Perseus*, in time shortly following, answer for himself; and in like sort concerning the attempt upon *Eumenes*: denying to have had any hand, either in the one or other: yet withall professing; That such objections were not to be made unto a King, to prove the rightfulness of making war upon him, but rather unto a subject pleading for his life in judgement. But howsoever the *Romans* neglected the getting of stronger proof (which might have been easie) than any that we find by them produced: yet the base and cowardly temper of *Perseus* was very suitable to these practices. Neither did the Senate greatly stand to dispute the matter with him: these his treacheries being held inexcusable. And as for his Royal Estate, wherein he supposed that they ought not to touch him for such private offences, it gave him no priviledge: they judging him to have offended in the nature of a King. Herein surely they wanted not good reason. For if he might not lawfully make war upon *Eumenes* their confederate, that is, if he might not send men to waste the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, or to besiege the Towns: might he send Ruffians to murder the King? If it were no less breach of the league to destroy the Senators by fire or famine, than by violence of the sword, was it lawful for him to do it by poyson? Wherefore they presently decreed war against him; and sent Embassadors to denounce it unto him, unless he would yield to make such amends as they should require. He seemed at this time to have been so confident in the general favour of *Greece*, and other comfortable appearances, that if he desired not war, yet he did not fear it: or at least he thought by shew of courage, to make his enemies more calm. He caused the Embassadors to dance attendance, till being weary, they departed without audience. Then called he them back, and bad them do their errand. They made a tedious rehearsal of all matters, which they had long been collecting against him, and wherewith *Eumenes* had charged him: adding thereto, that he had entertained long & secret conference



rence in the Isle of *Samothrace*, with Embassadors sent to him out of *Asia*, about some ill purpose. In regard of all which they peremptorily required satisfaction; as was their manner when they intended to give defiance. Better they might have stood upon the evidence, brought against him by *Rammius* and *Praxo*. For if those accusations could be verified, then wanted they not good ground whereon to build: of which otherwise they were destitute; it being no fault in a King, to be strong, wel-beloved, and wel-befriended. *Perseus* answered, for the present, in a rage; calling the *Romans*, greedy, proud, insolent, and underminers of him by their daily Embassadors, that were no better than meer spies. Finally, he promised to give them in writing their full answer: which was to this effect; That he would no longer stand to the League made between them and his father; and renewed by himself indeed only for fear; but wished them to descend to more equal conditions; whereupon he, for his part, would advise, as they might also do for theirs.

In the form of the League between *Philip* and the *Romans*, as is set down by *Polybius*, we find no condition, binding the *Macedonian* to any inconvenience in the future; excepting those which he immediately performed. But *Livy* inserts a clause, whereby he was expressly forbidden to make any war abroad, without leave of the *Romans*. It is most likely, that all the *Roman* confederates were included in this peace: whereby every one of the neighbors round about *Macedon*, entring shortly into league with *Rome*, did so bind the Kings hands, that he could no more make war abroad, then if he had been restrained by plain covenant. And thus might that seem an article of the peace, which never was agreed upon, but only was inferred by consequence. Now if the *Romans* would urge this point further, and say, that the *Macedonian* might not bear defensive arms, without their permission; then had *Perseus* very just reason to find himself aggrieved. For since they had allowed his father; without controll, to make war in *Thrace*, (whilest they themselves were unacquainted with the *Thracians*) elsewhere abroad, though he asked not their licence: why should they now interpret the bargain after another fashion? Was it now become lawful for him to chastise his own Rebels? or to repay an *Illyrian* that invaded *Macedon*? By such allegations he maintained the right of his cause, in very mild sort; when it was too late. At the present, by disclaiming the League as unjust, he ministred occasion unto the Embassadors, to give him defiance. Having heard the worst of their message, he commanded them to be gone out of his Kingdom in three dayes. But either he should have been less vehement, or more constant in his resolution. For if his heart could serve him to undertake the war, he should couragiously have managed it, and have fain to work immediately, whilst the Enemy was unprepared; not have lost opportunity, as now and often he did, in hope of obtaining a worse peace than the former.

Pol. Leg. 9.

Liv. lib. 33.

## §. VI.

*The Romans solicit the Greeks, to joyn with them in the war against* Perseus. *How the Greeks stood affected in that war. The timerousness of* Perseus. Martius *a Roman Embassador deludes him with hope of peace. His forces. He takes the field, and wins part of* Thessaly. *The forces of* Licinius *the Roman Consul: and what assistants the Romans had in this war. Of* Tempe *in* Thessaly; *& what advantages the Macedonian had, or might have had; but lost by his fear.* Perseus *braves the Romans, fights with them, knows not how to use his victory, sues for peace, and is denied it by the vanquished.* Perseus *having the worse in a skirmish, forsakes all the Country lying about* Tempe. *The Bœotians rebel against the Romans, and are rigorously punished. The Roman Commanders unfortunate in the war against* Perseus. *They vex the Greeks their friends; for whose ease the Senate makes provision, having heard their complaints. The flattering Alabanders.*

SO long had the *Romans* been seeking occasion to take in hand this *Macedonian* war, that well they might have been ready for it, when it came; and not (as they were) behind hand in provisions. But it was on a sudden that they met with a confluence of good pretences to make the war: whereof, if no one alone had weight enough, yet all of them together seemed more than sufficient. This opportunity of making their cause honest in common opinion, was not to be neglected: though otherwise they were unprepared for the action. Wherefore knowing, or having reason to believe, that their own strengths were such as would prevail in the end; they hastily embraced the fair occasion of beginning, and referred other cares to the diligence of Time. Neither was this their unreadiness a small help, towards examining the disposition of the *Greeks* and others; who must afterwards dearly pay for any backwardness found in their good will. There was not indeed any cause to fear, that all of the *Greeks* or

other Eaſtern people ſhould conſpire together, and take part with the *Macedonian*: ſuch was the diſſention between the ſeveral Eſtates; howſoever the generality of them were inclined the ſame way. Nevertheleſs Embaſſadors were ſent to deal with them all; and to crave their help againſt *Perſeus*, or rather to demand it, in no leſs ample manner, than heretofore they had yielded it againſt *Philip* and *Antiochus*, in wars pretending the liberty of *Greece*. The Embaſſadors uſed as gentle words for faſhions ſake, as if they had ſtood in doubt that their requeſt might happen to be denied. But the *Greeks* were now grown well acquainted with ſuch *Roman* courteſie: and underſtood that not only ſuch as made refuſal, but even they who might ſeem to have granted half unwillingly, were like to hear other manner of words, when once this buſineſs was ended. Wherefore none of them were ſcrupulous in promiſing the beſt of their help to the *Romans*: the * *Achæans* and *Rhodians*, which were chief among them, being rather doubtful, even when they had done their beſt, leſt it ſhould be ill taken, as if they had halted in ſome part of their duty. It is ſtrange that men could be ſo earneſt to ſet up the ſide, whereof they gladly would have ſeen the ruine. The vulgar ſort was every where addicted to *Perſeus*; of the Nobles and Rulers, if ſome were vehemently *Roman*, they wanted not oppoſers, that were wholly *Macedonian*; yea, the wiſeſt and moſt honeſt, who regarded only the benefit of their Country, wiſhed better to *Perſeus* than to the *Romans*. And of this number *Polybius* the chief of Hiſtorians was one: who though * He judged the victory of *Perſeus*, like to prove hurtful unto *Greece*, yet wiſhed he the *Romans* ill to thrive, that ſo the *Greeks* might recover perfect liberty: for his endeavours in which courſe, he was at length tyrannically handled, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter. This conſidered, it appears, that an extraordinary fear, and not only reverence of the Imperial City, made the *Achæans*, and other Eſtates of *Greece*, thus conformable to the *Romans*. The occaſion of this their fear, may be juſtly imputed unto the timorous demeanor of *Perſeus* himſelf. He had undertaken a war, whereof the benefit ſhould redound, not only to his own Kingdom, but unto all that were oppreſſed by the *Romans*. Yet no ſooner were ſome few companies brought over-ſea, to make a countenance of meaning ſomewhat againſt him, than he began to ſpeak the enemy fair, and ſue for Peace at *Rome*. Since therefore it was known, that every ſmall thing would ſerve to terrifie him: and conſequently, that it ſhould at all times be in the *Romans* power, by giving him any tolerable conditions of peace, to take revenge at leiſure upon thoſe which had aſſiſted him: little cauſe was there why any ſhould adventure to partake with him. He made indeed a great noiſe; leading about his army; taking by force or compoſition ſome few Towns, and ſoliciting all to joyn with him. But wiſe men could not be ſo beguiled. For at the ſame time, he ſought all means of pacification: and to that end, made humble ſuit unto the *Roman* Embaſſadors. *Q. Martius*, the chief of thoſe Embaſſadours, and a man of more ſineneſs in cunning than was uſual among the *Romans*, made ſhew of inclination to the Kings deſire; and gave out ſuch comfortable words, that the King entreated, and obtained a meeting at the River *Peneus*. There did *Martius* very gently rebuke the King, and charge him with thoſe crimes that are before mentioned. Whereto though *Perſeus* made none other anſwer, than the ſame which they could have made for him; yet the Embaſſadors, and eſpecially *Martius*, took it in good part, as therewith ſatisfied: and adviſed him to give the like ſatisfaction to the Senate. That this might conveniently be done, a truce was agreed upon. Thus had *Martius* his deſire; which was, to make the King leſe time. For *Perſeus* had all things then in readineſs, and might have done much, ere the *Roman* Army could have been in *Greece*. But by the interpoſition of this truce, he no way increaſed his forces; he ſuffered a moſt convenient ſeaſon, of winning upon the enemy, to ſlip away; and obtained in recompence nothing elſe, than leiſure and vain hope. Yet was he pleaſed herewith, as it had been with ſome victory: publiſhing a copy of the diſputation between him and the *Romans*, whereby he gave men to underſtand, how much he had the better, and what great hope there was of peace. He ſent Embaſſadors alſo to the *Rhodians*, of whoſe good will to him he was beſt perſwaded; not only to let them know how much he was ſuperiour in cauſe; but to intreat them, that they would take upon them, as Moderators, to compound the differences between him and the *Romans*, if perhaps notwithſtanding the goodneſs of his cauſe, he ſhould be denied peace. Theſe were poor helps. For hereby it appeared, that his late ſtanding upon point of Honor, was no better than meer vanity, his own ſafety being the utmoſt of his ambition. This his fearfulneſs might ſeem excuſable, and the blame thereof to appertain unto the *Greeks*; who deceived

* *Pol. Leg.* 72, 73. & 80.

* *Pol. Leg.* 77.



ceived his expectation, by being wanting to him in time of a neceſſity, that was partly their own: had it not been his office, who took upon him as their Champion, to give ſuch a manly beginning to the war, as might encourage all others to follow him. But his timorous quality being found, men grew daily more and more averſe from him; and were careful, not to put their ſhoulders to a falling wall. The *Rhodians*, among whom he had many ſtout Partizans, deſired him not to crave any thing at their hands, in which they might ſeem to do againſt the good liking of the *Romans*. The *Bœotians* alſo, who had entred of late into a ſtrict ſociety with the *Macedonian*; renounced it now, and made the like with the *Romans*: to whom further, in a ſort, they yeelded themſelves as vaſſals. Neither was *Martius* contented to accept their ſubmiſſion under a general form; but cauſed their ſeveral Towns to make covenant apart, each for it ſelf; to the end, that being thus diſtracted into many little Common-weals, they might not (were they never ſo deſirous to rebel) have ſuch force to do hurt, as when they agreed, and were incorporated in one, under the City of *Thebes*. This work, of ſeparating the *Bœotians* from *Thebes* their head, was more than *Ageſilaus* could effect, or *Epaminondas* would ſuffer, then when all *Greece* followed the *Lacedæmonians*. So far more available to *Thebes*, being deſtitute of help from abroad, was the virtue of *Epaminondas*, and a few brave Citizens, than was the ſociety with King *Perſeus*, againſt a number not ſo great as followed the *Lacedæmonians*.

*Martius* brought this to effect, whileſt the King ſate ſtill, as being bound by the truce: and having done this, he turned to the City; where, vaunting what he had wrought by his craft, he was commended, and (though ſome reproved it as diſhoneſt) employed again by the Senate, with commiſſion to deal as he ſhould think expedient. Touching the Embaſſadours which *Perſeus* had ſent; audience was given to them, for that they ſhould not plainly ſee how their Maſter was deluded: but neither excuſe, nor intreaty would ſerve their turn: the Senate being reſolved before-hand what to do. It was enough that they were admitted into the City, and had thirty dayes reſpite allowed them to depart out of *Italy*: whereas they, who came laſt on the ſame errand, did their meſſage without the walls, in the Temple of *Bellona* (the uſual place of giving audience to open enemies, or to ſuch Commanders, as might not, by reaſon of ſome cuſtom enter the City) and had only the ſhort warning of eleven dayes, to be gone out of *Italy*. Neither did this poor courteſie ſerve alone to hide the craft of *Martius*, as if he had meant none other than good earneſt: but it was a likely mean, both to keep a long while from *Perſeus* the knowledge of his buſineſs, and to ſtagger his reſolution, when he ſhould need it moſt firm.

And accordingly it fell out. For *Licinius* the *Roman* Conſul was at *Apollonia*, in a manner as ſoon as the *Macedonian* Embaſſadours were with their King at *Pella*. Which, though it were enough to have rouzed *Perſeus*, and have made him lay aſide all cowardly hope of getting pardon, yet was he content to deliberate a while, Whether it were not better to offer himſelf tributary to the *Romans*, and to redeem their good will with ſome part of his Kingdom, that ſo he might enjoy the reſt; than to put all at once to hazard. But finally, the ſtouteſt counſel prevailed; which alſo was the wiſeſt, and ſo would have proved, had it been ſtoutly and wiſely followed. He now began, as if the war had not begun until now, to do what ſhould have been done long afore. He cauſed all his forces to be drawn together; and appointed their Randezvouz at *Citium*, a Town in *Macedon*. All being in readineſs, he did royal ſacrifice, with an hundred beaſts, to I know not what *Minerva*, that was peculiarly honoured in his Country: and then, with all his Courtiers, and thoſe of his guard, ſet forward to *Citium*. His Army he found conſiſting of nine and thirty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, whereof about twelve thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe were ſtrangers, of ſundry Nations, moſt part *Thracians*; the reſt of his own *Macedonians*. Theſe he animated with lively ſpeeches; laying before them the glory of their Anceſtors, the inſolency of the *Romans*, the goodneſs of his cauſe, the greatneſs of his proviſions, and the many advantages which they had of the Enemy, eſpecially in numbers. They anſwered him chearfully, with loud acclamations, and bade him be of good courage. From all Cities of *Macedon* there came likewiſe meſſengers, offering to help him with mony and victuals, according to their ſeveral abilities. He gave them thanks: but anſwered, That his own proviſions would abundantly ſuffice, willing them only to furniſh him with Carts, for his engines and munition.

Out of his own Kingdom he iſſued forth into *Theſſaly*: knowing that the *Romans* were to paſs thorow that Country, in their journey towards him. Some Towns of *Theſſaly* opened their gates unto him, without

out making offer to defend themselves; some he balked, thinking them too strong or well manned; and some he wan by force. Of these last was *Nyle*; a Town thought impregnable, and therefore, not more stoutly than proudly defended by the inhabitants, who gave contumelious language to the assailants. It was taken by reason of a sally; which the Towns-men rashly made, and being driven back, received the *Macedonians*, that entred pell mell with them at the gate. All cruelty of war was practised here: to the greater terrour of the obstinate. So *Velatiæ* and *Connus* (Towns of much importance, especially *Connus*, which stood in the straights of *Ossa*, leading into *Tempe*) yeelded at the first. Having well fortified this passage, the King marched onwards to *Sicurium*, a Town seated on the foot of Mount *Ossa*; where he rested a while, expecting news of the Enemy.

*Licinius* the Consul brought with him only two *Roman* Legions: being promised other strength of auxiliaries, which was thought sufficient. *Eumenes* and *Attalus* his brother came to him in *Thessaly*, with four thousand foot, and a thousand horse. Thither also came, from every part of *Greece*, such aid as the several Estates could afford, or thought expedient to send: which from the most of them was very little. Of the Kings abroad; *Masanissa* sent thither his Son *Misagenes*, with a thousand foot, as many horse, and two and twenty Elephants. *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*, by reason of his affinity with *Eumenes*, was friend to the *Romans*, and had sent to *Rome* his young Son, there to be brought up: yet he did little or nothing in this war; perhaps because *Eumenes* himself began within a while, but when it was too late, to be otherwise advised than he had been in the beginning. *Prusias* was content to be a looker on: as being allied to *Perseus*, and yet fearing the *Romans*. *Antiochus* and *Ptolomy* (though *Ptolomy* was then young, and under Tutors) had business of their own; the *Syrian* meaning to invade the *Egyptian*: yet each of them promised help to the *Romans* which they cared not to perform. *Gentius* the *Illyrian* was inclinable to the *Macedonian*, yet made good countenance to the *Romans*, for fear. It was a pretty trick wherewith *M. Lucretius*, the *Roman* Admirals brother, served him, for this his counterfeit good will. This King had four and fifty ships, riding in the Haven of *Dyrrachium*, uncertain to what purpose: all which *Lucretius* took away, after a very kind sort; making shew to believe, That for none other end than to serve the *Romans*, their good friend *Gentius* had sent thither this Fleet. But whatsoever *Gentius* thought in the beginning; he foolishly lost both his Kingdom and himself, in the end of this war; by offering, rather than giving his help to *Perseus*.

With none other company than what he brought over the Sea, *Licinius* came into *Thessaly*: so tyred with a painful journey, through the Mountainous Country of *Athamania*, which stood in his way from *Epirus*; that if *Perseus* had been ready, attending his descent into the Plains, the *Romans* must needs have taken a great overthrow. He refreshed himself and his wearied Army, by the River *Peneus*; where he encamped, attending his auxiliaries, that came in as fast as they could. It was not any slender help, that could enable him to deal with *Perseus*. Therefore he resolved to abide where he then was, and keep his trenches, until his numbers were sufficiently increased: contenting himself in the mean while, to have gotten quiet entrance into the Country. The Land of *Thessaly*, in which these two Armies lay, was better affected to the *Romans*, than any part of *Greece* besides: as having been freed by them from a more heavy yoke of bondage to the *Macedonian*, when there was little hope of expectation of such a benefit. It was generally rich, fruitful, and abounding in all things needful to mans life. In the midst of it, but somewhat more to the East, was that beautiful valley of *Tempe*, so exceedingly full of all delights, that the name was often used at large to signifie The most pleasant and goodly places. This valley of it self was not great; but adding to it those huge Mountains *Ossa* and *Olympus* (famous in Poesie) with their Spurs or Branches, by which it was on all sides enclosed; it occupied the better part of *Thessaly*. And this way were the *Romans* to enter into *Macedon*; unless they would make an hungry journey thorow the Country of the *Dassaretians*, as in the former war with *Philip*, they had long, in vain, attempted to do. *Perseus* therefore had no small advantage, by being Master of the Straights leading unto *Tempe*: though far greater he might have had, if by mis-spending of time he had not lost it. For if in defending the ragged passages of these Mountains, he were able to put the *Romans* often to the worse; yea, to win upon them (for a while) every year more than other, both in strength and reputation: questionless he might have done far greater things, had he seized upon the Straights of *Aous*, which his Father once kept, and defended all the Country behind the Mountains of *Pindus*.

Surely



Surely, not without extreme difficulty, must the *Romans* have either travelled by Land, with all their carriages and impediments, through places wherein was no relief to be found; or else have committed their Armies, and all things thereto needful, unto the mercy of Seas that were very dangerous; if they would have fought other way into *Macedon*, than through the heart of *Greece*: upon neither of which courses they once devised, notwithstanding any trouble which they found in this present war. It may perhaps be said, that the *Greeks*, and others whom the King must have left on his back, would have made him unable to defend any places too far from his own home. But they were all, excepting the *Thessalians*, better affected now to him, than they had been to his Father in the former war. The *Ætolians*, upon whom the *Athamanians* depended, grew into suspicion with the *Romans* (as we shall find anon) even as soon as they met with *Perseus*. The *Bœotians*, how politickly soever *Martius* had wrought with them, adventured themselves desperately in the *Macedonian* quarrel: what would they have done, if he at first had done his best? The *Rhodians*, *Illyrians*, yea and *Eumenes* himself, after a while began to waver, when they saw things go better with *Perseus*, than they had expected. So that if in stead of discouraging his friends, by suing basely for peace; he had raised their hopes, by any brave performance in the beginning; and increased the number of his well-willers; yea, and bought down with mony (as he might have done) some of his enemies, and, among them, *Eumenes*, who offered for good recompence, to forget his broken head: then might the *Romans* perhaps have been compelled to forsake their imperious patronage over *Greece*; and to render the liberty, by them given, entire; which otherwise was but imaginary. Such benefit of this war, since it was hoped for afterwards, might with greater reason have been expected at first, from greater advantages. But as a fearful company running from their enemies, till some River stay their flight; are there compelled by meer desperation to do such acts, as done, while the battel lasted, would have won the victory: so fell it out with *Perseus*. In seeking to avoid the danger of that war, whereof he should have fought the honour; he left his friends that would have stood by him, and gave them cause to provide for their own safety: yet being overtaken by necessity, he chose rather to set his back to the Mountains of *Tempe*, and defend himself with his proper forces; than to be driven into such misery, as was inevitable, if he gave a little further ground. What was performed by him or the *Romans*, all the while that he kept his footing in *Thessaly*, it is hard to shew particularly, for that the history of those things is much perished. Wherefore we must be contented with the summ.

The Consul having no desire to fight, until such time as all his forces were arrived; kept within his Trenches, and lay still encamped by the River of *Peneus*, about three miles from *Larissa*. That which perswaded the Consul to protract the time, did contrariwise incite the King, to put the matter unto a hasty tryal. Wherefore he invited the *Romans* into the field; by wasting the Land of the *Pheræans* their confederates. Finding them patient of this indignity; he grew bold to adventure even unto their Trenches: out of which, if they issued, it was likely, that his advantage in horse would make the victory his own. At his coming they were troubled; for that it was sudden: yet no way terrified; as knowing themselves to be safely lodged. They sent out a few of King *Eumenes* his horse, and with them some light armed foot, to entertain skirmish. The Captain, and some other of these were slain: but no matter of importance done; for that neither *Licinius*, nor *Eumenes*, found it reasonable to hazard battel. Thus, day after day, a while together, *Perseus* continued offering battel: which they still refused. Hereby his boldness much increased; and much more his reputation: to the grief of those, who being so far come to make a Conquest, could ill digest the shame, that fell upon them by their enduring these bravadoes. The Town of *Sycurium*, where *Perseus* then lay, was twelves miles from the *Romans*: neither was there any convenient watering in that long march, which used to take up four hours of the morning, but he was fain to bring water along with him in Carts, that his men might not be both weary and thirsty when they came to fight. For remedy of these inconveniencies he found out a lodging, seven miles nearer to the enemy: whom he visited the next day by the Sun-rising. His coming at such an unusual hour, filled the Camp with tumult: insomuch as though he brought with him only his Horse and light armature, that were unfit to assail the Trenches, yet the Consul thought it necessary, and resolved to give check to his pride. Wherefore he sent forth his brother *C. Licinius*, King *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, and many brave Captains, with all his power of horse, his Velites, and all the rest of his light armature to try their fortune: he himself remaining in the Camp;

with

with his Legions in readineſs. The honour of this morning, was the *Macedonian* Kings; for he obtained the victory in a manner entire (though the *Theſſalians* made a good retrait) with little loſs of his own. But he diſcovered his weakneſs ere night, by hearkening, as Princes commonly do, to counſel given by one of his own temper. For whereas the *Romans* were in great fear leſt he ſhould aſſault their Camp; and to that purpoſe, upon the firſt news of his ſucceſs, his Phalanx was brought unto him by the Captains, though unſent for: he nevertheleſs took it for ſound advice, which indeed was timorous and baſe, To work warily, and moderate his victory; by which means it was ſaid, That either he ſhould get honeſt conditions of peace, or at leaſtwiſe many companions of his fortune. Certainly it was like, that his good fortune would exalt the hope and courage of his friends. Yet, had it been greater, and had he won the *Roman* Camp, his friends would have been the more, and the bolder. But over-great was his folly, in hoping then for peace: And in ſuing for it, even when he had the victory; what elſe did he, than proclaim unto all which would become his partakers, That neither good nor bad fortune ſhould keep him from yeelding to the *Romans*, whenſoever they would be pleaſed to accept him? At this time the joy of his victory would admit none of the Conſiderations. He had ſlain of the *Roman* horſe two hundred, and taken of them priſoners the like number. Of their foot he had ſlain about two thouſand: loſing of his own no more than twenty horſe, and forty foot. The *Roman* Camp, after this diſaſter, was full of heavineſs and fear: it being much doubted that the enemy would ſet upon it. *Eumenes* gave counſel to diſlodge by night, and remove to a ſurer place beyond the River *Peneus*. The Conſul, though aſhamed to profeſs, by ſo doing, in what fear he ſtood; yet thought it better to acknowledge the loſs paſt, than by ſtanding on proud terms, to draw upon himſelf a greater calamity. So he paſſed the River in the dead of the night, and encamped more ſtrongly on the further ſide. The *Ætolians* were ſorely blamed for this loſs: as if rather a traitorous meaning, than any true fear, had occaſioned their flight, wherein the reſt of the *Greeks* followed them. Five of them that were men of eſpecial mark, had been obſerved to be the firſt which turned their backs: an obſervation likely to coſt them dear, at a time of better leiſure. As for the *Theſſalians*, their virtue was honoured with reward: ſo as the *Greeks* might learn, by examples of either kind, that if they would ſhun indignation, or incur favour, then muſt they adventure no leſs for their Lords the *Romans*, than gladly they would do for their own liberty. Thus fared it with the Conſul and his Army. *Perſeus* came the next day to correct the former dayes errour; which, how great it was, he not until then found. The *Romans* were gotten into a place of ſafety; whither they could never have attained, if the King had either preſſed his Victory, or given better heed to them that night: his light armature alone being ſufficient to have routed them whileſt they were conveying themſelves to the other ſide of *Peneus*. But it was vain to tell what might have been done, ſince there was no remedy. The *Romans* were beaten, even the flower of their City, The Gentlemen of *Rome*; out of whom were choſen their Senators, and conſequently the Generals themſelves, Prætors, Conſuls, and all that bore office or command among them; yea, they were beaten ſo ſhamefully, that they ſtole away by night, and ſuffered him to gather up the ſpoils of them without reſiſtance, as yeelding themſelves overcome. With ſuch brave words did the King ſet out the glory of his action; dividing the ſpoils among his followers. But there was much wanting within him, to have made his honour ſound. He came nearer to the *Romans*, and encamped at *Mopſelus*, a place in a mid-way between *Tempe* and *Lariſſa*: as if it were his meaning to preſs them ſomewhat harder. Nevertheleſs he was eaſily perſwaded to uſe the occaſion, which he ſeemed to have, of obtaining peace. Therefore he ſent unto the Conſul, and offered to yeeld unto the ſame Conditions, wherein his Father had been bound to the *Romans*; if the war might ſo take end. It were needleſs here again to ſhew the folly of this his courſe. Towards the accompliſhment of this deſired peace, there was in the Conſul no greater power than to grant a truce, whileſt Embaſſadours might go to *Rome*: it reſting in the Senate and People to approve the conditions and ratifie the league. And of ſuch a truce granted by *Martius*, he had lately found no ſmall diſcommodity redounding. But *Licinius* dealt plainly, and returned anſwer, That other hope of peace there was none; ſave that *Perſeus* would yield both his Kingdom and perſon, ſimply and abſolutely, to diſcretion of the Senate. A manly part it was of *Licinius* to be ſo reſolute in adverſity. On the other ſide, it argued a very faint heart in *Perſeus*, that having received an anſwer ſo peremptory he



he ſtill perſiſted, making vain offers of greater tribute. Finding that the peace which he ſo much deſired, could not be purchaſed with money, the King withdrew himſelf back to *Sycurium*. There he lay hearkening what the Enemy did; whoſe forces were well repaired by the coming of *Maſagenes* the ſon of *Maſaniſſa*, with the aid before mentioned. This diſtance between the King and them, cauſed the *Romans* to wax the more bold in making their harveſt: about which buſineſs they ranged over all the fields. Their careleſs demeanour gave him hope to do ſome notable exploit: which he attempted, both upon their Camp, and upon thoſe that were abroad. The Camp he thought to have fired on the ſudden: but the alarm being taken in good ſeaſon, he failed in the enterprize. As for the foragers; he had a good hand upon them, if he could have withdrawn it, and given over in time. But whilſt he ſtrove to force a guard, he was viſited by the Conſul; by whom either in a skirmiſh of horſe, or (for the report is divers) in a great battel, he was overcome. This miſadventure, whether great or ſmall, cauſed *Perſeus*, after a few dayes, to fall back into *Macedon*; as being naturally given to fear danger, even where none was; whereby what loſs he felt, will appear hereafter. He left all behind him, ſave only *Tempe*, weakly guarded: and conſequently an eaſie prey to the *Romans*.

After the Kings departure, *Licinius* went ſtraight unto *Connus*; hoping to have taken it, and ſo to have gotten entrance into *Tempe*. But finding the work too hard, he returned back unto the *Perrhæbians* and others; from whom he won ſome Towns, and among the reſt, *Lariſſa*. There were ſundry Towns thereabout, bearing the ſame name of *Lariſſa*: ſo that this which the Conſul took, may ſeem not to have belonged unto the *Theſſalians*; unleſs, perhaps, after his victory, *Perſeus* did greater acts than we find recorded, and got ſome part of *Theſſaly*.

Of matters happening in *Greece* at this time, it is hard to give a preciſe account; for that the hiſtories of them are greatly defective. One may think it ſtrange, that the *Bœotians*, whom a *Roman* Embaſſador could terrifie, and bring altogether to his own will, ſhould not be afraid of a *Roman* Army, then on foot in *Greece*, and a Navy on their coaſt. But more ſtrange it is, that the *Thebans*, from whom their dependants were taken by the Art of *Martius*, were more true to *Rome*, than other petty Towns, which by that ſame diſtraction of the *Bœotians*, became within themſelves more abſolute, than formerly they had been. The cauſes hereof were to have been ſought among the changes happening in their variable factions: whereof the knowledge is [illegible] loſt. Some of them rebelled, and were throughly puniſhed by *Lucretius* the *Roman* Admiral: who got ſo much by ſpoiling them, that he would have brought others to rebell in like ſort, if by extream oppreſſion he could have driven them ſo far. Neither was *Licinius* the Conſul undiligent in the ſame kind. What his doings were, after ſuch time as he was at leiſure from *Perſeus*, I find no where mentioned. Only this is ſaid in general; That in the war which he made, he cruelly and covetouſly demeaned himſelf.

After the ſame faſhion dealt they, that commanded in the year following; *Hoſtilius* the Conſul, and *Hortenſius* the Admiral, or Prætor of the Fleet. *Hoſtilius* ſhewed more of his induſtry, in picking quarrels with the Confederates of *Rome*, than in proſecuting the war againſt the *Macedonian*. For concerning the *Roman* war upon his Kingdom, after that the Conſul had fought paſſage in vain over certain mountains, *Perſeus* ſeemed, in a manner, free from it. He was troubled indeed on that ſide which looked towards *Illyria*, by *Ap. Claudius*, whom the Conſul ſent thither with an Army of four thouſand, and who, by levies made upon the Confederates, doubled this his Army. But *Claudius* thinking to have taken *Uſcana*, a border town of *Illyria*, by treaſon; came thither in ſuch careleſs order, that the inhabitants which had made ſhew of treaſon, with purpoſe only to train him into danger; ſallied forth upon him, overthrew him, and chaſed him ſo far, that hardly he eſcaped with the fourth part of his company. Yet this Town of *Uſcana*, ſhortly after became *Roman*: which howſoever it happened, *Perſeus* very ſoon recovered it, and many other places there[illegible]hall: *Cotys* a *Thracian* King, ſecuring [illegible] on the one ſide of *Macedon*; and *Cephalus* in *Epirot*, revolted from the *Romans* [illegible] other. *Perſeus* likewiſe made a p[illegible] thurney into *Ætolia*; where he was [illegible] to be admitted into *Stratus*, that was the ſtrongeſt City in that Region. Of this h[illegible] though he were diſappointed by thoſe of the *Romans* faction, yet in his return hom[illegible], he took in *Aperantia*; and ſhortly heard good news, that *Ap. Claudius* was again throughly beaten by *Clevas*, one of his Lieutenants. Such ſucceſs had the *Macedonian* war under *Hoſtilius*. The ſame Conſul offended much

the *Greeks*, by the ſtrict inquiſition which his Embaſſadors made into mens affection towards *Rome*. For theſe Embaſſadors travelling thorow all the Cities of *Peloponneſus*, gave out ſpeeches tending to ſhew, That they liked no better of thoſe who ſought not by might and main to advance their buſineſs, than of thoſe which were of the *Macedonian* faction. Their meaning was, to
Pol. Leg. 74. have accuſed by name, in the Parliament of *Achaia*, *Lycortas* that worthy Commander, who nobly followed the ſteps of *Philopœmen*; and together with him, his ſon *Polybius*, who ſoon after was General of the *Achæan* Horſe; but more notable by that excellent Hiſtory which he wrote, than by his great employments, which he well and honourably diſcharged. The ſumm of the accuſation ſhould have been; That theſe were not hearty friends unto the *Romans*, but ſuch as abſtained from raiſing troubles, more for lack of opportunity, than for any love to the common quiet. But ſince no colour of truth could be found, that might give countenance to ſuch a tale; it was thought better, for the preſent, to let it alone, and give gentle words, as if all were well. In like manner dealt they among the *Ætolians*: They demanded hoſtages; and found ſome in the Councel that approved the motion: as alſo among the *Acarnanians*, there were that intreated to have *Roman* Garriſons beſtowed in their Towns. But neither the one nor the other of theſe propoſitions took effect. They of the *Roman* faction, accuſed not only ſuch as were inclinable to the *Macedonian*, but alſo the good Patriots; making it no leſs than a matter of treaſon, to be a *Grecian* in *Greece*. On the contrary ſide, there wanted not ſome, who roundly told theſe pick-thanks of their baſe flattery, rating them openly, in ſuch ſort, that one of them hardly eſcaped being ſtoned, even in the preſence of the Embaſſadors. Thus was all full of accuſations, and excuſes: among which the Embaſſadors carried themſelves, as men that could believe none ill: though it were well enough known what they thought. The beſt was, that an order from the Senate was brought into *Greece*, and publiſhed to this effect: That it ſhould be free for every man, to refuſe obedience to any *Roman* Magiſtrate, impoſing any burden for the preſent war, unleſs it were ſuch, as the Senate had likewiſe thought meet. Of this Decree the whole Country was glad: for it was, or ſeemed, a good remedy of many inconveniences. But they that ſtanding on priviledges hereof, refuſed to fulfill every commandment, were numbred among the Patriots; which in the end of this war proved little better, if not worſe, than to have been Traytors. The Senate was driven to ſet down this order, by reaſon of many and vehement complaints brought to *Rome*, concerning the wrongs done by *Roman* Magiſtrates, and eſpecially by the Admirals, *Lucretius* and *Hortenſius*. *Lucretius* was condemned in a great ſumm of mony, for the wrongs by him done: highly to the commendation of the *Romans*, in that they loved not to have their ſubjects oppreſſed. *Hortenſius* being ſtill in office, had warning to amend.

Among the great number of Embaſſages that came to *Rome* about this time, either to ſeek redreſs of injuries, or to offer their ſervices: it is note-worthy, that from *Alabanda*, a Town of the leſſer *Aſia*, there was preſented unto the Senate, and well accepted, a moſt baſe piece of flattery. Theſe *Alabanders* brought three hundred horſemens targets, and a crown of gold, to beſtow upon *Jupiter* in the Capitol. But having a deſire to gratifie the *Romans* with ſome exquiſite token of their dutiful obedience, wherein they would be ſingular: and being not able to reach unto any great performance: they built a Temple, unto the town *Rome*, and appointed anniverſary games to be celebrated among them, in honour of that *goddeſs*. Now who can wonder at the arrogant folly of *Alexander*, *Antigonus*, *Ptolomy*, and the like vain men, that would be thought gods; or at the ſhamefull flattery of ſuch as beſtowed upon men, and not the moſt vertuous of men, divine honours; when he ſees a Town of houſes, wherein powerfull men dwell, worſhipped as a Goddeſs; and receiving (without ſcorn of the Givers, or ſhame of the Preſent) the title of *Deity*, at the gift of ſuch a raſcal City as *Alabanda*?

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§. VII.



§. VII.

Q. Martius *the Roman Conſul, with extream difficulty and danger, enters into* Tempe. *The cowardize of* Perſeus *in abandoning* Tempe. *The Town of* Dium *quitted by* Martius; *repaired and fortified by the King. The Romans attempt many places, with ill ſucceſs. Their affairs in hard eſtate.* Martius *a cunning and a bad man.* Polybius *ſent Embaſſador to* Martius *from the Achæans.* Polybius *his honeſt wiſdom beneficial to the Achæans. King* Eumenes *grows averſe from the Romans.* Perſeus *negotiates with* Antiochus, *and* Eumenes. *His falſe dealing with* Gentius *King of* Illyria; *whom he draws into the Roman war. He ſends Embaſſadors to the Rhodians; who vainly take upon them to be arbitrators between him and the Romans.* Perſeus *loſeth a mighty ſuccour of the Baſtarnæ, by his wretched parſimony.*

AFter two years of the *Macedonian* war, things were further out of tune in *Greece*, than when the war began; which had been thought likely to reform all thoſe Countreys, and bring them to what paſs the *Romans* deſired; as it did in the end. *Perſeus* had hitherto the better, and was ſtronger now, than when he lived in peace. He had enlarged his borders on the *Illyrian* ſide; his friends, in all parts of *Greece*, took courage daily; and his reputation grew ſuch, as cauſed thoſe that were before wholly *Roman*, to ſuſpect what the iſſue of the war might prove, and thereupon to become wiſe for themſelves. Contrariwiſe, *Licinius*, and *Hoſtilius* the Conſuls, had one after the other ſpent their time in vain, ſeeking way into *Macedon*; and defaced the glorious enterprize of conqueſt, by many loſſes received. The *Roman* Admirals had ſo demeaned themſelves, that many Towns even of the beſt affected to *Rome*, kept them out by force. Generally, the fear was great on the *Roman* ſide; and the Army much leſſened, not only by caſualties of war, but by the facility of the Tribunes or Colonels, or elſe of the Conſul himſelf (for they laid the blame one upon the other) in licenſing the ſouldiers to depart. *Quintius Martius* the new Conſul, who ſucceeded unto *Hoſtilius*, was to amend all this: which nevertheleſs was more than he knew how to do; though he brought with him a ſtrong ſupply of men. He began hotly to ſet the war on foot, which a long time had ſlept. And he began the right way: not ſeeking to force the ſtraights that were ſurely guarded, but taking pains to climb the mountains which were thought able to forbid all paſſage over them, without help or need of any cuſtody. The King heard of his approach; and being uncertain what way he meant to take, diſtributed his own forces, to the defence of all places which might give entrance, or permit aſcent. But the Conſul proceeded in his journey: with hope, either not to be diſcovered by the Enemy, or to break through all oppoſition, or at leaſtwiſe, to fight on as convenient ground, as they ſhould have that lay to ſtop him, and at length, if all failed, to make a ſafe retreat. He ſent before him four thouſand of his moſt expedite foot, to diſcover the ways. Two days was this company troubled, in overcoming the difficulty of no more than fifteen miles: after which they had ſight of the Enemy, that lay to deny their paſſage. They occupied therefore a ſafe piece of ground; and ſent back word to the Conſul, where they were; intreating him to haſten unto them: which he did. The *Macedonians* were not a whit diſmayed at his arrival; but met him, and fought with him, two or three dayes together; each returning to their own Camp at night, with little loſs on either ſide. This bickering was on the narrow ridge of a mountain, which gave ſcarcely room unto three to march in front. So that very few hands came to be employed: all the reſt were beholders. In this caſe it was impoſſible to get forwards: yet a ſhame to return. Wherefore *Martius* took the only courſe remaining; and indeed the beſt: Part of his men he left with *Popilius*, to attend upon the *Macedonians*: whilſt he, with the reſt, fetcht a compaſs about, and ſought out wayes that never had been trodden. Herein he found extream difficulty: which notwithſtanding he overcame. Beſides the troubles commonly incident to ſuch journeys, through places unfit for habitation: he was compelled by labour of hand; to make paths where none were, yea, where Nature might ſeem to have intended, that none ſhould be. So ſteep he found the deſcent of the mountains, in this way which he took: that of ſeven miles, which they travelled the firſt day, his men were compelled, for the more part to rowl themſelues down; as not daring to truſt their feet. Neither was this the worſt. For they met with rocks, that ſtood one over another, ſo upright, and cumberſome to get down: that their Elephants were affaid of that giddy project, and caſting their governours, made a terrible noiſe, which affrighted the horſes, and bred great confuſion. Having therefore

gone, or wallowed, four miles of this grievous journey; there was nothing more desired by the souldiers, than that they might be suffered to creep back again, the same way which they had come. But shift was made to let down the Elephants, by a kind of bridges, like unto falling draw-bridges: whereof the one end was joyned to the edge of the cliff; the other sustained by two long posts, fastened in the ground below. Upon these two posts, or poles, (which indeed, not being very strong, since it was intended that they should be either cut or broken) were fastened two rafters, answerable in length to the distance, between the higher and the lower fall: so as the end of one bridge might reach to the beginning of another. These were covered with planks and turfe; that they might seem continent with the ground: so to make the beasts adventurous to go upon them. If there were a plain of any good extent from the foot of a rock, to the next downfall; then might the bridg be shorter. When an Elephant was gone a pretty way, upon one of these; the posts upholding the frame were cut asunder; thereby causing him to sink down unto the next bridge; whence he was conveyed in like manner, to the third, and onward still to the very bottom. Thus went they down sliding, some on their feet, others on their buttocks, till they came to an even valley. By this it appears, how throughly provided the *Romans* used to be in their journeys, of things needful in all occasions: as also what inestimable pains they took in this descent, about the conveyance of themselves and all their carriages down the mountains. The next day they rested; staying for *Popilius* and his company, who hardly, or perhaps never, should have overtaken them, if the Enemy had followed, & set upon him from aloft. The third and fourth dayes journeys were like unto the first: save that custome, and the nearness to their ways end without meeting enemy, caused them the better to endure the labour.

*Perseus* could not be ignorant of the *Romans* coming towards him: since they fought with his men upon the passage, three days together; he lying so nigh, that he might well near have heard the noise. Yet was he so possessed with fear; that he neither stirred to help his own men, or to hinder the Consul, nor made any provision for that which might fall out; but as one void of counsel, sate hearkening after the event. Four only passages there were, leading into *Tempe*: the first by *Connus*; which the *Romans* were unable to force: the second and third were the same which *Martius* had attempted in vain, and another like unto it: the last, by the City of *Dium* out of *Macedon*. All these were sufficiently guarded: and whosoever would seek any other way, must be fain to take such pains as *Martius* had undergone. The entrance by *Dium* was fairer than any of the rest: whereof only the King had benefit: for that his enemies could not get thither, save through the valley it self, into which they must first pierce another way. *Dium* stood upon the foot of the huge mountain *Olympus*, about a mile from the sea: of which mile, the River *Helicon* becoming there a lake, and called *Baphyras*, took up the one half; the rest being such as might easily have been fortified. Besides all these, there was in the midst of *Tempe*, a passage which ten men might easily keep: where the spurs of the mountains, reaching far into the valley; drew near to the very banks of *Peneus*, a goodly and deep river which ran through it. Wherefore nothing had been more easie, than to make the Consul repent him of his troublesome journey: if *Perseus* could have seen his own advantages. For the *Roman* Army was not only in ill case to fight, after the vexation of that miserable travel: but must needs have either perished for want of victuals, or been inforced to return the same way that he came, if the King had made good the straight of *Dium*. To have returned, and climbed up with their Elephants and carriages, against those rocks, from which, with extream labour, they could hardly get down, it seems a matter of impossibility: especially considering how the enemy from above their heads, would have beaten upon them; being now aware of the path which they had taken, though he knew it not when they stole away from him. It may therefore be thought strange that the *Romans* did not rather take their journey into *Macedon*, from the side of *Illyria*, whence that Kingdom had often been invaded, as lying open on that part: than put themselves to the trouble of breaking into *Tempe*, whence, after that they were arrived, there was no means to escape, without forcing one of those passages, which they despaired to win. But the cowardize of *Perseus* did commend the counsel by them followed, as wise. For he no sooner heard that the Enemy was come over the Mountains into *Tempe*, than he fared like one out of his wits; saying, That he was vanquished, and had lost all, without battel. Herewithal he began to take out of *Dium*, what he could carry away



away in haste; and straightwayes abandoned the Town. In the same vehemency of amazement, he sent a strait commandment to *Thessalonica*, that the Arsenal there should be set on fire; and to *Pella*, that his treasures there should be cast into the Sea: as if the *Romans* were like presently to be Masters of these two Cities. *Niceas*, who was appointed to drown the treasure, performed it as hastily as well he could: though soon after, his Master grew sorry for the loss; and it was all, in a manner, recovered by Divers from under the water. But *Andronicus*, who had charge to set fire on the Kings Arsenal, deferred the execution; foreseeing that repentance might follow: and so he prevented the damage. Whether *Niceas*, for his absolute and blind obedience, or *Andronicus*, for his careful providence, merited the greater commendation, or more easie pardon; it rested in the King to interpret. The reward of their service, was this. *Perseus* growing ashamed of his mad cowardize, that appeared in this hasty direction; caused them both to be slain. Also those poor men, which had fetcht his treasure out of the Sea by their diving, were payed their wages after the same sort: that so there might be no witness of the Kings base folly. Such end must they fear, who are privy to dishonourable actions of great Princes. If *Perseus* would have gone surely to work, for the hiding of his fault; then must he so royally have behaved himself, that no man might believe him to be the Author of any unworthy act or counsel. But his vertue was of no such capacity. He thought it enough to lay the blame upon others. And therefore, having called *Hippias* away (the Captain which had stopped the Consul on the top of the Mountain) and *Asclepiodatus*, from defence of the passages, whereto they were by him appointed: he rated them openly; saying, That they had betrayed unto the Enemy the gates and bars of *Macedon*. Of this reproach, if they would discharge themselves, by laying it upon him, to whom of right it belonged: then might they have sped as did *Niceas* and *Andronicus*.

The Consul *Martius* had great cause to rejoyce, for that the King had so hastily relinquished his possession of *Tempe*, and all the passages leading thereinto: since the *Roman* Army, this notwithstanding, was hardly able to subsist for want of victuals. He took *Dium* without resistance, and thence went forward into *Macedon*: wherein having travelled about a dayes journey, and gotten one Town that yeelded, he was compelled by meer lack of food for his men, to return back towards *Thessaly*. His Fleet came to him, in this time of necessity, well appointed to have holpen him in the war: but having left behind, at *Magnesia*, the ships of burthen, which carryed the provisions. Wherefore it fell out happily, that one of his Lieutenants had been careful to occupy the Castles about *Tempe*, which were forsaken by the *Macedonians*: for by those wayes only might Corn be brought into the Army. To meet the sooner with this Corn, which was most desirously expected, he forsook *Dium*, and went to *Phila*; by which foolish journey (if not worse than foolish) he lost more, than a little the longer fasting had been worth. It is probable that his Carts, with all, or the most of his store, were lost among the Mountains: for otherwise it had been madness to put himself on such an enterprize, so slenderly provided, as that without enforcement, or light of the Enemy, he should be fain to quit it. Howsoever it was: men thought him a coward, or at least a bad man of war; since he thus recoyled and gave off, when it most behoved him to have prosecuted the action.

By understanding the folly, or cowardize of *Martius*; the King recollected himself, understood his own errour; fought to hide it by such poor means as have been shewed, and laboured to make what amends he could. He quickly repossessed the Town of *Dium*, which he hastily repaired, finding it dismantled by the *Romans*. This done, he encamped strongly by the River of *Enipeus*: meaning there to stop the Enemies proceeding all that Summer. Less diligence, more timely used, would have been enough, not only to have delivered *Martius* into his hand, who had beguiled him with an idle hope of peace, but to have given him such a noble victory, as might cause the *Romans* to seek a good end of the war upon fair conditions, and not to begin again in haste. Yet this recovery and fortification of *Dium*, was to the Consul an exceeding hinderance. For little or nothing could afterward be done toward the Conquest in hand, in all the continuance of his office. Only the Town of *Heraclea*, standing on the River of *Peneus*, five miles from *Dium*, was taken by force, or rather by a trick of climbing upon mens heads, somewhat after the manner of our tumblers. But it made such defence as it could, and was not given up for fear. After this, *Martius* did set a bold face towards *Dium*; as if he would have taken it again, and have driven the King further off: though his intent or hope was nothing like so great: his chief care,

care, being to provide for his wintering. He sent the Admiral to make attempt upon the Sea-Towns, *Thessalonica*, *Cassandrea*, *Demetrias*, and others. All these were assayed: but in vain. The fields about *Thessalonica* were wasted; and some companies, that sundry times adventured forth of the Town, were still put to the worse. As for the Town it self; there was danger in coming near it, either by Land or Sea; by reason of the engines, which shot from the walls, and reached unto the Fleet. Wherefore the Admiral setting sail from thence, ran along by *Ænia*, and *Antigonea*, (landing near to each of them; and both doing and receiving hurt) until he came to *Pallene* in the territory of *Cassandrea*. There King *Eumenes* joyned with him, bringing twenty ships of War: and five other were sent thither from King *Prusias*. With this access of strength, the Admiral was bold to try his fortune at *Cassandrea*: which was bad. There was a new ditch lately cast by *Perseus*, before the Town: which, while the *Romans* were filling up, question was made, What became of the earth taken thence, for that it lay not upon the bank? By this occation, it was learned, that there were Arches in the Town-wall filled up with that earth, and covered with one single row of brick. Hence the Admiral gathered hope of making way into the Town, by sapping the walls. To this work he appointed such as he thought meetest: giving an alarm to the other side of the Town, thereby to shadow his attempt. The breach was soon made. But whilest the *Romans* were shouting for joy, and ordering themselves for the assault: the Captains within the Town perceived what was done; and sallying forth unexpected, gave a fierce charge on the companies that were between the ditch and the wall; of whom they slew about six hundred, and suffered few to escape unwounded. This disaster, and the want of good success on that part of the Town which King *Eumenes* assailed (a supply in the mean while entring the Town by Sea) caused the siege to break up. *Torone* was the next place which the Admiral thought meet to attempt: and thence likewise he was repelled. Finding this too well manned; he made way towards *Demetrias*: whereinto *Euphranor*, a *Macedonian* Captain, was gotten before his coming, with such forces, as were not only sufficient to have defended the Town, if the Admiral had laid siege to it, but to keep the Land about it from spoil; or, at least (as they did) to make the enemy pay dear for all that he there got. This *Euphranor* had taken his journey to *Demetrias*, by *Melibœa*; whither the Consul (that he might not be quite without work) had sent his Lieutenant to besiege it: and by the terrour of his appearing suddenly over their heads, caused the besiegers to dislodge in all haste, setting their Camp on fire.

Such fortune attended on the *Romans*; or rather, so far was their ability short of their Enterprises; ever since their Consul (whether dastardly, or carelesly) most unlike a good Commander, had let go his hold of *Macedon*, by forsaking *Dium*: Yea, it is to be suspected, that some greater harm befell them, or at least, that they were in some greater danger, than is expressed in the broken remaining History of this war. For *Martius* perswaded the *Rhodians* by *Agesipolis* their Embassadour, who came to him at *Heraclea* about other business of less importance, That they should do well to interpose themselves as Mediators, and seek to finish the War. Now, although *Polybius* do most probably conjecture, that this was rather a malicious device of *Martius*, craftily seeking to bring the *Rhodians* in danger (as anon it fell out) by their opposing the resolution of the Senate; than that it proceeded from any true fear in him, either of *Perseus*, or of *Antiochus*, who had then an Army on foot: yet since he made shew of fear, it is like withall, that somewhat had happened, which might make his fear seem not counterfeit. And so were the *Rhodians* moved to think of him; not only for that the extraordinary courtesie, both of him and of the Admiral, towards their Embassadour, coming from proud natures, did argue diffidence, where there was no ambition to cause it; but much more, for that shortly after the Embassadours of *Perseus*, and of *Gentius* the *Illyrian*, did set out their business at *Rhodes*, not more with the strength of a good Fleet, which the *Macedonians* had gotten, than with the honour of some victory, wherein he had lately slain great numbers of the *Roman* horse. Thus much we find intimated; though the time, place, or other circumstances of the fight, be not specified. And hereto may be referred, the report of those that were sent from *Rome* to view the estate of *Martius* his Army. For they found the Consul wanting meat; the Admiral wanting men; and, for those few that he had, wanting both mony and clothes: and *App. Claudius* the Prætor, who lay on the frontier of *Illyria*, so unable to invade *Macedon*, that contrariwise, he was in extreme danger; so as either he must quickly be sent for thence, or a new Army he sent thither to him. Wherefore it may seem, that some blow had been taken on the *Illyrian* side, which made all to halt; or at

*Polyb. Le-gat. 80.*

*Polyb. Legat. 87.*



at least, that the *Romans*, with greater loss, than is before spoken of, had been driven from some of the Towns which they besieged.

Now, although it were so, that *Martius*, in very few of his actions, behaved himself like a man of war: yet in exercise of *Cunning*, which one hath most aptly termed, *A crooked or sinister kind of wisdom*, he dealt as a crafts-master, with a restless working diligence. This indeed neither proved his sufficiency, nor commended his honesty: since thereby he effected nothing to his own benefit; and nevertheless out of envy, vain-glory, or such delight as weak and busie-headed men take, in creating inexplicable troubles, he directly made opposition to the good of his Country. At such time as *Perseus*, by the success of his doings against *Hostilius*, had gotten much reputation, and was thought likely to invade *Thessaly*. *Archo*, *Lycortas*, and other good Patriots among the *Achæans*, judged it expedient for their Nations to help the *Romans*; as in a time of adversity, whom in prosperity they loved not to flatter. Wherefore *Archo* proposed a decree, which passed: That the *Achæans* should send their whole power into *Thessaly*, and participate with the *Romans* in all dangers. So the Army was levied: and *Polybius*, with others, sent Embassadours unto *Martius*, to certifie him thereof, and know his pleasure. *Polybius* found the Consul busie in finding passage thorow *Tempe* into *Macedon*. He went along with the Army; and awaited the Consuls leisure, till they came to *Heraclea*; where, finding the time convenient, he presented the Decree, and offered the service of his Nation, wherein soever it should be commanded. *Martius* took this very kindly; but said, That he needed now no manner of help. Forthwith *Polybius* dispatched home his companions, to signifie thus much: tarrying himself behind in the Camp. After a while, word was brought to *Martius*, that *Ap. Claudius* desired, or rather imperiously required, of the *Achæans*, five thousand men, to be sent him into *Epirus*. It was manifest, that *Appius* had need of these men; and that if he were strong in field, he might do notable service, by distracting the forces of *Perseus*. But the *Labyrinthian* head of *Martius*, could not allow of such plain reason. He called unto him *Polybius*, to whom he declared, That *Appius* had no need of such aid, and therefore willed him to return home, and in any wise take order that the men might not be sent, nor the *Achæans* be put to such needless charges. Away went *Polybius*; musing, and unable to resolve, whether it were for love to the *Achæans*, that the Consul was so earnest in this businesse; or rather for envy, and to hinder *Ap. Claudius* from doing any thing, since himself could do nothing. But when *Polybius* was to deliver his opinion in the Councel touching this matter; then found he a new doubt, that more nearly concerned his own self, and those of his party. For as he was sure to incurr the great indignation of the Consul, if he should neglect what was given him in charge; so was it manifest on the other side, that the words by *Martius* uttered to him in private, would prove no good warrant for him and his friends, if openly they should refuse to help *Claudius*, alledging that he had no need: In this case therefore, he had recourse unto the Decree of the Senate: which exempted men from necessity of doing what the *Roman* Commanders should require, unless, by special order from the Senate, the same were likewise appointed. So for lack of warrant from the Senate, this demand of *Appius* was referred unto the advice of the Consul: by whom it was sure to be made frustrate. Hereby the *Achæans* were savers, of more than an hundred and twenty Talents: though *Polybius* himself ran into danger of *Appius* his displeasure; and for such honest dealing in his Countries behalf, was afterwards rewarded by the *Romans* with many a long years imprisonment.

*Polyb. Leg. 78.*

Whether it were by the like policy of *Martius*, that King *Eumenes* grew cold in his affection to the *Romans*; or whether this King began when it was too late, to stand in fear left the fire, which he himself had helped to kindle, would shortly take hold on his own lodging; or whether the regard of mony were able to oversway all other passions; it is hard to determine: since they that had better means to know the truth, have not precisely affirmed any certainty. One report is, That *Eumenes* did not so much as give any help to *Martius*: but coming to have joyned with him, in such friendly manner as he did with the former Consuls, was not entertained according to his liking; and thereupon returned home in such anger, that he refused to leave behind him certain horse of the *Gallo-Greeks*, being requested to have done it. If this were true, and that his brother *Attalus* tarrying behind with the Consul, did the *Romans* good service: then is the reason apparent, of the hatred, born afterward by the Senate to *Eumenes*, and the love to *Attalus*. But it is more generally received; that *Eumenes* gave a willing ear to *Perseus* his desire of accord, for meer desire of gain.

And

And it might well be, that covetousness drew him on, in the course, whereinto indignation first led him. Howsoever it befell; *Perseus* caused *Eumenes* to be sounded, and found him so tractable, that he was bold to solicite him by an Embassage. The tenour of his advertisements, both to *Eumenes* and *Antiochus*, was: That there could be no perfect love between a King and a free City: that the *Romans* had quarrel alike to all Kings, though they dealt with no more than one at a time, and used the help of one against another; that *Philip* was oppressed by them, with the help of *Attalus*; *Antiochus*, with the help of *Philip* and *Eumenes*; and now *Perseus* assailed with help of *Eumenes* and *Prusias*. Herewith he willed *Eumenes* to consider, that when *Macedon* was taken out of their way, they would be doing with him in *Asia*, which lay next at hand; yea, that already they began to think better of *Prusias*, than of him. In like sort he admonished *Antiochus*, not to look for any good conclusion of his war with the *Egyptian*, so long as the *Romans* could make him give over, by denouncing their will and pleasure. Finally, he requested both of them, either to compel the *Romans* to surcease from their war upon *Macedon*; or else to hold them as common enemies unto all Kings. *Antiochus* lay far out of the *Romans* way: and therefore was little troubled with such remonstrances. *Eumenes* was more nearly toucht; and as he felt part of this to be true, so had he reason to stand in doubt of the rest. Yet when he should give answer, he began to offer a bargain of peace for mony. He thought the *Romans* to be no less weary, than *Perseus* was affraid. Wherefore he promised for his own part, That if he might have fifteen hundred Talents for withdrawing his hand from this war, then would he remain a Neuter therein: and that for some greater quantity of mony (how much I finde not) he would also bring the *Romans* to condescend unto peace: and for assurance of his true meaning herein, he offered to give hostages. *Perseus* liked well to receive the hostages, but not to lay out the mony; especially before-hand, as was required. He would fain have peace with *Rome*, and not with *Eumenes* only. For procuring of this, he promised to be at any reasonable cost; but he would lay down the mony in the Temple at *Samothrace*: whence it should be delivered unto *Eumenes*, after that the peace was fully concluded and ratified. The Isle of *Samothrace* was *Perseus* his own: and therefore *Eumenes* thought the mony no nearer to him, being there, than if it remeained in *Pella*. Besides, his labour deserved somewhat, howsoever the business might happen to succeed: so that needs he would have part of his wages in *præst*. Thus the two Kings did no more, than lose time; and *Eumenes* grew suspected of the *Romans*, as a Traitor.

After the same manner dealt *Perseus* with King *Gentius* the *Illyrian*. He had attempted this *Illyrian* before; who dealt plainly, and said, That without mony he could not stir. Hereunto *Perseus* loved not to hearken; thinking, that his Treasures would serve at the last cast, to deliver him from all his fears. But when the *Romans* had gotten within *Tempe*, then did his fear urge him to prodigality; so as he agreed to pay three hundred Talents which *Gentius* demanded for a recompence. So the bargain was soon made, and pledges on both sides delivered for performance. This was openly done by *Perseus*, to the end that all his Army might have comfort, by such access of strength to their party. Presently upon the bargain made, Embassadours were sent to *Rhodes*, from both *Perseus* and *Gentius*: who desired the *Rhodians*, to take upon them, as Arbitrators, between *Perseus* and the *Romans*, and to bring the war to an end. The *Rhodians* thinking that *Martius* the Consul was no less desirous of peace than the *Macedonian*, arrogantly promised, that they, by their authority, would make peace; wishing the Kings to shew themselves conformable. But the *Roman* Senate, hearing proud words to the same effect, from the *Rhodian* Embassadours, gave an answer as disdainful, angry, and menacing, as they could devise: so as this vain glory of the *Rhodians* was thoroughly chastised; and more thoroughly should have been, if their submission had not been as humble, as their folly was proud. Such use of *Gentius* his friendship, made *Perseus*, without laying out one ounce of silver. Now fain he would have hastened this young and rash *Illyrian* to enter with all speed into the War: but then must the mony be hastened away. *Pantauchus* the *Macedonian* Embassadour, who remained with *Gentius*, exhorted him daily to begin the War by Land and Sea, whilest the *Romans* were unprovided. But finding what it was that made all to stay; he sent word to *Perseus*. Hereupon ten Talents were sent to *Pantauchus*: who delivered it to the young King, as Earnest of that which followed. More followed indeed; and sealed up with the seal of the *Illyrians*, but carryed by *Macedonians*, and not too fast. Before this mony came into *Illyria*, *Gentius* had laid hands upon two *Roman* Embassadours, and cast them into prison. Which *Perseus* no sooner heard, than he recalled his Treasure-bearers, and sent them with their load to *Pella*; for that now the *Illyrian* was of necessity to make war with the *Romans*, whether he were hired thereto or not.

*Liv. lib. 44. Plutarch. in vit. Æmyl.*

There came about the same time through *Illyria*, to the aid of *Perseus*, under one *Clondicus*, a petty King, ten thousand horse, and ten thousand foot of the *Gauls*, which were (as *Plutarch* hath it) the *Bastarnæ*. These had before-hand made their bargain, and were to receive present pay at the first. At their entry into the Kingdom, *Perseus* sent one to them; desiring their Captains to come visit him, whom he promised to gratifie with goodly rewards; hoping that the multitude would take good words for payment. But the first question that their General asked, was, Whether the King had sent mony to give their Souldiers their pay in hand, according to his bargain? Hereto the messenger had not what to answer. Why then (said *Clondicus*) tell thy Master, that the *Gauls* will not stir one foot further, until they have gold, as was agreed, and hostages. *Perseus* hereupon took counsel: if to utter his own opinion before men so wise that they would not contradict him, were to take counsel. He made an invective against the incivility and avarice of the *Bastarnæ*: who came with such numbers, as could not but be dangerous to him and to his Kingdome. Five thousand horse of them he said would be as many as he should need to use; and not so many, that he should need to fear them. It had been well done, if any of his Counsellors would have told him, That there wanted not employment for the whole Army of them, since without any danger to the Kingdom, they might be let out, by the way of *Perræbia*, into *Thessaly*: where, wasting the Country, and filling themselves with spoil, they should make the *Romans* glad to forsake *Tempe*, even for hunger and all manner of want; therein doing the King notable service, whether they won any victory or not. This, and a great deal more, might have been alledged, if any man had dared to give advice freely. In conclusion, *Antigonus*, the same messenger that had been with them before, was sent again, to let them know the Kings mind. He did his errand: upon which followed a great murmure of those many thousands that had been drawn so far to no purpose. But *Clondicus* asked him now again, Whether he had brought the mony along with him to pay those five thousand, whom the King would entertain. Hereto when it was perceived that *Antigonus* could make no better answer, than shifting excuses, the *Bastarnæ* returned presently towards *Danubius*, wasting the neighbour-parts of *Thrace*; yet suffering this crafty messenger to escape unhurt: which was more than he could have well expected.

Thus dealt *Perseus*, like a careful Treasurer, and one that would preserve his mony for the *Romans*, without diminishing the summ. But of this painful Office he was very soon discharged by *L. Æmylius Paulus* the new Consul: who in fifteen dayes after his setting forth from *Italy*, brought the Kingdom of *Macedon* to that end, for which God had appointed over it a King so fooliſh and so cowardly.



## §. VIII.

*Of* L. Æmilius Paulus *the Consul. His Journey. He forceth* Perseus *to discamp. He will not hazard battel with any disadvantage. Of an Eclipse of the Moon.* Æmylius *his superstition. The battel of* Pydna. Perseus *has slight. He forsakes his Kingdom: which hastily yeelds to* Æmylius. Perseus *at* Samothrace. *He yeelds himself to the* Roman *Admiral, and is sent prisoner to* Æmylius.

BY the War of *Macedon*, the *Romans* hitherto had gotten much dishonour. Which, though it were not accompanied with any danger, yet the indignity so moved them, that either * they decreed that Province to *L. Æmylius Paulus*, without putting it, as was otherwise their manner, to the chance of lot, between him and his fellow-Consul; or at least were gladder that the lot had cast it upon him, than that so worthy a man was advanced to the dignity of a second Consulship. He refused to propound unto the Senate any thing that concerned his Province; until by Embassadours, thither sent to view the estate of the War, it was perfectly understood, in what condition both the *Roman* Forces, and the *Macedonian*, at the present remained. This being throughly known to be such, as hath been already told, the Senate appointed a strong supply, not only to the Consul, but unto the Navy, and likewise to the Army that laybetween *Illyria* and *Epirus*; from which *App. Claudius* was removed, and *L. Anicius* sent thither in his place. *Æmylius*, before his departure from *Rome*, making an Oration to the people, as was the custome, spake with much gravity and authority. He requested those that thought themselves wise enough to manage this War, either to

*Plut. in vit. Æmyl.*

accompany him into *Macedon*, and there assist him with their advice; or else to govern their tongues at home, and not take upon them to give directions by hearsay, and censure by idle reports: for he told them plainly, that he would frame his doings to occasions; not to the expectation of the multitude. The like speech of his father *L. Æmylius*, who died valiantly in the Battel of *Cannæ*, might well be living in some of their memories; which was enough to make them conform themselves the more gladly unto the instructions given by a wise and resolute Consul.

All his business within the City being dispatched, *Æmylius* was honourably attended, at his setting forth on his journey, with an especial hope of men, that he should finish the war: though that he should finish it so soon and happily, was more than could have been hoped or imagined. He came to *Brundusium:* whence, when the wind came fair, he set sail at break of day, and arrived safely at the Ile of *Corcyra* before night. Thence passed he to *Delphi:* where having done sacrifice to *Apollo*, after the fifth day he set forwards to the Camp, and was there in five dayes more. So are there but five of the fifteen dayes remaining, in which he finished the war.

*Perseus* lay strongly encamped at *Dium:* having spared no labour of men and of women to fortifie the banks of *Enipeus*, where it was foordable in dry weather: so as there was little hope or none, to force him; and consequently, as little possibility to enter that way into *Macedon*. One great inconvenience troubling the *Romans*, and much disabling them to make attempt upon *Dium*, was lack of fresh water. For there were ten miles between *Dium* and *Tempe*; all the way lying between the Sea shore and the foot of *Olympus*, without any Brook or Spring breaking forth on that side. But *Æmylius* found present remedy for this, by digging Wells on the shore; where he found sweet Springs: as commonly there is no shore that wants them, though they rise not above the ground. Want of this knowledge was enough to hinder *Martius* from taking up his lodging any nearer to the Enemy, than the Town of *Heraclea*, on the River of *Peneus*; where he had watering at pleasure, but could perform no service of any worth. Yet when the *Roman* Camp had such means to lye close to the *Macedonian*, as it presently did, the passage onward being defended as hath been shewed, seemed no less difficult than before. Wherefore it was necessary to search another way: which by enquiry was soon found out. There was a narrow passage over *Olympus*, leading into *Perræbia*; hard of ascent, but slenderly guarded, and therefore promising a fair journey. *Martius* either had not been informed hereof, or durst not attempt it; or perhaps could not get his Souldiers to make the adventure; they fearing lest it would prove such a piece of work as had been their march over *Ossa* into *Tempe*. But *Paulus* was a man of greater industry, courage, and ability to command. He had reformed, even at his first coming, many disorders in the *Roman* Camp: teaching the souldiers among other good lessons, to be obedient and ready in execution; without troubling themselves, as had been their manner, to examine the doings and purposes of their General. And now he appointed about five thousand men to this enterprise; whereof he committed the charge unto *Scipio Æmylianus* and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, his own sons by nature; but adopted, the one of them, by a son of *Scipio* the *African*; the other, by one of the *Fabii*. *Scipio* took with him some light-armed *Thracians* and *Cretians*; but his main strength was of Legionaries. For the Kings guard, upon the mountain, consisted in a manner, wholly of Archers and Slingers; who though, at some distance they might do notable service against those that should climb up unto them; yet when the darkness took away their aim, they were like to make a bad nights work, being to deal with those that were armed to fight at hand. To conceal the business about which they went, *Scipio* and *Fabius* took a wrong way towards the Fleet; where victuals were provided for their journy: it being noised, that they were to run along the coast of *Macedon* by sea, and waste the country. All the way they were passing the mountains (which was about three days) the Consul made shew of a meaning to set upon *Perseus* where he lay, rather to divert the Kings attention from that which was his main Enterprise, than upon any hope to do good, in seeking to get over *Enipeus*. The channel of *Enipeus*, which received in Winter time a great fall of waters from the mountains, was exceeding deep and broad; and the ground of it was such, as though at the present it lay well-near all dry, yet it served not for those that were weightily armed to fight upon. Wherefore *Emylius* employed none save his *Velites*; of whom the Kings light armature had advantage at far distance, though the *Romans* were better appointed for the close. The Engines from off the Towers which *Perseus* had raised on his own bank, did also beat upon the *Romans*, and gave them to understand, that their labour was in vain. Yet



Yet *Æmylius* persisted as he had begun: and recontinued his assault, such as it could be, the second day. This might have served to teach the *Macedonians*, that some greater work was in hand: since otherwise a good Captain, as *Æmylius* was known to be, would not have troubled himself with making such bravado's, that were somewhat costly. But *Perseus* lookt only unto that which was before his eyes: until his men, that came running fearfully down the Mountain, brought word into the camp, that the *Romans* were following at their backs. Then was all full of tumult; and the King himself no less (if not more) amazed than any of the rest. Order was forthwith given to dislodge: or rather without order, in all tumultuous haste, the Camp was broken up, and a speedy retreat made to *Pydna*. Whether it were so, that they which had the custody of the passage were taken sleeping, or whether they were beaten by plain force, *Scipio* and *Fabius* had very good success in their journy. It may well be, that they slept until the *Romans* came somewhat near to them; and then taking alarm, when their arrows and slings could do little service, were beaten at handy-strokes: so as the different relations that are cited by *Plutarch* out of *Polybius*, and an Epistle of *Scipio*, may each of them have been true. Thus was an open way cleared into *Macedon:* which had been effected by *Martius* in the year foregoing; but was closed up again, through his not prosecuting so rich opportunity.

*Perseus* was in an extream doubt what course to take, after this unhappy beginning. Some gave advice to man his Towns, and so to linger out the War: having been taught by the last years example, how resolute the people were in making defence. But far worse counsel prevailed: as generally it doth in turbulent and fearful deliberations. The King resolved to put all at once to hazzard of battel: fearing belike to put himself into any one Town, lest that should be first of all besieged; and he therein (as cowardly natures alwayes are jealous) not over-carefully relieved. This was even that same that *Æmilius*, or any invader, should have desired. So a place was chosen near unto *Pydna*, that served well for the *Phalanx*, and had likewise on the sides of it some pieces of higher ground, fit for the Archers and light armature, There he abode the coming of the enemy; who stayed not long behind him. As soon as the *Romans* had sight of the Kings Army; which with greater fear than discretion, had hasted away from them, forsaking the Camp that was so notably well fortified: they desired nothing more, than to give battel immediately: doubting lest otherwise the King should change his mind, and get further off. And to this effect *Scipio* brake with the Consul; praying him not to lose occasion by delay. But *Æmylius* told him, that he spake like a young man; and therefore willed him to have patience. The *Romans* were tyred with their journy; had no Camp wherein to rest themselves; nor any thing there, save only the bare ground whereon they trod. For these, and the like respects, the Consul made a stand: and shewing himself unto the *Macedonian*, who did the like, in order of battel, gave charge to have the Camp measured out and entrenched behind the Army; whereinto, at good leisure, he fell back, without any manner of trouble. After a nights rest, it was hoped both by the *Romans* and the *Macedonians*, that the matter should be determined; each part thinking their own General too blame, for that they had not fought the same day. As for the King, he excused himself by the backwardness of the enemy, who advanced no further; but kept upon ground serving ill for the *Phalanx:* as on the other side, the Consul had the reasons before shewed, which he communicated to those about him the next day.

That evening (which followed the third of *September*, by the *Roman* account) *C. Sulpitius Gallus*, a Colonel, or Tribune of a Legion, who had the former year been Prætor, foretold unto the Consul, and (with his good liking) unto the Army, an Ecclipse of the Moon, which was to be the same night: willing the souldiers not to be troubled therewith, for that it was natural, and might be known long before it was seen. It was the manner of the *Romans*, in such Eclipses to beat Pans of Brass, and Basons, as we do in following a swarm of Bees; thinking that thereby they did the Moon great ease, and helped her in her labour. But this prognostication of *Sulpitius* converted their superstition into admiration of his deep skill, when they saw it verified. Contrarise, the *Macedonians* howled and made a great noise, as long as the Eclipse lasted: rather perhaps because it was their fashion, than for that they were terrified therewith, as with a prodegie betokening their loss: since their desire to fight was no whit lessened by it. I will not here stand to dispute, Whether such Eclipses do signifie, or cause any alteration in civil affairs, & matters that have small dependance on natural complexion: for the argument is too large. More worthy of observation it is, how superstition captivates

tivates the wisdome of the wisest, where the help of true religion is wanting. *Æmylius*, though he were sufficiently instructed concerning this defect of the Moon, that it was no supernatural thing, nor above the reach of humane understanding, so as he should need to trouble himself with any devout regard thereof: yet could he not refrain from doing his duty to this Moon, & congratulating with sacrifice her delivery, as soon as she shone out bright again: for which he is commended even by *Plutarch*, a sage Philosopher, as a godly and religious man. If *Sulpitius* perhaps did not assist him in this foolish devotion, yet it is like, that he, being a Senator, and one of the Councel for war, was partaker the next morning in a sacrifice done to *Hercules*; which was no less foolish. For a great part of the day was vainly consumed, ere *Hercules* could be pleased with any sacrifice, and vouchsafe to shew tokens of good luck in the entrails of the beasts. At length, in the belly of the one and twentieth sacrifice, was found a promise of victory to *Æmylius*: but with condition, That he should not give the onset. *Hercules* was a *Greek*, and partial, as nearer in alliance to the *Macedonian* than to the *Roman*. Wherefore it had been better to call upon the new goddess, lately canonized at *Alabanda*; or upon *Romulus*, founder of their City, on whom the *Romans* had bestowed his Deity; or (if a God of elder date were more authentical) upon *Mars* the Father of *Romulus*, to whom belonged the guidance of military affairs; and who therefore would have limited his favour, with no injunctions contrary to the rules of war.

Now concerning the Battel; *Æmilius* was throughly perswaded, that the King meant to abide it: for that otherwise he would not have stayed at *Pydna*, when as, a little before, his leisure served to retire whither he listed, the *Romans* being further off. In regard of this, and perhaps of the tokens appearing in the Sacrifices, the Consul thought that he might wait upon advantage, without making any great haste. Neither was it to be neglected, that the morning Sun was full in the *Romans* faces: which would be much to their hinderance all the forenoon. Since therefore *Perseus* kept his ground, that was commodious for the *Phalanx*, and *Æmilius* sent forth part of his men to bring in Wood and Fodder, there was no likelihood of fighting that day. But about ten of the clock in the morning, a small occasion brought to pass that, which whereto neither of the Generals had over earnest desire.

A Horse brake loose at watering, which two or three of the *Roman* souldiers followed into the River, wading after him up to the knees. The Kings men lay on the further bank; whence a couple of *Thracians* ran into the Water, to draw this horse over to their own side. These fell to blows, as in a private quarrel; and one of the *Thracians* was slain. His Countrimen seeing this, hasted to revenge their fellows death, and followed those that had slain him over the river. Hereupon company came in, to help on each part, until the number grew such, as made it past a fray, and caused both the Armies to be careful of the event. In fine, each of the Generals placed his men in order of battel, accordingly as the manner of his country, and the arms wherewith they served, did require. The ground was a flat level, save that on the sides a few hillocks were raised here and there; whereof each part might take what advantage it could. The *Macedonians* were the greater number, the *Romans* the better souldiers, and better appointed. Both the King and the Consul encouraged their men with lively words: which the present condition could bountifully afford. But the King, having finished his Oration, and sent on his men, withdrew himself into *Pydna*: there to do sacrifice, as he pretended, unto *Hercules*. It is the less marvel, that he durst adventure battel, since he had bethought himself of such a stratageme, whereby to save his own person. As for *Hercules*, he liked not the sacrifice of a Coward: whose unseasonable devotion could be no better then hypocrisie. For he that will pray for a good Harvest, ought also Plough, Sow, and Weed his Ground. When therefore the King returned to the battel, he found it no better than lost: and he in looking to his own safety, caused it to be lost altogether, by beginning the flight.

The acts of this day, such as we find recorded are, That the *Roman* Elephants, could do no manner of good: That the *Macedonian Phalanx* did so stoutly press onwards, and beat off all which came before it, as *Æmylius* was thereat much astonished, that the *Peligni* rushing desperately on the *Phalanx*, were over-born; many of them slain, and the squadrons following them so discouraged herewith, as they retired apace towards an hill. These were the things that fell out averse to the *Romans*; and which the Consul beholding, is said to have rent his Coat-armor for grief. If the King with all his power of horse, had in like manner done his devoyre, the victory might have been his own. That which turned the fortune of the battel, was the same which doubtless the Consul expected, even from the beginning: the difficulty or almost the impossibility of holding the *Phalanx* long in order. For whilest some of the *Romans* small battalions pressed hard upon one part of it, and others recoyled from it; it was necessary (if the *Macedonians* would follow upon those which were put to the worse) that some files having open way before them, should advance themselves beyond the rest that were held at a stand. This coming so to pass, admonished the Consul, what was to be done. The long Pikes of the *Macedonians* were of little use, when they were charged in flank by the *Roman* Targettiers; according to the direction given by *Æmylius*, when he saw the front of the enemies great battel become unequal, and the ranks in some places open, by reason of the unequal resistance which they found. Thus was the use of the *Phalanx* proved unavailable against many small Squadrons, as it had been formerly in the battel of *Cynoscephalæ*: yea this form of embattailing was found unserviceable against the other, by reason, that being not every where alike distressed, it would break of it self; though here were little such inconvenience of ground, as had been at *Cynoscephalæ*.

*Perseus*, when he saw his battel begin to rout, turned his bridle presently, and ran amain towards *Pella*. All his horse escaped, in a manner untouched, and a great number followed him; the little harm which they had taken, witnessing the little good service which they had done. As for the poor foot, they were left to the mercy of the Enemy: who slew above twenty thousand of them; though having little cause to be furious, as having lost in that battel, only some fourscore, or sixscore men at the most. Some of the foot, escaping from the execution, overtook the King and his company in a Wood, where they fell to railing at the horsemen, calling them cowards, traitors, and such other names, till at length they fell to blows. The King was in doubt lest they had ill meaning to himself: and therefore turned out of the common way, being followed by such as thought it good. The rest of the company dispersed themselves: every one as his own occasions guided him. Of those that kept along with their King, the number began within a while to lessen. For he fell to devising upon whom he might lay the blame of that dayes misfortune, which was most due to himself: thereby causing those that knew his nature, to shrink away from him, how they could. At his coming to *Pella*, he found his Pages and houshold-servants, ready to attend him, as they had been wont. But of his great men that had escaped from the battel, there was none appearing in the Court. In this melancholy time, there were two of his Treasurers that had the boldness to come to him, and tell him roundly of his faults. But in reward of their unseasonable admonitions, he stabbed them both to death. After this, none whom he sent for would come at him. This boded no good. Wherefore standing in fear, lest they that refused to come at his call, would shortly dare some greater mischief, he stole out of *Pella* by night. Of his friends he had with him only *Evander* (who had been employed to kill *Eumenes* at *Delphi*) and two other. There followed him likewise about 500. *Cretians*, more for love of his money than of him. To these he gave of his plate, as much as was worth about fifty talents, though shortly he coufened them of some part thereof; making shew as if he would have redeemed it, but never paying the money. The third day after the battel he came to *Amphipolis*, where he exhorted the Townsmen to fidelity, with tears: and his own speech being hindered by tears, he appointed *Evander* to speak what himself would have uttered. But the *Amphipolitans* made it their chief care to look well to themselves. Upon the first fame of the overthrow, they had emptied their Town of two thousand *Thracians* that lay there in Garrison: sending them forth under colour of a gainful employment, and shutting the gates after them. And now to be rid of the King, they plainly bad *Evander* to be gone. The King hearing this, had no mind to tarry: but embarking himself and the treasure which he had there, in certain vessels that he found in the river *Strymon*; passed over the Isle of *Samothrace*: where he hoped to live safe, by priviledge of the religious Sanctuary therein.

These miserable shifts of the King make it the less doubtful, how all the Kingdom fell into the power of *Æmylius*, within so few dayes after his victory. *Pydna*, which was neareft at hand, was the last that yielded. About six thousand of the souldiers, that were of sundry Nations, fled out of the battel into that Town; and prepared for defence: the confused rabble of so many strangers hindering all deliberation and consent. *Hippius*, who had kept the passage over *Ossa* against *Martius*, with *Pantauchus*, who had been sent Embassador to *Gentius* the *Illyrian*; were the first that came in: yielding themselves, and the Town of *Berœa*, whither they had retired out of the battel. With the

the like meſſage came others from *Theſſalonica*, from *Pella*, and from all the Towns of *Macedon*, within two dayes: the loſs of the head bereaving the whole body of all ſenſe and ſtrength. Neither did they of *Pydna*, ſtand out any longer, when they knew that the King had forſaken his Country: but opened their gates upon ſuch terms, that the ſack of it was granted to the *Roman* Army. *Æmylius* ſent abroad into the Country, ſuch as he thought meeteſt, to take charge of other Cities: he himſelf marching towards *Pella*. He found in *Pella* no more than three hundred Talents: the ſame, whereof *Perſeus* had lately defrauded the *Illyrian*. But within a very little while he ſhall have more.

It was ſoon underſtood, that *Perſeus* had taken Sanctuary in the Temple at *Samothrace*: his own Letters to the Conſul confirming the report. He ſent theſe Letters by perſons of ſuch mean condition, that his caſe was pitied, for that he wanted the ſervice of better men. The ſcope of this writing was, to deſire favour: which, though he begged in terms ill beſeeming a King, yet ſince the inſcription of his Epiſtle was, *King Perſeus to the Conſul Paulus*; the Conſul, who had taken from him his Kingdom, and would not allow him to retain the Title, refuſed to make any anſwer thereunto. So there came other Letters, as humble as could be expected: whereby he craved and obtained, that ſome might be ſent to confer with him about matters of his preſent eſtate. Nevertheleſs, in this Conference, he was marvelloully earneſt, that he might be allowed ſtill to retain the name of King. And to this end it was, perhaps, that he had ſo carefully preſerved his Treaſure, unto the very laſt: flattering himſelf with ſuch vain hopes as theſe; That the *Romans* would neither violate a Sanctuary, nor yet neglect thoſe great riches in his poſſeſſion; but compound with him for mony, letting him have his deſire to live at eaſe, and to be called King. Yea, it ſeems that he had indeed, even from the beginning, a deſire to live in this Iſle of *Samothrace*: both for that in one of his conſultations about the War, he was dehorted by his friends, from ſeeking to exchange his Kingdom of *Macedon*, for
Liv. l. 42. * ſuch a paltry Iſland; and for that he offered to lay up the mony which *Eumenes* demanded, in the holy Temple that was there. But he finds it otherwiſe. They urge him to give place unto neceſſity, and, without more adoe, to yeeld to the diſcretion and mercy of the people of *Rome*. This is ſo far againſt his mind, that the Conference breaks off without effect. Preſently there arrives at *Samothrace Cn. Octavius* the *Roman* Admiral with his Fleet: who aſſayes, as well by terrible threats, as by fair language, to draw the King out of his lurking hole; wherein, for fear of impriſonment, he had now already impriſoned himſelf. When all would not ſerve, a queſtion was moved to the *Samothracians*; How they durſt pollute their Temple, by receiving into it one that had violated the like holy priviledge of Sanctuary, by attempting the murder of King *Eumenes* at *Delphi*? This went to the quick. The *Samothracians*, being now in the power of the *Romans*, take this matter to heart; and ſend word to the King, that *Evander*, who lives with him in the Temple, is accuſed of an impious fact, committed at *Delphi*, whereof unleſs he can clear himſelf in judgment, he muſt not be ſuffered to prophane that holy place, by his abiding in it. The reverence born to his Majeſty, now paſt, makes them forbear to ſay, that *Perſeus* himſelf is charged with the ſame crime. But what will this avail, when the Miniſter of the fact being brought into judgment, ſhall (as is to be feared) appeach the Author? *Perſeus* therefore willeth *Evander* to have conſideration of the little favour that can be expected at the *Romans* hand; who are like to be preſidents and overſeers of this judgment: ſo as it were better to dye valiantly, ſince none other hope remains, than hope to make good an ill cauſe; where, though he had a good plea, yet it could not help him. Of this motion *Evander* ſeems to like well: and either kills himſelf, or hoping to eſcape thence, by deferring the time as it were to get poyſon wherewith to end his life, is killed by the Kings commandment. The death of this man, who had ſtuck to *Perſeus* in all times of need, makes all the Kings friends that remained hitherto, to forſake him: ſo as none are left with him, ſave his wife and children, with his Pages. It is much to be ſuſpected, that they which leave him upon this occaſion, will tell perillous tales, and ſay, That the King hath loſt the priviledge of this holy Sanctuary, by murdering *Evander* therein. Or if the *Romans* will affirm ſo much, who ſhall dare to gainſay them? Since therefore there is nothing but a point of formality, and even that alſo liable to diſpute, which preſerves him from captivity; he purpoſeth to make an eſcape, and flye, with his Treaſures, unto *Cotys* his good friend, into *Thrace*. *Oroandes*, a *Cretian*, lay at *Samothrace* with one ſhip; who eaſily was perſwaded to waft the King thence, With all ſecrecy the King's mony, as much as could be ſo conveyed, was carryed aboard by night; and the King
Plutarc. in vit. Æmil. himſelf; with his wife and * children (if rather it were not true, that he had with
Liv. l. 45. him only * *Philip* his elder Son, who was
Liv. l. 42. only by adoption his Son, being his * brother by nature) with much adoe got out at a window by a Rope, and over a mud-wall. At his coming to the Sea-ſide, he found no *Oroandes* there: the *Cretian* had played a *Cretian* trick, and was gone with the mony to his own home. So it began to wax clear day, whileſt *Perſeus* was ſearching all along the ſhoar: who had ſtayed ſo long about this, that he might fear to be intercepted ere he could recover the Temple. He ran therefore amain towards his lodging: and thinking it not ſafe to enter it the common way, leſt he ſhould be taken, he hid himſelf in an obſcure corner. His Pages miſſing him, ran up and down making inquiry; till *Octavius* made Proclamation, That all the Kings Pages, and *Macedonians* whatſoever, abiding with their Maſter in *Samothrace*, ſhould have their lives and liberty, with all to them belonging, which they had either in that Iſle, or at home in *Macedon*, conditionally, That they ſhould preſently yeeld themſelves to the *Romans*. Hereupon they all came in. Likewiſe *Ion*, a *Theſſalonian*, to whom the King had given the cuſtody of his children, delivered them up to *Octavius*. Laſtly, *Perſeus* himſelf, with his Son *Philip*, accuſing the gods of *Samothrace*, that had no better protected him, rendred himſelf, and made the *Roman* Victory compleat. If he had not truſted in thoſe gods of *Samothrace*, but employed his whole care in the defence of *Macedon*, without other hope of living, than of reigning therein; he might well have brought this War to an happier end. Now, by dividing his cogitations, and purſuing at once, thoſe contrary hopes of ſaving his Kingdom by Arms, and himſelf by flight, he is become a ſpectacle of miſery, and one among the number of thoſe Princes, that have been wretched by their own default. He was preſently ſent away to *Æmylius*; before whom he fell to the ground ſo baſely, that he ſeemed thereby to diſhonour the Victory over himſelf, as gotten upon one of abject quality, and therefore the leſs to be eſteemed. *Æmylius* uſed to him the language of a gentle Victor: blaming him, though mildly, for having, with ſo hoſtile a mind, made war upon the *Romans*. Hereto good anſwer might have been returned by one of better ſpirit. As for *Perſeus*, he anſwered all with a fearful ſilence. He was comforted with hope of life, or (as the Conſul termed it) almoſt aſſurance; for that ſuch was the mercy of the people at *Rome*. After theſe good words, being invited to the Conſul's Table, and reſpectively entreated, he was committed priſoner to *Q. Ælius*.

Such end had this *Macedonian* War, after four years continuance: and ſuch end therewithall had the Kingdom of *Macedon*; the glory whereof, that had ſometime filled all parts of the world then known, was now tranſlated unto *Rome*.



## §. IX.

### Gentius *King of the* Illyrians *taken by the* Romans.

ABout the ſame time, and with like celerity, *Anicius* the *Roman* Prætor, who ſucceeded unto *App. Claudius*, had the like ſucceſs againſt King *Gentius* the *Illyrian*. *Gentius* had an Army of fifteen thouſand; with which he was at *Liſſus*, ready to aſſiſt King *Perſeus* as ſoon as the mony ſhould come, whereof he had received only ten Talents. But *Anicius* arreſted him on the way, fought with him, overcame him, and drave him into * *Scodra*. This Town was very defenſible by nature, beſides the help of fortification; and ſtrongly manned with all the force of *Illyria*; which, aſſiſted with the Kings preſence, made it ſeem unpoſſible to be won, in any not a very long time. Yet *Anicius* was confident in his late Victory; and therefore preſented his Army before the walls, making countenance to give an aſſault. The *Illyrians*, that might eaſily have defended themſelves within the Town, would needs iſſue forth and fight. They were, it ſeems, rather paſſionate, than couragious: for they were beaten; and thereupon forthwith began amazedly to treat about yeelding. The King ſent Embaſſadours; by whom, at firſt, he deſired truce for three dayes, that he might deliberate concerning his eſtate. It ill became him, who had laid violent hands on the *Roman* Embaſſadours, to have recourſe to ſuch mediation. But he thought his own fault pardonable, in as much as hitherto there was no greater harm done by him, than the caſting of thoſe Embaſſadours into priſon, where they were all alive. Having obtained three dayes reſpite, he paſſed up a River, within half a mile of the *Roman* Camp, into the Lake of *Scorda*, as it were to conſult the more privately; though indeed

Called now Scutari.

deed, to hearken whether the report were true, that his brother *Caravantius* was coming to his reſcue. Finding that no ſuch help was toward, it is wonder, that he was ſo fooliſh as to return into *Scordia*. He ſent meſſengers craving acceſs unto the Prætor; before whom, having lamented his folly paſt (which, excepting the diſhoneſty, was not ſo great as his folly preſent) he fell down humbly, and yeelded himſelf to diſcretion. All the Towns of his Kingdom, together with his wife, children, brother, friends, were preſently given up. So this War ended in thirty dayes: the people of *Rome* not knowing that it was begun, until *Perpenna*, one of the Embaſſadours that had been impriſoned, brought word from *Anicius* how all had paſſed.

## §. X.

### *How the* Romans *behaved themſelves in* Greece *and* Macedon *after their Victory over* Perſeus.

NOW began the *Romans* to ſwell with the pride of their fortune; and to look tyrannically upon thoſe that had been unmannerly toward them before, whileſt the War with *Perſeus* ſeemed full of danger. The *Rhodian* Embaſſadours were ſtill at *Rome*, when the tydings of theſe Victories were brought thither. Wherefore it was thought good to call them into the Senate, and bid them do their errand again. This they performed with a bad grace; ſaying, That they were ſent from *Rhodes* to make an overture of peace; foraſmuch as it was thought, that this war was no leſs grievous to the *Romans* themſelves, than to the *Macedonians* and many others: but that now they were very glad, and in behalf of the *Romans* did congratulate with the Senate and people of *Rome*, that it was ended much more happily than had been expected. Hereto the Senate made anſwer, That the *Rhodians* had ſent this Embaſſage to *Rome*, not for love of *Rome*, but in favour of the *Macedonian*; whoſe partizans they were, and ſhould ſo be taken. By theſe threats, and the deſire of ſome (covetous of the charge) to have War proclaimed againſt *Rhodes*; the Embaſſadours were ſo affrighted, that in mourning Apparel, as humble Suppliants, they went about the City, beſeeching all men, eſpecially the great Ones, to pardon their indiſcretion, and not to proſecute them with vengeance, for ſome fooliſh words. This danger of War from *Rome* being known at *Rhodes*, all that had been any whit averſe from the *Romans* in the late War of *Macedon*, were either taken and condemned, or ſent priſoners to *Rome*; excepting ſome that flew themſelves for fear, whoſe goods alſo were confiſcated. Yet this procured little grace; and leſs would have done, if old *M. Cato*, a man by nature vehement, had not uttered a milde ſentence, and advertiſed the Senate, That in decreeing War againſt *Rhodes*, they ſhould much diſhonour themſelves, and make it thought, that * rather the wealth of that City, which they were greedy to ranſack, than any juſt cauſe, had moved them thereto. This conſideration, together with their good deſerts in the Wars of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, helped well the *Rhodians*: among whom, none of any mark remained alive, ſave thoſe that had been of the *Roman* faction. All which notwithſtanding, many years paſſed, ere by importunate ſuit, they could be admitted into the ſociety of the *Romans*: a favour which till now they had not eſteemed; but thought themſelves better without it, as equal friends.

* *Cæſar. in orat. apud Salluſt. de Conjurat. Catilinæ.*

With the like, or greater ſeverity, did the *Romans* make themſelves terrible in all parts of *Greece*. *Æmylius* himſelf made progreſs thorow the Country; viſiting all the famous places therein, as for his pleaſure: yet not forgetting to make them underſtand what power he had over them. More than five hundred of the chief Citizens in *Demetrias* were ſlain at one time by thoſe of the *Roman* faction, and with help of the *Roman* Souldiers. Others fled, or were baniſhed, and their goods confiſcated. Of which things, when complaint was made to the Conſul, the redreſs was ſuch, as requited not the pains of ſupplication. His friends, that is to ſay, thoſe which betrayed unto the *Romans* the liberty of their Country, he feaſted like a King, with exceſſive chear; yet ſo, that he had all things very cheap in his Camp: an eaſie matter, ſince no man durſt be backward in ſending proviſions, nor ſet on them the due price. Embaſſadours likewiſe were ſent from *Rome*; ſome, to give order for ſettling the eſtate of *Macedon*, towards which they had more particular inſtruction from the Senate, than was uſual in ſuch caſes; and ſome, to viſit the affairs of *Greece*. The Kingdom of *Macedon* was ſet at liberty by *Æmylius*, and the Embaſſadours, his aſſiſtants, who had order therefore from the Senate. But this liberty was ſuch as the *Romans* uſed to beſtow. The beſt part of it was, That the Tribute which had been payed unto the Kings, was leſſened by



by half. As for the reſt, the Country was divided into four parts, and they forbidden commerce one with the other. All the Nobility were ſent captive into *Italy*, with their wives and children, as many as were above fifteen years old. The ancient Laws of the Country were abrogated; and new given by *Æmilius*. Such miſchief the Senate thought it better to do, at the firſt alteration of things in this Province, and in the time of Conqueſt, than otherwiſe to leave any inconvenience that ſhould be worſe in the future. But concerning the *Greeks*, that were not ſubjects to *Rome*, the things done to them could deſerve no better name than meer tyranny: yea, and ſhameleſs perjury; were it not ſo, that the familiar cuſtom, among Princes and great Eſtates, of violating Leagues, doth make the Oaths of confœderation ſeem of no validity. The Embaſſadours that were ſent to viſit the *Greeks*, called before them all ſuch men of note, from every quarter, as had any way diſcovered an unſerviceable diſpoſition towards the *Romans*. Theſe they ſent to *Rome*; where they were made ſure enough. Some of theſe had ſent Letters to *Perſeus*, which fell at length into the *Romans* hands: and in that reſpect, though they were no ſubjects; yet wanted there not colour, for uſing them as traitors, or at leaſt as enemies. But ſince only two men were beheaded, for having bin openly on the *Macedonian* ſide; and ſince it is confeſſed, that the good *Patriots* were no leſs afflicted in this inquiſition, than they that had ſold themſelves to the King: this manner of proceeding was inexcuſable tyranny. With the *Achæans* theſe Embaſſadours were to deal more formally: not ſo much becauſe that Common-wealth was ſtrong; (though this were to be regarded by them, having no Commiſſion to make or denounce War) and like to prove untractable, if manifeſt wrong were offered; as for that there appeared no manner of ſign, by Letters, or otherwiſe, whereby any one of the *Achæans* could be ſuſpitiouſly charged to have held correſpondence with the *Macedonian*. It was alſo ſo, that neither *Callicrates*, nor any of his adherents, had been employed by the Nation, in doing or offering their ſervice to the *Romans*; but only ſuch as were the beſt *Patriots*. Yet would not therefore the Embaſſadours neglect to uſe the benefit of the time: wherein, ſince all men trembled for fear of *Rome*, the ſeaſon ſerved fitly to rank the *Achæans* with the reſt. And hereto *Callicrates* was very urgent: fearing, and procuring them to fear in behalf of him and his friends, that if ſome ſharp order were not now taken, he and his fellows ſhould be made to pay for their miſchievous devices, ere long time paſſed. So the Embaſſadours came among the *Achæans*: where one of them, in open aſſembly of the Nation, ſpake, as *Callicrates* had before inſtructed him. He ſaid, That ſome of the chief among them, had with mony and other means befriended *Perſeus*. This being ſo, he deſired that all ſuch men might be condemned; whom, after ſentence given, he would name unto them. After ſentence given (cryed out the whole aſſembly) what juſtice were this? Name them firſt, and let them anſwer; which if they cannot well do, we will ſoon condemn them: Then ſaid the *Roman* boldly, That all their Prætors, as many as had led their Armies, were guilty of this crime. If this were true, ſaid *Xenon*, a temperate man, and confident in his innocence, then ſhould I likewiſe have been friend to *Perſeus*: whereof, if any man can accuſe me, I ſhall throughly anſwer him, either here preſently, or before the Senate at *Rome*. Upon theſe words of *Xenon* the Embaſſadour laid hold, and ſaid, That even ſo it were the beſt way, for him and the reſt to purge themſelves before the Senate at *Rome*. Then began he to name others, and left not until he had cited above a thouſand; willing them to appear and anſwer before the Senate. This might even be termed the captivity of *Greece*; wherein ſo many of the honeſteſt and worthieſt men were carried from home, for none other cauſe, than their love unto their Country; to be puniſhed according to the will of thoſe, who could not endure, that virtue, and regard of the publick liberty, ſhould dwell together in any of the *Greeks*. At their coming to *Rome*, they were all caſt into priſon, as men already condemned by the *Achæans*. Many Embaſſages were ſent from *Achaia* (where it is to be wondred, that any ſuch honeſt care of theſe innocent men could be remaining: ſince honeſty had been thus puniſhed as a vice, in ſo many of the worthieſt among them) to inform the Senate, that theſe men were neither condemned by the *Achæans*, nor yet held to be offenders. But in ſtead of better anſwer, it was pronounced; That the *Senate thought it not expedient for the Country, that theſe men ſhould return into Achaia*. Neither could any ſolicitation

solicitation of the *Achæans*, who never ceased to importune the Senate for their liberty, prevail at all; until after seventeen years, fewer than thirty of them were inlarged, of whom that wise and virtuous man *Polybius* the great Historian, was one. All the rest were either dead in prison, or, having made offer to escape, whether upon the way before they came to *Rome*, or whether out of Jayle, after that they were committed thereto, suffered death as malefactors.

This was a gentle correction, in regard of what was done upon the *Epirots*. For the Senate being desirous to preserve the *Macedonian* Treasure whole; yet withall, to gratifie the Souldiers, gave order, that the whole Country of *Epirus* should be put to sack. This was a barbarous and horrible cruelty; as also it was performed by *Æmylius* with mischievous subtilty. Having taken leave of the *Greeks*, and of the *Macedonians*, with bidding them well to use the liberty bestowed upon them by the people of *Rome*; he sent unto the *Epirots* for ten of the principal men out of every City. These he commanded to deliver up all the Gold and Silver which they had; and sent along with them, into every of their Towns, what companies of men he thought convenient, as it were to fetch the mony. But he gave secret instructions to the Captains, that upon a certain day by him appointed, they should fall to sack, every one the Town whereinto he was sent. Thus in one day were threescore and ten Cities, all confederate with the *Romans*, spoiled by the *Roman* Souldiers; and besides other acts of hostility in a time of peace, a hundred and fifty thousand of that Nation made slaves. It may be granted, that some of the *Epirots* deserved punishment, as having favoured *Perseus*. But since they among this people, that were thought guilty of this offence; yea, or but coldly affected to the *Romans*, had been already sent into *Italy*, there to receive their due; and since this Nation, in general, was not only at the present in good obedience, but had even in this War done good service to the *Romans*: I hold this act so wicked, that I should not believe it, had any one Writer delivered the contrary. But the truth being manifest by consent of all, it is the less marvellous that God was pleased to make *Æmylius* childless, even in the glory of his triumph, how great soever otherwise his virtues were.

In such manner dealt the *Romans*, after their Victory, with the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*. How terrible they were to other Kingdoms abroad, it will appear by the efficacy of an Embassage sent from them to *Antiochus*; whereof, before we speak, we must say somewhat of *Antiochus* his foregoers, of himself, and of his affairs about which these Embassadours came.

## §. XI.

### *The War of* Antiochus *upon* Egypt *brought to end by the* Roman *Embassadours.*

*Antiochus* the Great, after his peace with the *Romans*, did nothing that was memorable in the short time following of his reign and life. He died the six and thirtieth year after he had worn a Crown, and in the seventeenth or eighteenth of *Ptolomy Epiphanes*; while he attempted to rob the Temple of *Bel*, or (according to *Justine*) of *Jupiter*. He left behind him three Sons, *Seleucus*, *Philopator*, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Demetrius Soter*; and one Daughter, *Cleopatra*, whom he had given in marriage to *Ptolomy Epiphanes* King of *Egypt*. *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, and the eldest of *Antiochus* his Sons; reigned in *Syria* twelve years, according to *Eusebius*, *Appian*, and *Sulpitius*: though *Josephus* give him but seven years. A Prince, who, as he was slothful by nature, so the great loss which his Father *Antiochus* had received, took from him the means of managing any great affair. Of him, about three hundred years before his birth, *Daniel* gave this judgment, *Et stabit in loco ejus vilissimus & indignus decore regio. And in his place* (speaking of *Antiochus*, the Father of this man) *shall stand up a vile person, unworthy the honour of a King.* Under this *Seleucus*, those things were done which are spoken of *Onias* the high Priest, in these words, and other to the same effect: *What time as the holy City was inhabited with all peace, because of the godliness of* Onias *the Priest, it came to pass, that even the King did honour the place, and garnished the Temple with great gifts.* And all that is written in the third Chapter of the second of *Maccabees*, of *Simon* of *Benjamin*, who by *Apollonius* betrayed the Treasures of the Temple: and of *Heliodorus* sent by the King to seize them; of his miraculous striking by God, and his recovery at the prayers of *Onias*; of the Kings death, and of his successour *Antiochus Epiphanes*. It is therefore from the reign of this King, that the Books of the *Maccabees* take beginning.

*Strab. l. 16. Justin. l. 35.*

*Euseb. in Chron. Appian. de bell. Syr. Ant. 22. c. 5.*

*Dan. 11. 21*

2 Mac. 3.



ning. Which Books seem not to be delivered by one and the same hand. For the first Book, although it touch upon *Alexander* the Great, yet it hath nothing else of his story; nor of the acts of his successors, till the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the brother and successor of this *Seleucus*, from whom downward to the death of *Simon Maccabæus* (who died in the hundred threescore and seventeenth year of the *Greeks* in *Syria*) that first Book treateth. The Author of the second Book, although he take the story somewhat further off, by way of a Proœme, yet he endeth with the hundred and one and fiftieth year of the *Grecian* reign, and with the death of *Nicanor*, slain by *Judas*: remembring in the fourth Chapter the practice of *Jason* the brother of *Onias*; who, after the death of *Seleucus*, prevailed with *Antiochus Epiphanes*, his successor, for the Priesthood. It is also held by *Jansenius*, and other grave Writers, that it was in the time of this *Onias*, that *Arius* King of the *Spartans* sent Embassadours to the *Jews*, as to their brothers and kinsmen. Which intelligence between them and the *Greeks*, *Jonathan* the brother and successor of *Judas*, remembreth in the Preamble of that Epistle, which he himself directed to the people of *Sparta* by *Numenius* and *Antipater* his Embassadours, whom he employed at the same time to the Senate of *Rome*; repeating also the former Letters word by word, which *Arius* had sent to *Onias* the high Priest, whereto *Josephus* adds, that the name of the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadour was *Demoteles*, and that the Letters had a square Volume, and were sealed with an Eagle holding a Dragon in her claws.

1 Mac. 12. Super Eccl. c. 5.

Now to this *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, succeeded *Antiochus Epiphanes*, in the hundred and seven and thirtieth year of the *Greeks* in *Syria*. He was the second Son of the Great *Antiochus*: and he obtained his Kingdom by procuring the death of the King his brother; which also he usurped from his brothers Son.

*Ptolomy Philometor*, his Nephew by his Sister *Cleopatra*, being then very young, had been about seven years King of *Egypt*.

*Ptolomy Epiphanes*, the Father of this King *Philometor*, had reigned in *Egypt* four and twenty year, in great quiet, but doing little or nothing that was memorable. *Philip* of *Macedon*, and the Great *Antiochus*, had agreed to divide his Kingdom beween them, whilest he was a child. But they found such other business ere long with the *Romans*, as made them give over their unjust purpose; especially *Antiochus*, who gave with his Daughter in marriage, unto this *Ptolomy*, the Provinces of *Cœlosyria*, *Phœnice*, and *Judæa*, which he had won by his victory over *Scopas*, that was General of the *Egyptian* Forces in those parts. Nevertheless, *Ptolomy* adhered to the *Romans*: whereby he lived in the greater security. He left behind him two Sons, this *Ptolomy Philometor*, and *Ptolomy Physcon*; with a Daughter *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was wife to the elder of her brethren, and after his death to the younger, by whom she was cast off, and her Daughter taken in her stead. Such were the marriages of these *Egyptian* Kings.

*Ptolomy Philometor*, so called (that is, the Lover of his Mother) by a bitter nickname, because he slew her, fell into hatred with his Subjects, and was like to be chased out of his Kingdom, his younger brother being set up against him. *Physcon* having a strong party, got possession of *Alexandria*; and *Philometor* held himself in *Memphis*, craving succour of King *Antiochus* his Uncle. Hereof *Antiochus* was glad: who under colour to take upon him the protection of the young Prince, sought by all means possible to possess himself of that Kingdom. He sent *Apollonius* the Son of *Menestheus* Embassadour into *Egypt*, and under colour to assist the Kings Coronation, he gave him instructions to perswade the Governours of the young King *Philometor*, to deliver the King his Nephew, with the principal places of that Kingdom, into his hands; pretending an extraordinary care and desire of his Nephews safety and well doing. And the better to answer all arguments to the contrary, he prepared a forcible Army to attend him. Thus came he alongst the coast of *Syria* to *Joppe*, and from thence on the sudden he turned himself towards *Jerusalem*; where, by *Jason* the Priest, (a Chaplain fit for such a Patron) he was with all pomp and solemnity received into the City. For though lately, in the time of *Seleucus*, the brother and predecessor of *Epiphanes*, that impious Traitor *Simon* of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, Ruler of the Temple, when he would have delivered the treasures thereof to *Apollonius* Governour of *Cœlosyria* and *Phœnicia*, was disappointed of his wicked purpose by miracle from Heaven; the said *Apollonius* being strucken by the Angel of God, and recovering again at the prayer of *Onias*: yet sufficed not this example to terrifie

2 Mac. 4.

2 Mac. 3.

terrifie others from the like ungodly practices. Presently upon the death of *Seleucus*, this *Jason*, the brother of *Onias*, seeking to supplant his brother, and to obtain
3 Mac.4. the Priesthood for himself, offered unto the King three hundred and threescore talents of silver, with other rents and summs of mony. So he got his desire, though he not long enjoyed it.

This naughty dealing of *Jason*, and his being over-reached by another in the same kind, calls to mind a by-word taken up among the *Achæans*, when as that mischievous *Callicrates*, who had been too hard for all worthy and virtuous men, was beaten at his own weapon, by one of his own condition. It was thus:

*One fire than other burns more forcibly,*
*One Wolf than other Wolves does bite more sore,*
*One Hawk than other Hawks more swift does fly:*
*So one most mischievous of men before,*
Callicrates, *false knave as knave might be,*
*Met with* Menalcidas *more false than he.*

And even thus fell it out with *Jason*: who within three years after was betrayed, and over-bidden by *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, that for three hundred talents more obtained the Priesthood for himself: *Jason* thereupon being forced to fly from *Jerusalem*, and to hide himself among the *Ammonites*.

From *Jerusalem*, *Antiochus* marched into *Phœnicia*, to augment the numbers of his men of war, and to prepare a Fleet for his expedition into *Egypt*; with which, and
1 Mac. 1. 17. with a mighty Army of Land-forces, *He went about to reign over* Egypt, *that he might have the dominion of two Realms, and entred* Egypt *with a mighty company; with Chariots and Elephants, with Horsemen, and with a great Navy, and moved war against*
V. 18, 19, 20, &c. Ptolemæus *King of* Egypt; *but* Ptolemæus *was afraid of him, and fled, and many were wounded to death. He wan many strong Cities, and took away the spoils of the Land of* Egypt. Thus was fulfilled the Prophecy
Dan. 11. 24 of *Daniel*: *He shall enter into the quiet and plentiful Provinces, and he shall do that which his Fathers have not done, nor his Fathers Father.* Never indeed had any of the Kings of *Syria* so great a victory over the *Egyptians*, nor took from them so great riches. For he gave a notable overthrow to the Captains of *Ptolomy*, between *Pelusium*, and the Hill *Casius*, after which he
Hier. in Dan. entred and sackt the greatest and richest of all the Cities of *Egypt*, *Alexandria* excepted, which he could not force. In conclusion, after that *Antiochus* had smitten *Egypt*, *he turned again, and went up towards* Israel *and* Jerusalem *with a mighty people, and entred proudly into the Sanctuary, and took away the golden Altar, and the Candlestick for the light, and all the instruments thereof, and the table of the Shewbread, and the pouring Vessels, and the Bolls, and the golden Basons, and the Vail, and the Crowns, and the golden Apparel. He took also the Silver, and the Gold, and the precious Jewels, and the secret Treasures: and when he had taken away all, he departed into his own Land, after he had murdered many men.* 1 Mac. 1.

It was about the beginning of the *Macedonian* war, that *Antiochus* took in hand this *Egyptian* business. At what time he first laid claim to *Cœlosyria*, justifying his title by * the same allegations which his Father had made; and stiffly averring, that this Province had not been consigned over to the *Egyptian*, or given in dowry with *Cleopatra*. Easie it was to approve his right unto that which he had already gotten, when he was in a fair way to get all *Egypt*. The *Achæans*, *Rhodians*, *Athenians*, and other of the *Greeks*, pressed him, by several Embassages, to some good conclusion. But his answer was, that if the *Alexandrians* could be contented to receive their King his Nephew *Philometor*, the elder brother of the *Ptolomies*, then should the war be presently at an end; otherwise not. Yet when he saw that it was a hard piece of work to take *Alexandria* by force: he thought it better to let the two brothers consume themselves with intestine war, than by the terrour of his arms, threatning destruction unto both of them, to put into them any desire of coming to agreement. He therefore withdrew his Forces for the present; leaving the *Ptolomies* in very weak estate, the younger almost ruinated by his invasion; the elder hated and forsaken by his people. Lib. 6. Cap. 5 sect. 2. Polyb. Leg. 81, 82, &c.

But how weak soever these *Egyptians* were, their hatred was thought to be so strong, that *Antiochus* might leave them to the prosecution thereof; and follow, at good leisure, his other business at *Jerusalem*, or elsewhere. So after the sack of *Jerusalem*, he rested him a while at *Antioch*, and then made a journey into *Cilicia*, to suppress the Rebellion of the *Thracians* and others in those parts, who had been given, as it were, by way of dowry to a Concubine of the Kings, called *Antiochis*. For Governour of *Syria* in his absence, he left one



one *Andronichus*, a man of great authority about him. In the mean while, *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, the same who had thrust *Jason* out of the Priesthood, and promised the King three hundred talents for an In-come; committing the charge of the Priesthood to his brother *Lysimachus*, stole certain Vessels of gold out of the Temple: whereof he presented a part to *Andronicus* the Kings Lieutenant, and sold the rest at *Tyre*, and other Cities adjoyning. This he did, as it seemeth to advance the payment of the three hundred talents promised; the same being now by *Sostratus* eagerly demanded. Hereof when *Onias* the Priest (formerly dispossessed by *Jason*) had certain knowledge, being moved with zeal, and detesting the sacriledge of *Menelaus*, he reproved him for it; and fearing his revenge, he withdrew himself into a Sanctuary at *Daphne*.

*Daphne* was a place of delight adjoyning as as suburb to *Antioch*. In compass it had about ten miles: wherein were the Temples of *Apollo* and *Diana*, with a Grove, sweet Springs, banquetting places, and the like; which were wholly, in a manner, abused to lust, and other such voluptuousness. Whether it were well done of *Onias* to commit himself to the protection of *Apollo* and *Diana*, or to claim priviledge from the holiness of a ground consecrated to any of the Heathen gods, I will not stand to discourse. Only I say for mine own opinion, that the inconvenience is far less, to hold this Book as Apocryphal, than to judge this fearful shift which *Onias* (though a vertuous man) made for his life, either commendable or allowable, as the book seems to do. As for this refuge, it could not save the life of the poor old man: *for* Menelaus *taking* Andronicus *apart*,
2 Mac. 4. *prayed him to slay* Onias. *So when he came to* Onias, *he counselled him craftily, giving him his right hand with an oath, and perswaded him to come out of the Sanctuary; so he slew him incontinently without any regard of righteousness.* Hereof when complaint was made to *Antiochus* after his return out of *Cilicia*, *He took*
2 Mac. 4. 38. *away* Andronicus *his garment of purple, and rent his clothes, and commanded him to be led throughout the City; and in the same place where he had committed the wickedness against* Onias, *he was slain as a murderer.* In taking revenge of this innocent mans death, I should have thought that this wicked King had once in his life time done Justice. But presently after this, at the suit of one *Ptolomy*, a Traitor to *Ptolomy Philometor*, he condemned innocent men to death, who justly complained against *Menelaus*, and his brother *Lysimachus*, for a second robbing of the Temple, and carrying thence the Vessels of gold remaining. Hereby it is manifest, that he was guided by his own outragious will, and not by any regard of justice: since he revenged the death of *Onias*, he slew those that were in the same cause with *Onias*; *Who, had they told their cause, yea, before the* Scythians, *they should have been heard as innocent.* By reason of such his unsteadiness, this King was commonly termed *Epimanes*, that is, Mad, instead of *Epiphanes*, which signifieth Noble, or Illustrious. Verse 47.

After this, *Antiochus* made preparation for a second voyage into *Egypt*, *and then were there seen throughout all the City of* Jerusalem, *forty dayes long, horsemen running in the air with robes of gold, and as bands of Spear-men, and as troops of Horsemen set in array, encountring and coursing one against another.* Of these prodigious signs, or rather forewarnings of God, all Histories have delivered us, some more, some less. Before the destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Vespatian*, a Star in the form of a sword appeared in the Heavens directly over the city, after which there followed a slaughter like unto this of *Epiphanes*, though far greater. In the *Cymbrian* wars, *Pliny* tells us, that the Armies were seen fighting in the air from the morning till the evening. 2 Mac. 5. 1. Plin. lib. 2. cap. 57.

In the time of Pope *John* the eleventh, a fountain poured out blood in stead of water, in or near the City of *Genoa*; soon after which the City was taken by the *Saracens*, with great slaughter. Of these and the like prodigious signs, *Vipera* hath collected many, and very remarkable. But this one seemeth to me most memorable, because the most notorious. All men know, that in the Emperour *Nero*, the off-spring of the *Cæsars*, as well natural as adopted, took end; whereof this notable sign gave warning. Mercur. Vipera de Prodig. l. 8. Vipera de prisco & facto instituto.

When *Livia* was first married to *Augustus*, an Eagle let fall into her arms a white Hen, holding a Laurel branch in her mouth. *Livie* caused this Hen to be carefully nourished, and the Laurel branch to be planted: of the Hen came a fair increase of white Poultry; and from the little branch there sprang up in time a Grove of Lawrel; so that afterwards, in Suet. Galba

all triumphs, the Conquerors did use to carry in their hands a branch of Bayes taken out of this Grove; and after the triumphs ended, to set it again in the same ground: which branches were observed, when they happened to wither, to foreshew the death of those persons who carried them in triumph. And in the last year of *Nero*, all the broods of the white Hens died, and the whole Grove of Bayes withered at once. Moreover, the heads of all the *Cæsars* Statues, and the Scepter placed in *Augustus* his hand, were stricken down with lightning. That the Jews did not think such strange signs to be unworthy of regard; it appears by their calling upon *God*, and praying, that these tokens might turn to good.

Now, as the first voyage of *Antiochus* into *Egypt*, was occasioned by discord of the two brethren therein reigning; so was this second Expedition caused by their good agreement. For the elder *Ptolomy* being left in *Memphis*, not strong enough to force his brother, who had defended *Alexandria* against all the power of their Uncle; thought it the best way to seek entrance into that royal City, rather by perswasion, than by arms. *Physcon* had not yet forgotten the terror of the former siege: the *Alexandrines*, though they loved not *Philometor*, yet loved they worse to live in scarcity of victuals (which was already great among them, and like to grow extream) since nothing was brought in from the Country; and the friends of the younger brother saw no likelihood of good issue to be hoped for without reconciliation. These good helps, and above all these, the loving disposition of *Cleopatra*, who then was in *Alexandria*, encouraged *Philometor*, in his purpose. But that which made him earnestly desirous to accomplish it, was the fear wherein he stood of his Uncle. For though *Antiochus* was gone out of *Egypt* with his Army; yet had he left behind him a strong Garrison in *Pelusium*: retaining that City, which was the Key of *Egypt* to his own use. This consideration wrought also with *Physcon*, and with those that were about him; so as by the vehement mediation of *Cleopatra* their sister the two brethren made an end of all quarrels.

When the news of this accord was brought to *Antiochus*, he was greatly enraged: for notwithstanding that he had pretended no other thing than the establishment of the King *Philometor* his Nephew, and a meaning to subject his younger brother unto him, which he gave in answer to all Embassadours; yet he now prepared to make a sharp war upon them both. And to this end he presently furnished and sent out his Navy towards *Cyprus*, and drew his land Army into *Cœlosyria*, ready to enter *Egypt* the Spring following. When he was on his way as far as *Rhinocorura*, he met with Embassadors sent from *Ptolomy*. Their errand was partly to yield thanks to *Antiochus* for the establishing of *Philometor* in his Kingdom; partly to beseech him, That he would rather be pleased to signifie what he required to have done in *Egypt*, which should be performed, than to enter it as an enemy with so puissant an Army. But *Antiochus* returned this short answer, That he would neither call back his Fleet, nor withdraw his Army, upon any other condition; than that *Ptolomy* should surrender into his hands, together with the City of *Pelusium*, the whole Territory thereto belonging: and that he should also abandon and leave unto him the Isle of *Cyprus*, with all the right that he had unto either of them, for ever. For answer unto these demands, he set down a day certain, and a short one. Which being come and past, without any accord made, the *Syrian* Fleet entred *Nilus*, and recovered as well those places which appertained to *Ptolomy* in *Arabia*, as in *Egypt* it self; for *Memphis*, and all about it, received *Antiochus*, being unable to resist him. The King having now no stop in his way to *Alexandria*, passed on thitherwards by easie journeys.

Of all these troubles past, as well as of the present danger wherein *Egypt* stood, the *Romans* had notice long ago. But they found, or were contented to find, little reason for them to intermeddle therein. For it was a Civil war: and wherein *Antiochus* seemed to take part with the juster cause. Yet they gave signification, that it would be much displeasing unto them, to have the Kingdom of *Egypt* taken from the rightful owners. More they could not, or would not do; being troubled with *Perseus*; and therefore loath to provoke *Antiochus* too far. Nevertheless, the *Egyptian* Kings being reconciled, and standing joyntly in need of help against their Uncle, who prepared and made open war against them both: it was to be expected, that not only the *Romans*, but majesty of the *Greeks*, as being thereto obliged by notable benefits, should arm in defence



fence of their Kingdom. *Rome* had been sustained with food from *Egypt*, in the War of *Hannibal*; when *Italy*, lying waste, had neither corn nor mony wherewith to buy sufficient store. By help of the *Egyptians* had *Aratus* laid the foundation of that greatness, whereto the *Achæans* attained. And by the like help had *Rhodes* been defended against *Demetrius Poliorcetes*. Neither were these friendly turns, which that bountiful house of the *Ptolomyes* had done for sundry people abroad; ill followed, or seconded, by other as bad in requital: but with continuance of suitable beneficence, from time to time encreased. Wherefore the two brothers sent abroad confidently for aid; especially to the *Rhodians* and *Achæans*, who seemed most able to give it effectually. To the *Romans*, *Physcon* and *Cleopatra* had sent, a year since: but their Embassadours lay still in *Rome*. Of the *Achæans* they desired in particular, that *Lycortas* the brave Warriour might be sent unto them, as General of all the *Auxiliaries*, and his Son *Polybius*, General of the Horse. Hereunto the *Achæans* readily condescended: and would immediately have made performance, if *Callicrates* had not interposed his mischievous Art. He, whether seeking occasion to vaunt his obsequiousness to the *Romans*, or much rather envying those Noble Captains whose service the Kings desired; withstood the common voice: which was, That their Nation should, not with such small numbers as were requested, but with all their power, be aiding unto the *Ptolomies*. For it was not now (he said) convenient time to entangle themselves in any such business, as might make them the less able to yeeld unto the *Romans* what help soever should be required in the *Macedonian* War. And in this sentence, he, with those of his faction, obstinately persisted; terrifying others with big words, as it were in behalf of the *Romans*. But *Polybius* affirmed, that *Martius* the late Consul had signified unto him, that the *Romans* were past all need of help: adding further, that a thousand foot, and two hundred horse, might well be spared to the aid of their Benefactors, the *Egyptian* Kings, without disabling their Nation to perform any service to the *Romans*; forasmuch as the *Achæans* could without trouble, raise thirty or forty thousand Souldiers. All this notwithstanding, the resolution was deferred from one meeting to another; and finally broken by the violence of *Callicrates*. For when it was thought that the Decree should have passed; he brought into the Theater where the Assembly was held, a Messenger with Letters from *Martius*: whereby the *Achæans* were desired to conform themselves to the *Roman* Senate; and to labour, as the Senate had done, by sending Embassadours to set *Egypt* in peace. This was an advice against all reason. For the Senate had indeed sent Embassadours to make peace; but as in a time of greater business elsewhere, with such milde words, that nothing was effected. Wherefore it was not likely that the *Achæans* should do any good in the same kind. Yet *Polybius* and his friends durst not gain-say the *Roman* Counsel; which had the force of an Injunction. So the Kings were left in much distress; disappointed of their expectation. But within a while was *Perseus* overcome; and then might the Embassadours, sent from the *Roman* Senate, perform as much as any Army could have done.

Audience had been lately given by the Senate, unto those Embassadours of *Physcon* and *Cleopatra*: which having stayed more than a whole year in the City, brought nothing of their business to effect until now. The Embassadours delivered their message in the name of those that had sent them: though it concerned (which perhaps they knew not) *Philometor*, no less than his Brother and Sister.

In this ambassage of *Ptolomy*, now requesting help from *Rome*, appeared a notable change of his fortune, from such as it had been before three or four years last past. For in the beginning of these his troubles, which began with the *Macedonian* War; either he, or *Eulæus*, or *Lenæus* (upon whom the blame was afterwards laid) which had the government of him, thought his affairs in such good estate, that not only he determined to set upon *Antiochus* for *Cœlosyria*, but would have interposed himself between the *Romans* and *Perseus*, as a competent Arbitrator; though it fell out well, that his Embassadour was by a friend perswaded to forget that point of his errand. From these high thoughts he fell on the sudden, by the rebellion of his brother and subjects, to live under protection of the same *Antiochus*. And now at such time as by attonement with his brother and subjects, he might have seemed to stand in no need of such

*Polyb. leg.* 72.

protection, he hath remaining none other help whereby to save both his Kingdom and life, than what can be obtained by their intercession which were employed against him. This miserable condition of him, his brother and sister shewed it self, even in the habit of those Embassadours. They were poorly clad; the hair of their heads and beards overgrown, as was their manner in time of affliction; and they carried in their hands branches of Olive. Thus they entred into the Senate, and there fell, groveling and prostrate, upon the floor, Their garments were not so mean and mournful, nor their looks and countenances so sad and dejected, but that their speech was than either of the other far more lamentable. For, having told in what danger their King and Country stood; they made a pitiful and grievous complaint unto the Senate, beseeching them to have compassion of their Estate, and of their Princes, who had always remained friendly and faithful to the *Romans*. They said that the people of *Rome* had so much heretofore favoured this *Antiochus* in particular, and were of such account and authority, with all other Kings and Nations; as, if they pleased but to send their Embassadours, and let *Antiochus* know that the Senate was offended with his undertaking upon the King their Confederate; then would he presently raise his siege from before *Alexandria*, and withdraw his Army out of *Egypt* into *Syria*. But that if the Senate protracted any time, or used any delay; then should *Ptolomy* and *Cleopatra* be shortly driven out of their Realms, and make repair to *Rome*, with shameful dishonour to the Senate and people thereof, in that, in the extream dangers of all their fortunes, they had not vouchsafed to relieve them.

The Lords of the Senate moved with compassion, sent incontinently *C. Popilius Lenus*, *C. Decimius*, and *A. Hostilius*, as Embassadours to determine and end the War between those Kings. In commission they had first to find King *Ptolomy*, and then *Antiochus*, and to let them both understand, that, unless they surceased, and gave over Arms, they would take that King no more for a friend to the Senate and people of *Rome*, whom they found obstinate, or using delay. So these *Romans*, together with the *Alexandrine* Embassadours, took their leave, and went onward their way within three dayes after.

Whileſt *Popilius* and his fellows were on their way toward *Egypt*, *Antiochus* had transported his Army over *Lusine*, some forty miles from *Alexandria*. So near was he to the end of his Journey, when the *Roman* Embassadours met him. After greetings and salutations at their first encounter, *Antiochus* offered his right hand to *Popilius*: but *Popilius* filled it with a Roll of Paper; willing him to read those Mandates of the Senate before he did any thing else. *Antiochus* did so; and having a little while considered of the business, he told *Popilius*, That he would advise with his friends, and then give the Embassadours their answer. But *Popilius*, according to his ordinary blunt manner of speech, which he had by nature, made a Circle about the King with a Rod which he held in his hand, willing him to make him such an answer as he might report to the Senate, before he moved out of that Circle. The King astonished at this so rude and violent a Commandment, after he had stayed and pawsed a while, I will be content (quoth he) to do whatsoever the Senate shall ordain. Then *Popilius* gave unto the King his hand, as to a Friend and Allie of the *Romans*.

Thus *Antiochus* departed out of *Egypt*, without any good issue of his costly Expedition; even in such manner as * *Daniel* had prophesied long before: yea, fulfilling every particular circumstance, both of returning, and of doing mischief to *Jerusalem* after his return; like as if these things had rather been historified than foreto'd by the Prophet. As for the *Roman* Embassadors, they stayed a while, and settled the Kingdom of *Egypt*, leaving it unto the elder brother, and appointed the younger to reign over *Cyrene*. This done, they departed towards *Cyprus*; which they left, as it had been, in the power of the *Egyptian*, having first sent away *Antiochus* Fleet, which had already given an overthrow to the *Egyptian* ships.

* *Dan.* 11. 29, 30, &c.

§. XII.



§. XII.

*How the* Romans *were dreadful to all Kings. Their demeanour towards* Eumenes, Prusias, Masanissa, *and* Cotys. *The end of* Perseus *and his children. The instability of Kingly Estates. The Triumphs of* Paulus, Anicius, *and* Octavius. *With the Conclusion of the Work.*

BY this peremptory demeanour of *Popilius*, in doing his Message, and by the ready obedience of King *Antiochus* to the will of the Senate; we may perceive how terrible the *Romans* were grown, through their conquest of *Macedon*. The same *Popilius* had been well contented, a year before this, to lay aside the roughness of his natural condition, and to give good language to the *Achæans* and *Ætolians*, when he went Embassador to those people of *Greece*, that were of far less power than King *Antiochus*. Likewise, *Antiochus* had with good words, and no more than good words, dismissed other Embassadors which came from *Rome*, in such sort, as they complained not, much less used any menacing terms, though he performed nothing of their request. But now the case was altered. So found other Kings as well as *Antiochus*.

*Eumenes* sent to *Rome* his brother *Attalus*, to gratulate the victory over *Perseus*, and to crave help or countenance of the Senate against the *Gallo Grecks*, which molested him. Very welcome was *Attalus*, and lovingly entertained by most of the Senators: who bad him be confident, and request of the Senate his Brothers Kingdom for himself; for it should surely be given him. These hopeful promises tickled *Attalus* with such ambition, that he either approved, or seemed to approve the motion. But his honest nature was soon reclaimed by the faithful counsel of *Stratius* a Physitian; whom *Eumenes* had sent to *Rome* of purpose to keep his brother upright. So, when he came into the Senate, he delivered the errand about which he had been sent, recounting his own services done to the *Romans* in the late war, * where withal, he forgat not to make of his brother as good mention as he could: and finally, requested, That the Towns of *Ænus* and *Maronea* might be bestowed upon himself. * By his omitting to sue for his brothers Kingdom, the Senate conceived opinion, that he meant to crave another day of audience for that business alone. Wherefore to make him understand how gracious he was, they not only granted all his desire; but in the presents which they gave unto him (as was their custome to Embassadors that came with an acceptable message) they used singular magnificence. Nevertheless *Attalus* took no notice of their meaning, but went his way, contented with what they had already granted. This did so highly displease the Senate, that whilst he was yet in *Italy*, they gave order for the liberty of *Ænus* and *Maronea*: thereby making uneffectual their promise; which otherwise they could not, without shame, revoke. And as for the *Gallo-Grecks*, which were about to invade the Kingdom of *Pergamus*; they sent Embassadors to them, with such instructions, as rather encouraged than hindered them in their purpose. The displeasure of the Senate being so manifest; *Eumenes* thought it worthy of his labour to make another voyage to *Rome*. He might well blame the folly of his second voyage thither, for this necessity of the third: since, by his malice to *Perseus*, he had laid open unto these ambitious Potentates the way to his own doors. No sooner was he come into *Italy*, than the Senate was ready to send him going. It was not thought expedient to use him as an enemy, that came to visit them in love: neither could they, in so doing, have avoided the note of singular inconstancy: and to entertain him as a friend, was more then their hatred to him, for his ingratitude, as they deemed it, would permit. Wherefore they made a Decree, That no King should be suffered to come to *Rome*; and by vertue thereof sent him home, without expence of much farther complement.

*Polyb. ibid.*

*Liv. l. 45.*

*Polyb. Leg. 95.*

*Prusias* King of *Bithynia* had been at *Rome* somewhat before; where he was welcomed after a better fashion. He had learned to behave himself as humbly as the proud *Romans* could expect or desire. For, entring into the Senate, he lay down and kissed the threshold, calling the *Fathers* his gods and saviours; as also he used to wear a Cap, after the manner of slaves newly manumissed, professing himself an enfranchised bondman of the people of *Rome*. He was indeed naturally a slave, and one that by such abject flattery kept himself safe, though doing otherwise greater mischief than any wherewith *Perseus* had been charged. His errand was, besides matter of complement, to commend unto the Senate the care of his son *Nicomedes*, whom he brought with him to *Rome*, there to receive education. Further petition he made, to

have some Towns added to his Kingdom: whereto, because the grant would have been unjust, he received a cold answer. But concerning the Wardship of his Son, it was undertaken by the Senate; which, vaunting of the pleasure lately done to *Egypt*, in freeing it from *Antiochus*, willed him thereby to consider, what effectual protection the *Romans* gave unto the children of Kings, that were to their Patronage commended.

But above all other Kings, *Masanissa* held his credit with the *Romans*, good. His quarrels were endless with the *Carthaginians*: which made the friendship of the *Romans* to him the more assured. In all Controversies they gave judgment on his side: and whereas he had invaded the Country of *Emporia*, holding the Lands, but unable to win the Towns; the *Romans* (though at first they could find no pretext, whereby to countenance him in this oppression) compelled finally the *Carthaginians* both to let go all their hold, and to pay five hundred Talents to the *Numidian*, for having hindred him of his due so long. Now indeed had *Rome* good leisure to devise upon the ruine of *Carthage*: after which, the race of *Massanissa* himself was shortly by them rooted up. But hereof the old King never dreamed. He sent to *Rome* one of his Sons, to congratulate the Victory over *Perseus*; and offered to come thither himself, there to sacrifice for joy unto *Jupiter* in the *Capitol*. His good will was lovingly accepted; his Son rewarded; and he entreated to stay at home.

*Cotys* the *Thracian* sent Embassadours to excuse himself touching the aid by him given to *Perseus*, for that the *Macedonian* had him bound by hostages; and to intreat, That his Son, which was taken with the children of *Perseus*, might be set at liberty, for convenient ransome. His excuse was not taken; since he had voluntarily obliged himself to *Perseus*, by giving hostages without necessity: Yet was his Son given back to him ransome-free; with admonition, to carry himself better toward the *Romans* in time following. His Kingdom lay between *Macedon*, and some barbarous Nations; in which respect, it was good to hold him in fair terms.

As for those unhappy Kings, *Perseus* and *Gentius*, they were led thorow *Rome*, with their children and friends, in the Triumphs of *Æmylius* and *Anicius*. *Perseus* had often made suit to *Æmylius*, that he might not be put to such disgrace: but he still received one scornful answer, That it lay in his own power to prevent it; whereby was meant, that he might kill himself. And surely, had he not hoped for greater mercy than he found, he would rather have sought his death in *Macedon*, than to have been beholding to the courtesie of his insolent enemies for a wretched life. The issue of the *Roman* clemency, whereof *Æmylius* had given him hope, was no better than this: After that he, and his fellow-King, had been led in chains thorow the streets, before the Chariots of their triumphing Victors, they were committed to prison, wherein they remained without hope of release. It was the manner, that when the Triumpher turned his Chariot up towards the *Capitol*, there to do sacrifice, he should command the captives to be had away to prison, and there put to death: so as the honour of the Vanquisher, and misery of those that were overcome, might be both together at the utmost. This last sentence of death was remitted unto *Perseus*: yet so, that he had little joy of his life; but either famished himself, or (for it is diversly reported) was kept watching perforce by those that had him in custody; and so dyed for want of sleep. Of his Sons, two dyed; it is uncertain how. The youngest called *Alexander* (only in name like unto the Great, though destined sometimes perhaps by his Father, unto the fortunes of the Great) became a Joyner, or Turner; or, at his best preferment, a Scribe under the *Roman* Officers. In such poverty ended the Royal house of *Macedon*: and it ended on the sudden; though some eightscore years after the death of that Monarch, unto whose ambition this whole Earth seemed too narrow.

If *Perseus* had known it before, that his own Son should one day be compelled to earn his living by handy-work, in a painful Occupation; it is like, that he would not as in a wantonness of Soveraignty have commanded those poor men to be slain, which had recovered his treasures out of the Sea, by their skill in the feat of diving. He would rather have been very gentle, and would have considered, that the greatest oppressors, and the most und-rtrodden wretches, are all subject unto the One high Power, governing all alike with absolute command. But such is our unhappiness; in stead of that blessed counsel, *Do as*



*as ye would be done unto*, a sentence teaching all moderation, and pointing out the way to felicity; we entertain that arrogant thought, *I will be like to the most High*: that is, I will do what shall please my self. One hath said truly.

*Juven. Sat. 10.*

——*Et qui nolunt occidere quenquam*
*Posse volunt.*——

Even they that have no murdrous will,
Would have it in their power to kill.

All, or the most, have a vain desire of ability to do evil without controll: which is a dangerous temptation unto the performance. God, who best can judge what is expedient, hath granted such power to very few: among whom also, very few there are, that use it not to their own hurt. For who sees not that a Prince, by racking his Soveraign Authority to the utmost extent, enableth (besides the danger to his own person) some one of his own Sons or Nephews to root up all his progeny? Shall not many excellent Princes, notwithstanding their brotherhood, or other nearness in blood, be driven to flatter the Wife, the Minion, or perhaps the Harlot that governs one, the most unworthy of his whole house, yet reigning over all? The untimely death of many Princes which could not humble themselves to such flattery; and the common practice of the *Turkish* Emperours to murder all their brethren, without expecting till they offend; are too good proofs hereof. Hereunto may be added, that the heir of the same *Roger Mortimer*, who murdered most traiterously, and barbarously King *Edward* the second; was, by reason of a marriage, proclaimed, in time not long after following, Heir apparent to the Crown of *England*: which, had he obtained, then had all the power of *Edward* fallen into the race of his mortal enemy, to exercise the same upon the Line of that unhappy King. Such examples of the instability whereto all mortal affairs are subject; as they teach moderation, and admonish the transitory gods of Kingdoms, not to authorize by wicked precedents, the evil that may fall on their own posterity: so do they necessarily make us understand, how happy that Country is, which hath obtained a King able to conceive and teach, That * *God is the soreest and sharpest Schoolmaster that can be devised, for such Kings, as think this world ordained for them, without controlement to turn it upside-down at their pleasure.*

* The true Law of free Monarchies.

Now concerning the Triumph of *L. Æmylius Paulus*, it was in all points like unto that of *T. Quintius Flaminius*: Chap. 3. sect. 4. though far more glorious, in regard of the Kings own person, that was led along therein, as part of his own spoils; and in regard likewise both of the Conquest, and of the Booty. So great was the quantity of Gold and Silver carryed by *Paulus* into the *Roman* Treasury, that from thenceforth, until the Civil Wars which followed upon the death of *Julius Cæsar*, the Estate had no need to burthen it self with any Tribute. Yet was this noble Triumph likely to have been hindred by the Souldiers; who grudged at their General, for not having dealt more bountifully with them. But the Princes of the Senate over-ruled the people and Souldiers herein, and brought them to reason by severe exhortations. Thus *Paulus* enjoyed as much honour of his Victory as men could give. Nevertheless, it pleased God to take away from him his two remaining Sons, that were not given in Adoption: of which, the one dyed five dayes before the Triumph, the other three dayes after it. This loss he bore wisely: and told the people, That he hoped to see the Common-wealth flourish in a continuance of prosperity; since the joy of his Victory was requited with his own private calamity, in stead of the publick.

About the same time, *Octavius* the Admiral, who had brought *Perseus* out of *Samothrace*: and *Anicius* the Prætor, who had conquered *Illyria*, and taken King *Gentius* prisoner; made their several Triumphs. The glory of which magnificent spectacles, together with the confluence of Embassages from all parts; and Kings, either visiting the Imperial City, or offering to visit her, and do their duties in person; were enow to say unto *Rome, Sume Superbiam, Take upon thee the Majesty that thy deserts have purchased.*

BY

BY this which we have already set down, is seen the beginning and end of the three first Monarchies of the world; whereof the Founders and Erectors thought, that they could never have ended. That of *Rome* which made the fourth, was also at this time almost at the highest. We have left it flourishing in the middle of the field; having rooted up, or cut down, all that kept it from the eyes and admiration of the world. But after some continuance, it shall begin to lose the beauty it had; the storms of ambition shall beat her great boughs and branches one against another; her leaves shall fall off, her limbs wither, and a rabble of barbarous Nations enter the field, and cut her down.

Now these great Kings, and conquering Nations, have been the subject of those ancient Histories, which have been preserved, and yet remain among us; and withall of so many tragical Poets, as in the persons of powerfull Princes, and other mighty men have complained against Infidelity, Time, Destiny, and most of all against the Variable success of worldly things, and Instability of Fortune. To these undertakings, these great Lords of the world have been stirred up, rather by the desire of Fame, which ploweth up the Air, and soweth in the Wind; than by the affection of bearing rule, which draweth after it so much vexation, and so many cares. And that this is true, the good advice of *Cineas* to *Tyrrhus* proves. And certainly, as Fame hath often been dangerous to the living, so it is to the dead of no use at all; because separate from knowledge. Which, were it otherwise, and the extreme ill bargain of buying this lasting discourse, understood by them which are dissolved; they themselves would then rather have wished, to have stoln out of the world without noise, than to be put in mind, that they have purchased the report of their actions in the world, by rapine, oppression, and cruelty: by giving in spoil the innocent and labouring soul to the idle and insolent, and by having emptied the Cities of the world of their ancient Inhabitants, and filled them again with so many and so variable sorts of sorrows.

Since the fall of the *Roman* Empire (omitting that of the *Germanes*, which had neither greatness nor continuance) there hath been no State fearful in the East, but that of the *Turk*: nor in the West any Prince that hath spread his wings far over his Nest, but the *Spaniard*; who since the time that *Ferdinand* expelled the *Moors* out of *Granada*, have made many attempts to make themselves Masters of all *Europe*. And it is true, that by the treasures of both Indies, and by the many Kingdoms which they possess in *Europe*, they are at this day the most powerful. But as the *Turk* is now counterpoised by the *Persian*, so in stead of so many Millions as have been spent by the *English*, *French*, and *Netherlands* in a defensive War, and in diversions against them, it is easie to demonstrate, that with the charge of two hundred thousand pound continued but for two years, or three at the most, they may not only be perswaded to live in peace, but all their swelling and overflowing streams may be brought back into their natural channels and old banks. These two Nations, I say, are at this day the most eminent, and to be regarded; the one seeking to root out the Christian Religion altogether, the other the Tuth and sincere Profession thereof; the one to joyn all *Europe* to *Asia*, the other the rest of all *Europe* to *Spain*.

For the rest, if we seek a reason of the succession and continuance of this boundless ambition in mortal men, we may add to that which hath been already said; That the Kings and Princes of the world have alwayes laid before them the actions, but not the ends of those great Ones which preceded them. They are alwayes transported with the glory of the one, but they never mind the misery of the other, till they find the experience in themselves. They neglect the advice of God, while they enjoy life, or hope of it; but the follow they counsel of death, upon his first approach. It is he that puts into man all the wisdom of the world, without speaking a word; which God, with all the words of his Law, promises, or threats, doth infuse. Death, which hateth and destroyeth man, is believed; God, which hath made him, and loves him, is alwayes deferred. *I have considered* (saith *Salomon*) *all the works that are under the Sun, and behold, all is vanity and vexation of spirit:* but who believes it till Death tells it us? It was Death, which opening the conscience of *Charls* the fifth, made him enjoyn his Son *Philip* to restore *Navarre*; and King *Francis* the first of *France*, to command



mand that justice should be done upon the Murderers of the *Protestants* in *Merindol* and *Cabrieres*, which till then he neglected. It is therefore death alone that can suddenly make man to know himself. He tells the proud and insolent, That they are but abjects, and humbles them at the instant; makes them cry, complain, and repent; yea, even to hate their forepassed happiness. He takes the account of the rich, and proves him a beggar; a naked beggar, which hath intereſt in nothing, but in the gravel that fills his mouth. He holds a Glass before the eyes of the most beautiful, and makes them see therein their deformity and rottenness; and they acknowledge it.

O eloquent, just, and mighty Death! whom none could advise, thou hast perswaded; what none have dared, thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only hast cast out of the world and despised: thou hast drawn together all the far stretched greatness, all the pride, cruelty, and ambition of man, and covered it all over with these two narrow words, *Hic jacet*.

Lastly, whereas this Book, by the title it hath, calls it self, *The first part of the General History of the World*, implying a *second* and *third* Volume; which I also intended, and have hewn out; besides many other discouragements, perswading my silence; it hath pleased God to take that glorious *Prince* out of the world, to whom they were directed, whose unspeakable and never enough lamented loss hath taught me to say with *Job*, *Versa est in luctum Cithara mea, & Organum meum in vocem flentium.*

*FINIS.*

# To The Reader.

THE *use of* Chronological Tables *is needful to all* Histories, *that reach to any length of time; and most of all, to those that are most general: since they cannot, like* Annalls, *yearly set down all occurrences not cohærent. This here following, may serve as an* Index *to the present part of this work, pointing unto the several matters, that having fallen out at one time, are far dis-joyned in the relation. Certainly it is not perfect, neither do I think that any can be. For howsoever the years of the first* Patriarchs *may seem to have been well-neer compleat, yet in the reigns of the* Kings *of* Juda *and* Israel, *we find many fractions, and the last year, or years, of one King reckoned also as the foremost of another. The same is most likely to have fallen out in many other, though not so precisely recorded. Hereto may be added the divers and imperfect forms of the year, which were in use among sundry Nations, causing the* * Summer months, *in process of some ages, to fall into the winter; and so breeding extream confusion in the reckoning of their times. Neither is it a small part of trouble, to choose out of so many, and so utterly disagreeing computations, as have already gotten authority, what may probably be held for truth. All this, and a great deal more, is to be alledged, in excuse of such errours, as a more intentive and perfect Calculator shall happen to find herein. It may serve to free the Book, and likewise the Reader (if but of mean judgement), from any notorious* Anachronicism; *which ought to suffice. The book indeed will need it, even in that regard; not only from some errours of the Press, in the numbring of years, but for some hastie mis-reckonings of mine own, which I desire to have hereby reformed, in hope that the Printing of this Table shall not want careful diligence. The Reader, if he be not offended with the rest, shall find reason to be pleased with this, as tending wholly to his own ease.*

* See fol. 3. cap. 3. fol. 6.

*The titles over the Columns, have reference to that which follows under them, as will readily be conceived. Where two titles, or more, are over the head, as* [Rome Nabonassar] *there do the numbers underneath proportionably answer, the higher to the higher, the lower to the lower. For example, The walls of* Jerusalem *were finished in the* 319. *year from the building of* Rome, *and in the* 314. *from* Nabonasser. *In like manner it is to be understood, That* Jehosaphat *began his reign in the* 3774. *of the* Julian Æra, *in the* 3092. *of the World, and in the* 99. *year of the Temple. This needs not more illustration, nor indeed so much, to those that are acquainted with works of this kind. To avoid prolixity, I have forborn to insert those years, which I find not signed with some regardable accident, as with the birth or death of some Patriarch; the beginning of some Kings reign; some change of Government; some battel fought, or the like. So of the* 13. *years wherein* Sylvius Capetus *reigned over the* Latines, *I note only the first; that is, omitting all between the* 4. *of* Jehosaphat, *wherein* Capetus *began, unto the* 17. *wherein* Sylvius Aventinus *succeeded, and wherein* Jehoram *first reigned with* Jehosaphat *his father. For I thought it vain to have filled up a Page with* 12. *lines of idle ciphers, numbring forth,* 2. 3. 4. 5. *and so still onwards, till I had come to the first of* Aventinus, *and the* 17. *of* Jehosaphat. *In setting down the Kings, there is noted over the head of every one, what place he held in order of succession: as whether he were the first, second, fifth, seventh, or so forth, in rank of those that reigned in his countrey, without notable interruption: Before the name, is the first year of his reign; at the end or foot of the name (as the space gives leave) is the whole number of years in which he reigned; in the spaces following underneath, are those years of his, which were concurrent with the beginning of some other King, or with the year of any remarkable accident. Where two numbers, or more, are found before one Kings name; there it is to be understood, that the same year belonged not only to the King then beginning, but unto some one or more of his foregoers: as the first year of* Jehoram *King of* Israel, *was the same with the second of his brother* Ahaziah, *and the* 22. *of his father* Ahab. *So where two or three names are found in one space, as in the* 3077. *year of the World,* Zimri, Tibni, *and* Omri; *it is meant, that every one of them reigned in some part of the same year, which is reckoned the second of* Ela, *and the first of* Omri. *Particularly, under the reigns of the Egyptian Kings, are set down the years of those* Dynasties, *which it was thought meet to insert; as likewise otherwhiles, the day, the moneth, upon which* Nabonassar's *year began which*

*which, how it varied from other years, may be found in the place last above cited.*

*Concerning the* Æra, *or account of years, from* Iphitus, *who began the* Olympiads, *from* Rome *built, from* Nabonassar, *and the like; as much as was thought convenient hath been said, where due place was, in the book it self: so as it remaineth only to note, that under the title of* Olympiads, *is set down, first the number of the* Olympiad, *and beneath it, the year of that* Olympiad: *as that* Cyrus *began his reign in* Persia, *in the* 55. Olympiad, *and the first year thereof.*

*Now, for that the years of the world, of the* Olympiads, *of* Rome, *of* Nabonassar, *and other, had not beginning in one moneth, but some of them in* March, *some in* April, *some about* Midsommer, *and some at other times: the better to express their several beginnings, some painful Chronologers have divided them proportionably in their several Columns, opposing part of the one year to part of the other: not (as I have here done) cutting all overthwart with one straight line, as if all had begun and ended at one time. But this labour have I spared as more troublesome than useful, since the more part would not have apprehended the meaning, and since the learned might well be without it. It will only be needful to observe, that howsoever the Æra of the* Olympiads *be* 24. *years elder than that of* Rome, *and* 29. *than that of* Nabonassar, *yet the reign of some King may have begun at such a time of the year as did not suite with this difference. But hereof I take little regard. The more curious will easily find my meaning: the vulgar will not find the difficulty. One familiar example will explain all.* Queen Elizabeth *began her reign the* 17. *of* November, *in the year of our Lord* 1558. *She was crowned, held a Parliament, brake it up, threw down Images, and reformed many things in religion, all in her first year, yet not all in that year* 1558. *but the greater part in the year following, whether we begin with the first of* January, *or with the* 25. *of* March. *The like may be otherwhiles found in this Table, but so, as the difference is never of a whole year.*

*The* Julian *Period, which I have placed as the greater number, over the years of the World, was delivered by that honourable, and excellently learned* Joseph Scaliger: *being accommodated to the* Julian *years, now in use among us. It consisteth of* 7980. *years, which result from the multiplication of* 19. 28. *and* 15. *that is, of the Cycle of the Moon, the Cycle of the Sun, and the years of an Indiction. Being divided by any of these, it leaves the number of the present year, or if no fraction remain, it shews the last year of that Cycle to be current. For example, in the* 4498. *of this Period, when was fought the great battel of* Cannæ, *the Prime or golden number was* 14. *the Cycle of the Sun.* 18. *and consequently the Dominical letter* F. *as may be found by dividing the same number of the* Julian *Period* 4498. *by* 19. *for the Prime, by* 28. *for the Cycle of the Sun. This* Julian *Period, after the present accompt, always exceeds the year of the world by* 682. *Besides the former uses, and other thence redounding, it is a better Character of a year, than any other* Æra (*as,* From the beginning of the World, From the Flood, From *Troy* taken, *or the like*) *which are of more uncertain position. More I shall not need to write, as touching the use or explication of these Tables. Neither was thus much requisite to such as are conversant in works of this kind: it sufficeth if hereby all be made plain enough to the vulgar.*

# A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

## Years of the Julian Period, World, Patriarchs, &c.

| *Julian. The World and Adam.* | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 683<br>1. *Ada*<br>930 | | | | | | | | | |
| 813<br>131 | 1. *Seth*<br>912 | | | | | | | | |
| 918<br>236 | 106 | 1. *Enos*<br>905 | | | | | | | |
| 1008<br>326 | 196 | 91 | 1. *Cainan.*<br>910 | *All the years of the Patriarchs, wherein they begat children, died, or performed any thing, are reckoned compleat: which is inferred out of the addition of the years before they begat children, unto those that followed; making alwaies a compleat sum,* Gen. 5. | | | | | |
| 1078<br>396 | 266 | 161 | 71 | 1. *Mahalalel*<br>895 | | | | | |
| 1143<br>461 | 331 | 226 | 136 | 66 | 1. *Jared*<br>962 | | | | |
| 1305<br>623 | 493 | 388 | 298 | 228 | 163 | 1. *Enoch.*<br>265 | | | |
| 1370<br>688 | 558 | 453 | 363 | 293 | 228 | 66 | 1. *Methusela*<br>969 | | |
| 1557<br>875 | 745 | 640 | 550 | 480 | 415 | 253 | 188 | 1. *Lamech.*<br>777 | |
| *Adam died about the end of the year.* 1612<br>930 | 800 | 695 | 605 | 535 | 470 | 308 | 243 | 56 | |
| *Henoch translated.* 1669<br>987 | 857 | 751 | 662 | 592 | 527 | 365 | 300 | 113 | |
| *Seth died about the end of this year.* 1724<br>1042 | 912 | 807 | 717 | 647 | 582 | | 355 | 168 | |
| 1739<br>1057 | | 822 | 732 | 662 | 597 | | 370 | 183 | 1. *Noah.*<br>950 |

| | Julian. The World | Enos. | Cainan. | Maha. laleel. | Jared. | Methuselah. | Lamech. | Noah. | Sem. | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Enos dyed.* | 1140 | 905 | 815 | 745 | 680 | 453 | 266 | 84 | | | | | |
| *Cainan dyed.* | 1917<br>1235 | | 910 | 842 | 775 | 548 | 361 | 179 | | | | | |
| *Maha laleel dyed this year.* | 1972<br>1290 | | | 895 | 830 | 603 | 416 | 234 | | | | | |
| *Jared dyed.* | 2104<br>1422 | | | | | 735 | 584 | 366 | | | | | |
| *Flood threatned, Gen. 6. 3.* | 2219<br>1537 | | | | | 850 | 663 | 481 | | | | | |
| | 2241<br>1559 | | | | | 872 | 685 | 503 | 1. *Sem.* 600 | | | | |
| *Lamech dyed.* | 2333<br>1051 | | | | | 964 | 777 | 595 | 93 | | | | |
| *Methuselah died this year a little before the Flood. Noah entreth into the Ark* c. 7 § 8. & 9. *The Flood.* | 2338<br>1656 | | | | | 969 | | 600 | 98 | | | | |
| *The Flood ceaseth. Noah issued out of the Ark.* | 2339<br>1657 | | | | | | | 601 | 99 | | | | |

| | Julian. World. Flood. | Noah. | Sem. | 1. Arphaxad 438 | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2341<br>1659 | 603 | 101 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2376<br>1694<br>37 | 638 | 136 | 36 | 1. *Salah.* 433 | | | | | | 11 | 54 | |
| | 2406<br>1724<br>67 | 668 | 166 | 66 | 31 | 1. *Heber.* 464 | | | | | | 164 | |
| | 2440<br>1758<br>101 | 702 | 200 | 100 | 65 | 35 | 1. *Peleg.* | | *Kings of Assyria.* | | | | |
| | 2470<br>1788<br>131 | 732 | 230 | 130 | 95 | 65 | 31 | 1. *Reu.* 259 | 1. *Nimrod.* 114 | | | | |
| | 2502<br>1820<br>163 | 764 | 262 | 162 | 127 | 97 | 63 | 33 | 33 | 1. *Sarug.* 230 | *Kings of Egypt.* | | |
| *Vide lib. 2. c. 2. § 2.* | 2530<br>1848<br>191 | 692 | 290 | 190 | 155 | 125 | 91 | 63 | 61 | 29 | 1 Cham 161 | | |
| | 2532<br>1850<br>193 | 694 | 292 | 192 | 157 | 127 | 93 | 63 | 63 | 31 | 3 | 1. *Nabor.* 148 | |
| | 2561<br>1879<br>222 | 823 | 321 | 221 | 186 | 156 | 122 | 92 | 92 | 69 | 32 | 30 | 1. *Terah.* 205 |
| | 2584<br>1902<br>245 | 846 | 344 | 244 | 209 | 179 | 145 | 115 | 2 1. *Belus*, 65 | 83 | 55 | 53 | 24 |

| | Julian. World. Flood. | Noah. | Sem. | Arphaxad. | Salah. | Heber. | Peleg. | Reu. | Assyria. | Sarug. | Egypt. | Nahor | Terah. | Kings of Sicyon |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 618<br>1936<br>279 | 880 | 278 | 373 | 243 | 213 | 179 | 149 | 35 | 117 | 89 | 87 | 58 | 1 1. Ægyleus, 3 |
| | 2649<br>1967<br>316 | 911 | 409 | 309 | 274 | 244 | 210 | 180 | 3 1. Ninus, 52 | 148 | 120 | 118 | 89 | 32 |
| | 2670<br>1988<br>331 | 932 | 430 | 330 | 295 | 265 | 231 | 201 | 22 | 169 | 11 | 139 | 110 | 2 1. Europs 45 |
| *The last year of Peleg his life.* | 2678<br>1996<br>339 | 940 | 438 | 338 | 303 | 273 | 239 | 209 | 30 | 177 | 149 | 147 | 118 | 9 |
| *The death of Nahor.* | 2679<br>1997<br>340 | 941 | 439 | 339 | 304 | 274 | | 210 | 31 | 178 | 150 | 148 | 119 | 10 |
| *Noah died this year.* | 2688<br>2006<br>349 | 950 | 448 | 348 | 313 | 283 | | 219 | 40 | 187 | 159 | | 128 | 19 |
| *The 16. Dynastie in Egypt, Vid. L. 2. c. 5, 3, 5, &c.* | 2691<br>2009<br>352 | | 451 | 351 | 316 | 286 | | 222 | 43 | 190 | 2 1. Mizraim or Osiris | | 131 | 22 | 1. *Abram.* 275 |
| | 2701<br>2019<br>362 | | 461 | 361 | 326 | 296 | | 232 | 4 1. Semiramis 42 | 200 | 11 | | 141 | 32 | 11 |
| *The last year of Reu.* | 2708<br>1026<br>369 | | 463 | 368 | 333 | 303 | | 239 | 8 | 207 | 18 | | 148 | 39 | 18 |
| | 2715<br>2033<br>376 | | 475 | 375 | 340 | 310 | | | 15 | 214 | 25 | | 155 | 3 1. Telkin or Selchin, 20 | 25 |
| *The last of Sarug.* | 2731<br>2049<br>392 | | 491 | 391 | 356 | 326 | | | 31 | 230 | 41 | | 171 | 17 | 41 |

| | Julian. World. Flood. | Sem. | Arphaxad. | Salah. | Heber. | Assyria. | Egypt. | Terah. | Sicyon. | Abram. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2739<br>2053<br>396 | 495 | 395 | 360 | 330 | 35 | 45 | 175 | 4 1. Apis, 25 | 45 |
| | 2743<br>2061<br>404 | 503 | 403 | 368 | 338 | 5 2. Ninias, 28 | 53 | 183 | 9 | 53 |
| | 2700<br>2078<br>421 | 520 | 420 | 385 | 355 | 18 | 70 | 200 | 5 1. Thelxion or Thelastes, 52 | 70 |
| *Abram recovers the prey. Terah dies in Haran. Vid. L. 2. c. 2. § 2, 3.* | 2705<br>2083<br>426 | 525 | 425 | 390 | 360 | 23 | 75 | 205 | 6 | 75 |

| | Julian. World. Promise. | Sem. | Arphaxad | Salah. | Heber. | Abram. | Assyria. | Egypt. | Sicyon. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Abram enters into Canaan, and descends into Egypt. The first of the 430. years of servitude.* | 2766<br>2084<br>1 | 526 | 426 | 391 | 361 | 76 | 24 | 76 | 7 |
| *Abram returns into Canaan.* | 2767<br>2085<br>2 | 527 | 427 | 392 | 362 | 77 | 25 | 77 | 8 |
| *Abram his victory over Chedorlaomer, and other Kings. Vid. L. 2. c. 1. § 8. 9 &c* | 2775<br>2093<br>10 | 535 | 435 | 400 | 370 | 85 | 33 | 85 | 16 |
| *Ismael born.* | 2777<br>2095<br>12 | 537 | 437 | 402 | 372 | 87 | 35 | 87 | 18 |
| *Arphaxad dyes.* | 2778<br>2096<br>13 | 538 | 438 | 403 | 373 | 88 | 36 | 88 | 19 |

| | Julian World promise | Sem. | Salah. | Heber. | Abraham. | Assyria. | Egypt. | Sicyon. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2781 | | | | | 6 | | | |
| | 2099 | 541 | 406 | 376 | 91 | 1. Arius, 30 | 91 | 22 | |
| | 16 | | | | | | | | |
| Isaac born when Abraham was 100. years old compleat, 101. current. | 2791 | 551 | 416 | 386 | 101 | 11 | 101 | 32 | 1 Isaac |
| | 2109 | | | | | | | | 180 |
| | 25 | | | | | | | | |
| The last year of Salah. | 2808 | 568 | 433 | 403 | 118 | 28 | 118 | 49 | 18 |
| | 2126 | | | | | | | | |
| | 43 | | | | | | | | |
| | 2811 | | | | | 7 | | | |
| | 2129 | 571 | | 406 | 121 | 1. Aralius, 40 | 121 | 52 | 21 |
| | 46 | | | | | | | | |
| | 2812 | | | | | | | 6 | |
| | 2130 | 572 | | 407 | 122 | 2 | 122 | 1. Ægir 54 | 22 |
| | 47 | | | | | | | | |
| | 2827 | | | | | | | | |
| Sarai the wife of Abraham died this year. | 2145 | 587 | | 422 | 137 | 17 | 137 | 16 | 37 |
| | 62 | | | | | | | | |
| | 831 | | | | | | | | |
| Isaac took Rebecca to Wife, when he was 40. years old compleat. | 2149 | 591 | | 426 | 141 | 21 | 141 | 20 | 41 |
| | 66 | | | | | | | | |
| | 3840 | | | | | | | | |
| The last year of Sem. | 2158 | 600 | | 435 | 150 | 30 | 150 | 29 | 50 |
| | 75 | | | | | | | | |

| | Julian World promise. | Heber. | Abraham. | Isaac. | Jacob. | Assyria. | Egypt. | Sicyon | Argives. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2840 | | | | | | | 7 | |
| | 2164 | 441 | 156 | 56 | | 30 | 156 | 1. Thurimachus 45 | |
| | 8 | | | | | | | | |
| | 51 | | | | | 8 | | | 1 |
| | 2169 | 446 | 161 | 61 | 1. Jacob 147 | 1 Balæus. 30 | 161 | 6 | 1. Inachus, 50 |
| | 86 | | | | | | | | |
| | 2865 | | | | | | | | |
| Abraham died this year. | 2183 | 460 | 175 | 75 | 15 | 15 | 175 | 20 | 15 |
| | 100 | | | | | | | | |
| | 2869 | | | | | | | | |
| Heber died this year. | 2187 | 464 | | 79 | 19 | 19 | 179 | 24 | 19 |
| | 104 | | | | | | | | |
| | 2891 | | | | | 9 | | | |
| The 17. Dynastie, called of the Shepheards, beginning this year, lasted 103 years. | 2199 | | | 91 | 31 | 1. Armamithres, 38 | 191 | 36 | 31 |
| | 116 | | | | | | 1 | | |
| | 2760 | | | | | | 201 | 1 Leucippus. 53 | |
| | 1209 | | | 101 | 41 | 11 | 11 | | 41 |
| | 126 | | | | | | | | |
| | 2901 | | | | | | 211 | 11 | 2 |
| | 2219 | | | 111 | 51 | 21 | 21 | | 1. Thoricus, 60 |
| | 136 | | | | | | | | |
| | 2919 | | | | | 10 | | | |
| The Flood of Ogyges, a thousand and twenty years before the Olympiads. | 2237 | | | 129 | 69 | 1. Belocus Priscus, 35 | 229 | 29 | 19 |
| See lib. 1. c. 7. §. 2. | 154 | | | | | | 39 | | |
| | 2942 | | | | | | | | 1. Joseph. 110 |
| | 2260 | | | 152 | 92 | 24 | 252 | 52 | 42 |
| | 177 | | | | | | 62 | | |
| | 2944 | | | | | | | 9 | |
| | 2262 | | | 154 | 94 | 26 | 254 | Mossæus, 47 | 44 |
| | 179 | | | | | | 64 | | 3 |
| | 2952 | | | | | | 3. & 4. | | |
| | 2270 | | | 162 | 102 | 34 | 1. Typhon, & after him Hercul 72 | 9 | 52 |
| See L. 2. c. 2. §. 6. | 187 | | | | | | | | 11 |
| | 2954 | | | | | 11 | | | |
| | 2272 | | | 164 | 104 | 1. Baleus, 52 | 3 | 11 | 54 |
| | 189 | | | | | | 74 | | 13 |

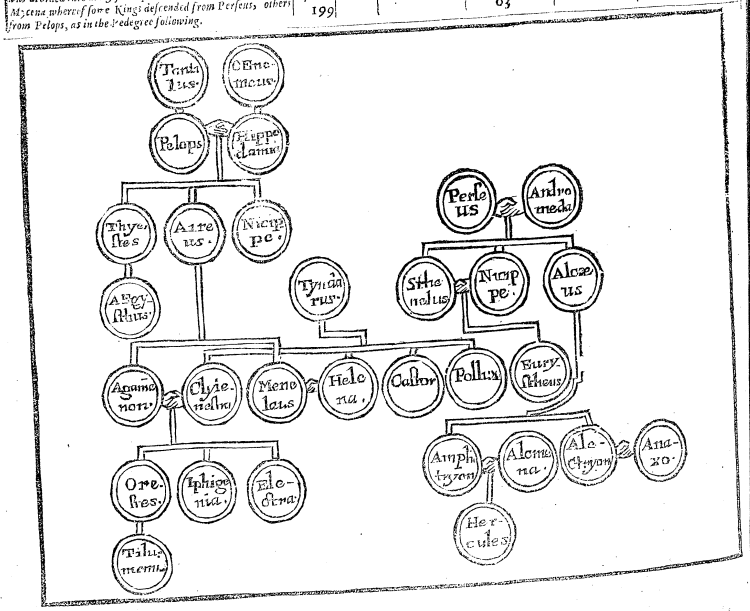
| | Julian. World. promise | | Isaac. | Jacob. | Assyria. | Egypt. | Sicyon. | Argives. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2959 | | | | | 5 | | | |
| Joseph sold into Egypt. | 2277 | | 169 | 109 | 6 | 1. Orus, 59. 115 | 16 | 59 | 18 |
| | 194 | | | | | | | | |
| | 2961 | | | | | | | 3 | |
| | 2279 | | 171 | 111 | 8 | 3 | 18 | 1. Atis. | 20 |
| | 196 | | | | | 8 | | 35 | |
| | 2970 | | | | | | | | |
| The last year of Isaac. | 2288 | | 180 | 120 | 17 | 12 | 27 | 10 | 29 |
| | 205 | | | | | 90 | | | |
| | 2980 | | | | | | | | |
| Israel into Egypt. | 2298 | | | 130 | 27 | 22 | | 20 | 39 |
| | 215 | | | | | 100 | | | |
| | 2984 | | | | | | | | |
| The eighteenth Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 348 years. | 2302 | | | 134 | 31 | 26 | 41 | 24 | 43 |
| | 219 | | | | | 1 | | | |
| | 2991 | | | | | | 10 | | |
| | 2309 | | | 141 | 58 | 33 | 1. Peratus, 46 | 31 | 50 |
| | 226 | | | | | 8 | | | |
| | 2996 | | | | | | | 4 | |
| | 2314 | | | 146 | 43 | 38 | 6 | 1. Argus. | 55 |
| | 231 | | | | | 13 | | | |
| | 2997 | | | | | | | | |
| Jacob dies in Egypt. | 2315 | | | 147 | 44 | 39 | 7 | 2 | |
| | 232 | | | | | 14 | | | |

| | Julian. World. promise | Joseph. | Assyria. | Egypt. | Sicyon. | Argives. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3006 | | | | | |
| | 2324 | 65 | 12 | 48 | 16 | 11 |
| | 241 | | 1. Altades. 32 | 23 | | |
| | 3037 | | | | 11 | |
| | 2355 | 96 | 32 | 79 | 1. Plemneus, 48 | 42 |
| | 272 | | | 54 | | |
| | 3038 | | | | | |
| | 2356 | 97 | 13 | 80 | 2 | 43 |
| | 273 | | 1. Mamitus, 30 | 55 | | |
| | 3051 | | | | | |
| The last year of Joseph. | 2369 | 110 | 14 | 93 | 15 | 56 |
| | 286 | | | 68 | | |
| | 3066 | | | | | 5 |
| | 2384 | | 29. | 108 | 30 | 1. Piræus, or Criasus, 54 |
| | 301 | | | 83 | | |
| | 3068 | | 14 | | | |
| | 2386 | | 1. Mancaleus. | 110 | 32 | 3 |
| | 303 | | 30 | 85 | | |
| | 3074 | | | 7. | | |
| | 2392 | | 7 | 1. Sesostris the Great. 33 | 38 | 9 |
| | 309 | | | 91 | | |
| | 3085 | | | | 13 | |
| | 2403 | | 18 | 12 | 1 Orthopolis. 63 | 20 |
| | 320 | | | 102 | | |
| | 3098 | | 15 | | | |
| | 2416 | | 1. Spherus, or Iphereus, 20 | 25 | 14 | 33 |
| | 333 | | | 115 | | |
| | 3107 | | | 7 | | |
| | 2425 | | 10 | 1. Sesostris the second, 14 | 23 | 42 |
| | 342 | | | 124 | | |
| | 3116 | | | | | |
| | 2434 | 1. Mosses, 120 | 19 | 10 | 32. | 51 |
| | 351 | | | 133 | | |

| | Julian. World. promise | Moses | Assyria | Egypt. | Sicyon. | Argives. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3118<br>2436<br>353 | 3 | 16<br>1. Mamilas, or Mamelins, 30 | 12<br>135 | 34 | 53 | |
| | 3120<br>2438<br>355 | 5 | 3 | 14<br>137 | 36 | 1. Phorbas, 35 | |
| | 3121<br>2439<br>356 | 6 | 4 | 8<br>1 Orus, 2 or Busiris, 38. 138. | 37 | 2 | Athenians. |
| | 3148<br>2466<br>38 | 33 | 17<br>1. Sparetus, 40 | 28<br>165 | 13<br>1 Marathius, 30 | 29 | |
| | 3151<br>2469<br>386 | 36 | 4 | 31<br>168 | 4 | 32 | 1<br>1. Cecrops, 50 |
| *Moses visits his brethren the Israelites, kils an Egyptian, and flies into Midian.* | 3155<br>2473<br>390 | 40 | 8 | 35<br>172 | 8 | 7<br>1. Tripas, 46 | 5 |
| | 3159<br>2477<br>394 | 44 | 12 | 9<br>1. Thermutis, or Acencheres, Qu. 12. 176. | 12 | 5 | 9 |
| | 3171<br>2489<br>406 | 56 | 24 | 10<br>1. Rathoris, or Achoris 9 188. | 24 | 17 | 21 |
| | 3178<br>2469<br>413 | 63 | 31 | 8<br>195 | 14<br>1 Marathus, 20 | 24 | 28 |
| | 3180<br>2498<br>415 | 65 | 33 | 11<br>1 Chencres, 16<br>197 | 3 | 26 | 30 |
| | 3188<br>2506<br>423 | 37 | 18<br>1. Ascatades.<br>40 | 9<br>205 | 11 | 34 | 38 |
| *Moses his wandring into Egypt.* | 3195<br>2513<br>430 | 80 | 8 | 16<br>212 | 18 | 41 | 45 |
| | Julian. World. Exod. | Moses | Assyria. | Egypt. | Sicyon. | Argos. | Athens |
| *The Passeover. Israel delivered out of Egypt. Pharaoh drowned. The Law given. The first of the 480. years from Exodus to the building of the Temple.* | 3196<br>2514<br>1 | 81 | 9 | 12<br>1. Acherres, 8<br>213. | 19 | 42 | 46 |
| *The Flood of Deucalion, and conflagration of Phaeton about this time.* | 3198<br>2516<br>3 | 83 | 11 | 3<br>215 | 15<br>1 Echireus 55 | 44 | 48 |
| | 3201<br>2519<br>6 | 86 | 14 | 6<br>218 | 4 | 8<br>1. Crotopus, 21 | 2<br>1 Cranaus 10 |
| | 3204<br>2522<br>6 | 89 | 17 | 13<br>1. Cherres, 15<br>221 | 7 | 4 | 4 |
| | 3211<br>2529<br>16 | 96 | 24 | 8<br>228 | 14 | 11 | 3<br>1. Amphirion. 12 |
| | 3219<br>2537<br>24 | 104 | 32 | 14<br>1. Armeus. or Danaus, 5. 236 | 22 | 19 | 9 |
| | 3222<br>2540<br>27 | 107 | 35 | 4<br>239 | 25 | 9<br>1. Sthenelus. 11 | 12 |

| | Julian World. Exod. | Moses. | Assyria. | Egypt. | Sicyon. | Argos. | Athens | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3223<br>2541<br>28 | 108 | 36 | 5<br>240 | 26 | 2 | 4<br>Erithonius, 50 | |
| | 3224<br>2542<br>29 | 109 | 37 | 15<br>1 Rameses 68<br>241 | 27 | 3 | 2 | Troy. |
| | 3228<br>2546<br>33 | 113 | 19<br>1. Amyntas, 4 | 5<br>245 | 31 | 7 | 6 | |
| | 3229<br>2547<br>34 | 114 | 2 | 6<br>246 | 32 | 8 | 7 | 1<br>1. Dardanus, 6 |
| | 3233<br>2551<br>38 | 118 | 6 | 10<br>250 | 36 | 10<br>1. Danaus, 50 | 11 | 5 |
| *The last year of Moses.* | 3235<br>2553<br>40 | 120 | 8 | 12<br>252 | 38 | 3 | 13 | 7 |
| | Julian World Exod. | Israel. | Assyria. | Egypt. | Sicyon. | Argos. | Athens | Troy |
| *The Israelites enter the Land of Promise.* | 3236<br>2554<br>41 | 1<br>Josua<br>18 | 9 | 13<br>253 | 39 | 4 | 14 | 8 |
| | 3253<br>2571<br>58 | 18 | 26 | 30<br>270 | 16<br>1. Corax 30 | 21 | 31 | 25 |
| | 3254<br>2572<br>59 | 2<br>1 Othoniel, 40 | 27 | 31<br>271 | 2 | 22 | 32 | 26 |
| | 3273<br>2591<br>78 | 20 | 20<br>1. Belochus the second. 25 | 50<br>290 | 21 | 41 | 5<br>1 Pandion 40 | 45 |
| | 3283<br>2601<br>88 | 30 | 11 | 60<br>300 | 17<br>1. Epopeus 35 | 11<br>1. Lyncus. 41 | 11 | 55 |
| | 3292<br>2610<br>97 | 39 | 20 | 16<br>1. Menophis 40<br>309 | 10 | 10 | 20 | 64 |
| | 3293<br>2611<br>98 | 40 | 21 | 2<br>310 | 11 | 11 | 21 | 2<br>1. Erichthonius, 46 |
| | 3294<br>2612<br>99 | 3<br>1 Ehud<br>80 | 22 | 3<br>311 | 12 | 12 | 22 | 2 |
| | 3298<br>2616<br>103 | 5 | 21<br>1. Belopares 30 | 7 | 16 | 16 | 26 | 6 |
| | 3313<br>2631<br>118 | 20 | 16 | 22<br>330 | 31 | 31 | 6<br>1. Erichtheus, 50 | 21 |
| | 3318<br>2636<br>123 | 25 | 21 | 27<br>335 | 18<br>1 Lamedon. 40 | 36 | 6 | 26 |
| | 3324<br>2642<br>129 | 31 | 27 | 33<br>341 | 7 | 12<br>1. Abbas, 2. | 12 | 32 |
| | 3328<br>2646<br>133 | 35 | 22<br>1. Lampprides.<br>32 | 37<br>345 | 11 | 5 | 16 | 36 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *The* 19. Dynastie: *of the* Larthes, 194. *years*, See lib. 2. c. 26. §. 4. | 3332<br>2650<br>137 | 39 | 5 | 17<br>1. *Zethus*, or *Sethosis*, 55<br>1 | 15 | 9 | 20 | 40 |
| | 3339<br>2657<br>144 | 46 | 12 | 8<br>8 | 22 | 16 | 27 | 5<br>1. *Tros*<br>60 |
| Tantalus *in Phrygia.* | 3347.<br>2665<br>152 | 54 | 20 | 16<br>16 | 30 | 13<br>1. *Prætus*, 17 | 35 | 9 |
| | 3358<br>2676<br>163 | 65 | 21 | 27<br>27 | 19<br>1. *Sicyon*, 45 | 12 | 46 | 10 |
| | 3360<br>2678<br>165 | 67 | 23<br>1. *Sosares*, 20 | 29<br>29 | 3 | 14 | 48 | 22 |
| | 3363<br>2681<br>168 | 70 | 4 | 32<br>32 | 6 | 17 | 7<br>1. *Cecrops*, the second<br>40 | 25 |
| Pelops *in Pisa, who gave name to Peloponnesus.* | 3364<br>2682<br>169 | 71 | 5 | 33<br>33 | 7 | 14<br>1. *Acrisius*, 31 | 2 | 26 |
| Ion *and* Xuthus *the sons of* Helien. See lib. 2. c. 17. §. 6. | 3374<br>2692<br>179 | 4<br>1. *Gebora* & *Be*<br>40 | 15 | 43<br>43 | 17 | 11 | 12 | 36 |
| | 3380<br>2698<br>185 | 7 | 24<br>1. *Lampares*.<br>30 | 49<br>49 | 23 | 17 | 18 | 42 |
| | 3387<br>2705<br>192 | 14 | 15 | 18<br>1. *Ramses*, 66<br>56 | 30 | 24 | 25 | 49 |
| *After the death of Acrisius, the Kingdom of the Argives was divided into many small parts, and overgrown by that of Mycena wherof some Kings descended from Perseus, others from Pelops, as in the Pedegree following.* | 3394<br>2712<br>199 | 21 | 15 | 8<br>63 | 37 | 31 | 32 | 56 |




| | *Julian. World. Exod.* | *Israel* | *Assyria.* | *Egypt.* | *Sicyon.* | *Mycenæ* | *Athens* | *Troy.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3399<br>2717<br>204 | 26 | 20 | 13<br>68 | 42 | | 37 | 4<br>1. *Ilus*, 55 |
| | 3402<br>2720<br>207 | 29 | 23 | 16<br>71 | 45 | 1. *Eurystheus*.<br>4 | 40 | 4 |
| | 3403<br>2721<br>208 | 30 | 24 | 17<br>72 | 20<br>1. *Polybus*, 40 | 2 | 8<br>1. *Pandicthe* 225 | 5 |
| | 3410<br>2728<br>215 | 37 | 25<br>1. *Pannias*, 45 | 24<br>79 | 8 | 9 | 8 | 12 |
| | 3414<br>2732<br>219 | 5<br>1. *Gideon*. 40 | 5 | 28<br>83 | 12 | 13 | 12 | 16 |
| Pandion *chased out of his Kingdom, which is recovered by his son* Ægeus, *in few years after. The omission of this interregnum and reckoning the years in the forty eight of* Ægeus, *we numbring them apart by themselves, breeds answerable difference in the times of the Athenians following, as* Mnesthe, Carops, *and the rest.* | 3427<br>2745<br>232 | 14 | 28 | 41<br>96 | 25 | 26 | 25 | 29 |
| | 3432<br>2750<br>237 | 19 | 23 | 46<br>101 | 30 | 31 | 9<br>1. *Ægeus*, 40 | 34 |
| *Oedipus in Thebes.* | 3443<br>2761<br>248 | 30 | 34 | 57<br>112 | 21<br>1. *Inachus*, 4 | 42 | 12 | 45 |
| | 3447<br>2765<br>252 | 34 | 38 | 61<br>116 | 5 | 1. *Atreus and Thyestes*<br>65 | 16 | 49 |
| | 3453<br>2771<br>258 | 40 | 44 | 19<br>1. *Amenophis*,<br>122 40 | 11 | 7 | 22 | 55 |
| | 3454<br>2772<br>259 | 6<br>1. *Abimelech* | 45 | 2<br>123 | 12 | 8 | 23 | 5<br>1. *Laomedon*.<br>36 |
| | 3455<br>2773<br>260 | 2 | 26<br>1. *Sosarmus*, 19 | 3<br>124 | 13 | 9 | 24 | 2 |
| | 3457<br>2775<br>262 | 7<br>1. *Tholas*, 23 | 3 | 5<br>126 | 15 | 11 | 26 | 4 |
| | 3474<br>2762<br>379 | 18 | 27<br>1. *Mitreus*, 27 | 22<br>143 | 32 | 28 | 43 | 21 |
| | 3480<br>2792<br>285 | 8<br>1. *Jair*.<br>22 | 7 | 28<br>149 | 38 | 34 | 10<br>1. *Theseus*, 30 | 27 |
| | 3485<br>2803<br>290 | 6 | 12 | 33<br>154 | 22<br>1. *Phestus*, 8 | 39 | 6 | 32 |
| | 3490<br>2808<br>295 | 11 | 17 | 38<br>159 | 6 | 44 | 11 | 1. *Priamus*.<br>40 |
| | 3493<br>2811<br>298 | 14 | 20 | 20<br>1. *Annemenes*<br>162 26 | 23<br>1. *Adrastus*, 4 | 47 | 14 | 4 |
| | 3497<br>2815<br>302 | 18 | 24 | 5<br>166 | 24<br>1. *Polyphides* 31 | 51 | 18 | 8 |
| | 3501<br>2819<br>306 | 22 | 28<br>1. *Teutanes*,<br>32 | 9<br>170 | 5 | 55 | 22 | 12 |

| | Julian. World. Exod. | Israel | Assyria. | Egypt. | Sicyon. | Mycenæ. | Athens | Troy. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3502 2820 307 | 9 1. Jephta. 6 | 2 | 10 171 | 6 | 56 | 23 | 13 |
| | 3508 2826 313 | 10 1. Ibzan. 7 | 8 | 16 177 | 12 | 62 | 29 | 19 |
| | 3510 2828 315 | 3 | 10 | 18 179 | 14 | 64 | 11 1. Mnestheus 44 | |
| | 3512 2830 317 | 5 | 12 | 20 181 | 16 | 1. Agamemnon 18 | 3 | 23 |
| | 3515 2833 320 | 11 1 Elon 10 | 15 | 23 184 | 19 | 4 | 6 | 26 |
| *The war of Troy began this year.* | 3519 2837 324 | 5 | 19 | 21 2. Thuoris, 7, 188 | 23 | 8 | 10 | 30 |
| | 3525 2843 330 | 12 1. Abdon. 8 | 25 | 7 194 | 29 | 14 | 16 | 36 |
| *The 20. Dynastie called of the Diapolitani, began this year in Egypt, and lasted 278. years.* See lib. 2. cap. 26. §. 4. | 3526 2844 331 | 2 | 26 | 20 1. Dynastie, 178 | 30 | 15 | 17 | 37 |
| | 3528 2846 333 | 4 | 28 | 3 | 25 1. Pelasgus, 20 | 17 | 19 | 39 |
| *Troy taken 408. years, before the beginning of the Olympiades.* See lib. 2. c. 14. §. 1. | 3529 1847 334 | 5 | 29 | 4 | 2 | 18 | 20 | 40. Troy taken. |

| | Julian. World Exod | From Troy taken. | Israel. | Assyria. | Egypt. | Sicyon. | Mycenæ. | Athens | The Kingdom of the Latines |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3530 2848 335 | 1 | 6 | 30 | 5 | 3 | 1. Ægyptus, 6 | 21 | |
| | 3533 2851 338 | 4 | 13 1. Sampson. 20 | 29 1. Tentenes 40 | 8 | 6 | 4 | 24 | 1 1. Æneas, 3 |
| | 3534 2852 339 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 9 | 7 | 5 | 12 1 Demophon, 33 | 2 |
| | 3536 2854 341 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 11 | 9 | 1. Orestes, 70 | 3 | 2 1. Ascanius. 30 |
| | 3548 2866 353 | 19 | 16 | 16 | 23 | 26 1 Zeucippus. 31 | 13 | 15 | 13 |
| | 3553 2871 358 | 2 | 14 1. Eli, 40 | 21 | 28 | 6 | 18 | 20 | 18 |
| | 3567 2885 372 | 38 | 15 | 35 | 42 | 20 | 32 | 13 1 Oxintes, 12 | 32 |
| | 3573 2891 378 | 44 | 21 | 30 1. Thyneus 30 | 48 | 26 | 38 | 7 | 38 |
| | 3574 2892 379 | 45 | 22 | 2 | 49 | 27 | 39 | 8 | 3 1. Syl. Posthumus. 29 |

| | Julian. World. Exod. | From Troy taken. | Israel. | Assyria | Egypt. | Sicyon | Mycenæ. | Athens | The kingdom of the Latines. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *The Sicyonian Kings ended in Zeucippus.* | 3579 2897 384 | 50 | 27 | 7 | 54 | 32 | 44 | 14 1. Aphidas 1. | 6 |
| | 3580 2898 385 | 51 | 28 | 8 | 55 | | 45 | 15 1. Tomates, 8. | 7 |
| | 3588 2906 393 | 59 | 36 | 16 | 63 | | 53 | 16 1. Melampus, 37. | 15 |
| | 3593 2911 398 | 64 | 15 1. Samuel, & after him Saul, 40 | 21 | 68 | | 58 | 6 | 20 |
| | 3603 2921 408 | 74 | 11 | 31. 1. Decius, 40 | 78 | | 68 | 16 | 4 1. Sylvius Æneas, 31. |
| | 3606 2924 411 | 77 | 14 | 4 | 81 | | 1 Tisamenus. 2 | 19 | 4 |
| *The descent of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, gave end to the Kingdom of Mycene, and beginning to the Kingdom of Sparta, Corinth, and Messene, the Kings whereof I forbear to insert in this Table.* | 3609 2927 414 | 80 | 17 | 7 | 84 | | | 22 | 7 |
| | 3625 2943 430 | 96 | 33 | 23 | 100 | | | 17 1. Codrus 21 | 23 |

| | Julian. World. Exod. | From Troy taken. | Israel. | Assyria. | Egypt. | Athens | Latins. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3633 2951 438 | | 104 1. David. 40. | 31 | 108 | 9 | 31 |
| | 3634 2951 439 | | 105 | 2 | 32 | 109 | 10 1. Syl. Latinus, 50. |
| | 3643 2961 448 | | 114 | 11 | 32 Expales 38. | 118 | 19 10 |
| *The Medontidæ succeed unto the Athenian Kings, after the death of Codrus.* See lib. 2. c. 17. §. 10. | 3646 2964 451 | | 117 | 14 | 4 | 121 | 1 1. Medon. 20 13 |
| | 3666 2984 471 | | 137 | 34 | 24 | 141 | 2 1. Agastus, 36 33 |
| *Vaphres reigneth in Egypt,* See *L. 2. c. 26. §. 5.* | 3673 2991 478 | Temple 1 | 144 1. Salomon, 40 | | 31 | 148 | 8 40 |
| *Salomon began to build the Temple 408. years compleat after the deliverance out of Egypt.* | 3676 2994 481 | 3 | 147 4 | | 34 | 151 | 11 43 |
| | 3681 2999 | 6 | 152 9 | | 33 1. Leostheues, 45 | 156 | 16 48 |
| | 3684 3002 | 9 | 155 12 | 4 | 159 | 19 | 6 1. Syl. Alba. |
| | 3692 3010 | 17 | 163 20 | 12 | 1. Sesac 26 167 | 27 | 9 |
| | 3702 3020 | 27 | 173 30 | 22 | 11 177 | 3. 1 Archippus, 19 | 19 |

| | Julian. World. | Temple | From Troy taken. | Israel. | Assyria. | Egypt. | Athens | Latines |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *The 21. Dynasty in Ægypt, which lasted 130. years.* | 3704<br>3022 | 29 | 175 | 32 | 24 | 13<br>1 | 3 | 21 |
| *The Ionick migration after the taking of Troy, 180 years.* See L. 2. c. 17. *sect.* 6. | 3709<br>3027 | 34 | 180 | 37 | 29 | 18<br>6 | 8 | 26 |

| | Julian. World. Temple | Troy. | Juda. | Israel. | Assyria. | Egypt. | Athens | Latines |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3713<br>3031<br>38 | 148 | 1<br>1. *Rehoboam.*<br>17 | 1<br>1. *Jeroboam.*<br>22 | 33 | 22<br>10 | 12 | 30 |
| | 3718<br>3036<br>43 | 189 | 6 | 6 | 38 | 1 *Chemmis,* 50<br>15 | 17 | 35 |
| | 3721<br>3039<br>46 | 192 | 9 | 9 | 41 | 4<br>18 | 4<br>1 *Tecsiptus,* 41 | 38 |
| | 3723<br>3041<br>48 | 194 | 11 | 11 | 43 | 6<br>20 | 3 | 7<br>1 *Syl. Atys,* 26 |
| | 3726<br>3044<br>51 | 197 | 14 | 14 | 34<br>1. *Pyrithiades.*<br>30 | 9<br>23 | 6 | 4 |
| | 3730<br>3048<br>55 | 201 | 2<br>1. *Abijam,* 3 | 18 | 5 | 13<br>27 | 10 | 8 |
| | 3733<br>3051<br>58 | 204 | 3<br>1. *Asa.* 41 | 21 | 8 | 16<br>30 | 13 | 11 |
| | 3734<br>3052<br>59 | 205 | 2 | 22<br>2<br>1. *Nadab.* 2. | 9 | 17<br>31 | 14 | 12 |
| | 3735<br>3053<br>60 | 206 | 3 | 2<br>3<br>1. *Baasha,* 24 | 10 | 18<br>32 | 15 | 13 |
| | 3749<br>3067<br>74 | 220 | 17 | 15 | 24 | 32<br>46 | 29 | 8<br>1. *Syl. Cap.* 28 |
| | 3756<br>3074<br>81 | 227 | 24 | 22 | 35<br>1. *Ophrateus.*<br>20 | 39<br>53 | 36 | 8 |
| | 3758<br>3076<br>83 | 229 | 26 | 24<br>4<br>1. *Ela,* 2. | 3 | 41<br>55 | 38 | 10 |
| *Of those Israelitish Kings,* See lib. 2. c. 19. §. 5. | 3759<br>3077<br>84 | 230 | 27 | 2 5<br>1 { *Zimri.*<br>6. *Tibni.*<br>7. *Omri* 11 | 4 | 42<br>56 | 39 | 11 |
| | 3762<br>3080<br>87 | 233 | 30 | 4 | 7 | 45<br>59 | 3<br>1 *Phorbas,* 31 | 14 |
| | 3768<br>3086<br>93 | 239 | 36 | 10 | 13 | 1. *Cheops,* 56<br>65 | 7 | 20 |
| | 3770<br>3088<br>95 | 241 | 38 | 12<br>8<br>1. *Ahab,* 22. | 15 | 3<br>67 | 9 | 22 |
| | 3774<br>3092<br>99 | 245 | 4<br>1. *Jehosaphat.*<br>25 | 5 | 19 | 7<br>71 | 13 | 26 |

| | Julian World Temple. | Troy. | Juda. | Israel. | Assyria | Egypt. | Athens | Latine |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3776<br>3094<br>10[illegible] | 247 | 3 | 7 | 16<br>1. *Ophratanes.*<br>50 | 9<br>73 | 15 | 28 |
| | 3777<br>3095<br>10[illegible] | 248 | 4 | 8 | 2 | 10<br>74 | 16 | 9<br>1 *Syl. Capetus* 13 |
| *Of* Jehoram *his sundry beginnings to reign.* see l. 2. c. 20. §. 1. & . | 3790<br>3108<br>115 | 261 | 17<br>5<br>1 *Jehoram.* | 21<br>9<br>1. *Ahazia,* 2 | 15 | 23<br>87 | 29 | 10<br>1 *Syl. Tyberinus,* 8 |
| | 3791<br>3109<br>116 | 262 | 18<br>2 | 22<br>2 10<br>1. *Jehoram.* | 16 | 24<br>88 | 30 | 2 |
| | 3793<br>3111<br>118 | 264 | 20<br>[illegible] | 3 | 18 | 26<br>90 | 6<br>*Me*[illegible]*s,* 30 | 4 |
| | 3793<br>3113<br>120 | 266 | 22<br>1 *Jehoram again* 8. | 5 | 20 | 28<br>92 | 3 | 6 |
| Jehosaphat *dies, and* Jehoram *reigns alone.* | 3798<br>3116<br>123 | 269 | 25<br>4 | 8 | 23 | 31<br>95 | 6 | 11<br>1. *Syl. Agrippa.* |
| | 3802<br>3120<br>127 | 273 | 8<br>6<br>1. *Ahazia.* 1. | 12 | 27 | 35<br>99 | 10 | 5 |
| | 3803<br>3121<br>128 | 274 | 7<br>1. *Athalia.*<br>7 | 11<br>1. *Jehu* 28 | 28 | 36<br>100 | 11 | 6 |
| | 3809<br>3125<br>134 | 280 | 7<br>8<br>1. *Joas,* 40. | 7 | 34 | 42<br>106 | 17 | 12 |
| *Carthage built.* L. 2. c. 22. §. 6. | 3819<br>3137<br>144 | 290 | 11 | 17 | 44 | 52<br>116 | 27 | 22 |
| | 3825<br>3143<br>148 | 294 | 15 | 21 | 48 | 65<br>120 | 7<br>1. *Diognetus,* 28 | 26 |
| | 3824<br>3142<br>149 | 295 | 16 | 22 | 49 | 1 *Crephenes* 50<br>121 | 2 | 27 |
| | 3826<br>3144<br>151 | 397 | 18 | 24 | 37 *Ocrazapes, or* 1. *Anacyndaraxes,* 42 | 3<br>123 | 4 | 29 |
| | 3831<br>3149<br>156 | 302 | 23 | 12<br>1. *Johoahaz,*<br>17 | 6 | 8<br>128 | 9 | 34 |
| *The end of the 21. Dynastie. The Dynasties following I omit.* | 3833<br>3151<br>158 | 304 | 25 | 3 | 8 | 10<br>130 | 11 | 36 |
| | 3839<br>3157<br>164 | 310 | 31 | 9 | 14 | 16 | 17 | 52<br>1 *Syl. Alladius,* 19 |
| Joas *reigned with his Father.* L. 2. c. 22. §. 7. | 3845<br>3163<br>170 | 316 | 37 | 15<br>13<br>1. *Joas.* | 20 | 22 | 23 | 7 |
| Joas *reigns alone.* | 3847<br>3165<br>172 | 118 | 39 | 1. *Joas,* 16 | 21 | 24 | 25 | 9 |
| | 3848<br>3166<br>173 | 319 | 40<br>9<br>1. *Amazia,* 20 | 2 | 23 | 25 | 26 | 10 |

| | Julian World / Temple | Troy. | Juda. | Israel. | Assyria | Egypt. | Athens | Latins |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3851 / 3169 / 176 | 322 | 4 | 5 | 26 | 28 | 8 / 1 Phereas 19 | 13 |
| | 3858 / 3166 / 183 | 329 | 11 | 12 | 33 | 35 | 8 | 18 / 1 Æsculanus, 37 |
| | 3863 / 3180 / 187 | 333 | 15 | 16 / 14 / 1 Jeroboam, 41 | 37 | 39 | 12 | 5 |
| | 3862 / 3186 / 193 | 339 | 21 | 7 | 38 / 1. Sardanapalus. 20 | 45 | 18 | 11 |
| | 3870 / 3188 / 195 | 341 | 23 | 9 | 3 | 47 | 9 / 1 Ariphron 20 | 12 |
| | 3874 / 3192 / 199 | 345 | 27 | 13 | 7 | 1. Micerinus 6 | 5 | 16 |
| | Julian World / Temp. | Troy. | Juda. | Israel. | Assyria | Egypt. | Athens | Latins |
| L.2. c.22. §.11. | 3877 / 3195 / 202 | 348 | 1. Interregnum 11. years. | 16 | 10 | 4 | 8 | 19 |
| | 3880 / 3198 / 205 | 351 | 4 | 19 | 13 | 2. Bocchoris. 44 | 11 | 22 |
| L. 2. c.22. §.12. | 3887 / 3205 / 212 | 358 | 11 | 26 | 20. Sardanapalus slain | 8 | 18 | 29 |
| L.2. c.33. §.1. & 4. | 3888 / 3206 / 213 | 359 | 10 / 1. Uzzia, 0 / Azaria, 52 | 27 | | 9 | 19 | 30 / 1. Arbaces 28 |
| | 3890 / 3208 / 215 | 361 | 3 | 29 | | 11 | 10 / 1 Thespo rus, 27 | 32 |
| L.2. c.23. §. 4. | 3892 / 3210 / 217 | 363 | 5 | 31 | 1. / 1. Belosus or Phul. 48 | 13 | 3 | 34 |
| | 3895 / 3213 / 220 | 366 | 8 | 34 | 4 | 16 | 6 | 14 / 1 Syl. Procas 53 |
| L.2. c.23. §. 1. | 3903 / 3221 / 228 | 374 | 16 | 1. Interregnum 23. years. | 12 | 24 | 14 | 9 |
| | 3916 / 3234 / 241 | 387 | 29 | 14 | 25 | 37 | 27 | 22 |
| | 3917 / 3235 / 242 | 388 | 30 | 15 | 26 | 38 | 11 / 1. Agamestor. 20 | 23 |
| | 3918 / 3236 / 243 | 389 | 31 | 16 | 27 | 39 | 2 | 15 / 1 Syl. Amulius. 44 |
| | 2924 / 3242 / 249 | 395 | 37 | 22 | 33 | 1. Æschylus and after him Amesys. 6 | 8 | 7 |
| Zacharia began at the very end of the year. L.2. c.23. §. 1. | 3925 / 3243 / 250 | 396 | 38 | 33 / 15 / Zachariah six Months. | 34 | 2 | 9 | 8 |

| | Julian World | Troy. | | | Juda. | Israel | Assyria | Egypt | Athens | Latins | Media |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3926 / 3244 / 251 | 397 | | | 39 | 16 Shallum 1 Menahem 10 | 35 | 3 | 10 | 9 | 11 |
| This year nearly concurs with the first of Menahem. | 3927 / 3245 / 252 | 398 | | | 40 | 1 | 36 | 4 | 11 | 10 | 12 |
| | 3930 / 3248 / 255 | 401 | | | 43 | 4 | 39 | 1 Sabbacat the Ethiopian 30 | 14 | 13 | 15 |
| | 3937 / 3255 / 262 | 408 | Iphit. | Olym piads. | 50 | 18 / 1 Pekahiah. 2 | 46 | 4 | 1. Æschylus 13, 23 | 20 | 22 |
| The beginning of the Olympiads. L.2. c.23. §. 5. | 3938 / 3256 / 263 | 409 | 1 | 1 / 1 | 51 | 2 | 47 | 9 | 2 | 21 | 23 |
| | 3939 / 3257 / 264 | 410 | 2 | 1 / 2 | 52 | 19 / 1. Pekah Romeliæ 2 | 48 | 10 | 3 | 22 | 24 |
| L.2. c.23. §. 6. | 3940 / 3258 / 265 | 411 | 3 | 1 / 3 | 11 / 1. Jotham, 16 | 2 | 2 / 1. Tiglath Phul. Assur. 2 | 11 | 4 | 23 | 25 |
| | Julian World / Temple | Iphit. | Olym. | | Juda. | Israel | Assyria | Egypt | Athens | Latins | Media |
| | 3946 / 3264 / 27 | 9 | 3 / 1 | | 7 | 8 | 7 | 17 | 10 | 29 | 3 / 1 Medius 40 |
| | 3955 / 3273 / 280 | 18 | 5 / 2 | | 16 / 12 / 1. Ahaz 16 | 17 | 16 | 26 | 19 | 38 | 10 |
| | 3959 / 3277 / 284 | 22 | 6 / 2 | | 5 | 1. Interregnum 7. years | 20 | 30 | 23 | 42 | 14 |
| | 3960 / 3278 / 285 | 23 | 6 / 3 | | 6 | 2 | 21 | 31 | 13 / 1. Alcmeon 2 | 43 | 15 |
| | Julian World / Temple. | Rome. / Nabon | Iphit. | Olym. | Juda. | Israel. | Assyria | Egypt. | Athens | Romans | Media |
| Rome built, L. 2. c.24. §. 5. Cinops the first, governing in Athens for ten years: after whom succeeded six, chosen each after other for the like time, from the Office became Annual. | 3962 / 3280 / 287 | 1 | 25 | 7 / 1 | 8 | 4 | 23 | 33 | 1 / 1. Creops, 10 | 1 / 1 Romulus 37 | 17 |
| | 3966 / 3284 / 291 | 5 | 29 | 8 / 1 | 12 | 20 / 1 Hoshea 9 | 27 | 37 | 5 | 5 | 21 |
| The Æra of Nabonassar. L.2. c.25. §. 1. | 3967 / 3285 / 292 | 6 / 1 | 30 | 8 / 2 | 13 | 2 | 2 / 1. Salmanassar, or Nabonassar. 10 | 38 | 6 | 6 | 22 |
| Ezekiah began in the very end of this year. L.2. c.25. §. 1. | 3968 / 3286 / 293 | 7 / 2 | 31 | 8 / 3 | 14 / Ezekiah 29 | 3 | 2 | 39 | 7 | 7 | 23 |
| This year concurs with the first of Ezekiah. Ibid. | 3969 / 3287 / 294 | 8 / 4 | 32 | 8 / 4 | 15 / 1 | 4 | 3 | 40 | 8 | 8 | 24 |
| The beginning of the first Messenian War. Whereof see L.2. c.27. §. 4. It lasted 20 years. | 3971 / 3289 / 296 | 10 / 5 | 34 | 9 / 2 | 3 | 6 | 5 | 42 | 10 | 10 | 26 |
| Samaria is besieged by Salmanassar. | 3972 / 3290 / 297 | 11 / 6 | 35 | 9 / 3 | 4 | 7 | 6 | 43 | | 11 | 27 |

| | Julian World. | Rome. Nabon | Iphit. | Olym. | Juda. | Caldæa | Egypt. | Rome. | Media | Lydia. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *The Captivity of the ten Tribes.* | 3974 | 13 | 37 | 10 | 6 | 9 | 8 | +5 | | 13 | 29 |
| | 3292 | | | | | | 10 | | | | |
| | 299 | 8 | | 1 | | | 1. Sennacherib 7 | | | | |
| | 3976 | 15 | 39 | 10 | 8 | | | 47 | | 15 | 31 |
| | 3294 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 301 | 10 | | 3 | | | | | | | |
| L. 2. c. 26. §, 7. | 3980 | 19 | 43 | 11 | 12 | Kings of the Chaldæans. | 5 | 1. Sechon. 33 | | 19 | 35 |
| | 3298 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 305 | 14 | | 3 | | | | | | | |
| Senacheribs *Army destroyed, and he slain.* L. 2. c. 25. §. 2. | 3982 | 21 | 45 | 12 | 14 | | 7 | 3 | | 21 | 37 |
| | 3300 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 307 | 16 | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| | 3983 | 22 | 46 | 12 | 15 | 1. Merodach, or Mardocempadus | 3 Assar Had. 10 | 4 | | 22 | 38 |
| | 3301 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 308 | 17 | | 2 | | | | | | | |
| | 3986 | 25 | 49 | 13 | 18 | 4 | 4 | 7 | | 25 | 4 1 Cardi- cras, 11 |
| | 3304 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 311 | 20 | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| Merodach *gets the whole Empire. This year or in the end of the year foregoing. An eclipse of the Moon.* | 3993 | 32 | 56 | 14 | 25 | 1 1. Merodach, 40 | 11 | 14 | | 32 | 8 |
| | 3311 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 318 | 27 | | 4 | | | | | | | |
| | Julian World. Temple. | Rome. Nabon | Iphit. | Olym. | Juda. | Caldæa | Egypt. | Rome. | Media | Lydia. | |
| *Two eclipses of the Moon, in the second year of* Mardocempadus. | 3994 | 33 | 57 | 15 | 26 | 2 | 15 | 33 | 9 | | |
| | 3312 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 319 | 28 | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| | 3997 | 36 | 60 | 15 | 29 | 5 | 18 | 36 | 12 | 1 1. Cyges, 38 | |
| | 3319 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 322 | 31 | | 4 | | | | | | | |
| | 3998 | 37 | 61 | 16 | 1 Manasses 55 | 6 | 19 | 37 | 13 | 2 | |
| | 3316 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 323 | 32 | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| | 3999 | 38 | 62 | 16 | 2 | 7 | 20 | Inter regnum one year | 5 1. Deioces. 53 | 3 | |
| | 3317 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 324 | 33 | | 2 | | | | | | | |
| | 4000 | 39 | 63 | 16 | 3 | 8 | 21 | 2 1. Numa Pompilius, 43 | 2 | 4 | |
| | 3318 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 325 | 34 | | 3 | | | | | | | |
| L. 2. c. 27. §. 2. | 4013 | 52 | 76 | 19 | 16 | 21 | 1 Interregnum, 2 | 14 | 15 | 17 | |
| | 3331 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 338 | 47 | | 4 | | | | | | | |
| | 4015 | 54 | 78 | 20 | 18 | 23 | 1. 12 Princes, 15 | 16 | 17 | 19 | |
| | 3333 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 340 | 49 | | 2 | | | | | | | |
| *The beginning of the second Messenian War, which lasted about 18. years.* L. 2. c. 27. §. 4. | 4020 | 68 | 92 | 23 | 32 | 37 | 15 1. Psammiticus 44 | 30 | 31 | 33 | |
| | 3347 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 354 | 63 | | 4 | | | | | | | |
| L. 2. c. 28. §. 3. | 4033 | 72 | 96 | 24 | 36 | 2 1. Ben-Merodach, 21 | 5 | 34 | 35 | 37 | |
| | 3351 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 358 | 67 | | 4 | | | | | | | |
| | 4035 | 74 | 98 | 25 | 38 | 3 | 7 | 36 | 37 | 2 1. Ardys, 49 | |
| | 3353 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 360 | 69 | | 2 | | | | | | | |
| | 4043 | 82 | 106 | 27 | 46 | 11 | 15 | 2 1. Tullus Hostilius 32 | 45 | 9 | |
| | 3361 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 368 | 77 | | 2 | | | | | | | |
| | 4052 | 91 | 115 | 29 | 55 | 20 | 24 | 10 | 6 1. Phraortes, 24 | 18 | |
| | 3370 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 377 | 86 | | 3 | | | | | | | |
| | 4053 | 92 | 116 | 29 | 15 1. Amon, 2 | 21 | 25 | 11 | 2 | 19 | |
| | 3371 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 378 | 87 | | 4 | | | | | | | |

| | Julian World. Temple. | Rome. Nabon | Iphit. | Olymp. | Juda. | Chaldea. | Egypt. | Rome. | Media | Lydia. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *The expedition of the Scythians.* L. 2. c. 28. §. 3. & 4. | 4054 | 93 | 117 | 30 | 2 | 3 1. Nabuchodonosor, 33 | 26 | 12 | 3 | 20 |
| | 3372 | | | | | | | | | |
| | 379 | 88 | | 1 | | | | | | |
| L. 2. c. 28. §. 1. | 4055 | 94 | 118 | 30 16 | 1. Josias, 31 | 2 | 27 | 13 | 4 | 21 |
| | 3373 | | | | | | | | | |
| | 380 | 89 | | 2 | | | | | | |
| | 4073 | 112 | 136 | 34 | 19 | 20 | 1. Neco, 17 | 31 | 22 | 39 |
| | 3391 | | | | | | | | | |
| | 398 | 107 | | 4 | | | | | | |
| | 4075 | 114 | 138 | 35 | 21 | 22 | 3 | 4 1. Ancus Marcius 34 | 24 | 41 |
| | 3393 | | | | | | | | | |
| | 400 | 109 | | 2 | | | | | | |
| | 4076 | 115 | 139 | 35 | 22 | 23 | 4 | 2 | 7 1 Cyaxares, 40 | 42 |
| | 3394 | | | | | | | | | |
| | 401 | 110 | | 3 | | | | | | |
| | 4084 | 123 | 147 | 37 | 30 | 31 | 12 | 10 | 9 | 3 1 Sadyattes, 12 |
| | 3402 | | | | | | | | | |
| | 409 | 118 | | 3 | | | | | | |
| L. 2. c. 28. §. 1 & 2. | 4085 | 124 | 148 | 37 | 37 17 Jehoahaz 3 months | 32 | 13 | 11 | 10 | 2 |
| | 3402 | | | | | | | | | |
| | 410 | 119 | | 4 | | | | | | |
| Nabuchodonosor *had reigned one year with his Father, which is to be regarded in Astronomical observations concerning his time.* L. 2. c. 25. §. 1. & c. 28. §. 6. | 4086 | 125 | 149 | 38 | 18 1 Jehoiakim, 11 | 33 | 14 | 12 | 11 | 3 |
| | 3404 | | | | | | | | | |
| | 411 | 120 | | 1 | | | | | | |
| | 4089 | 128 | 152 | 38 | 4 | 4 1. Nebuchodonosor the great, 44 | 17 | 15 | 14 | 6 |
| | 3407 | | | | | | | | | |
| | 414 | 123 | | 4 | | | | | | |
| | 4090 | 129 | 153 | 39 | 5 | 2 | 1. Psammis, 12 | 16 | 15 | 7 |
| | 3408 | | | | | | | | | |
| | 415 | 124 | | 1 | | | | | | |
| | 4096 | 135 | 159 | 40 | 11 40 3 Jechoni. 3 months. 20 | 8 | 7 | 22 | 21 | 4 1 Halyattes 57 |
| | 3414 | | | | | | | | | |
| | 421 | 130 | | 3 | | | | | | |
| Zedekiah *his journey to Babylon.* L. 2. c. 28. §. 6. | 4099 | 138 | 162 | 41 | Zedekiah 11 years. 4 | 11 | 10 | 5 1. L. Tarquin. Priscus, 38 | 24 | 4 |
| | 3417 | | | | | | | | | |
| | 424 | 133 | | 2 | | | | | | |
| | 4102 | 141 | 165 | 42 | 7 | 14 | 1. Apries or Hophra, | 4 | 27 | 7 |
| | 3420 | | | | | | | | | |
| | 427 | 136 | | 1 | | | | | | |
| *Jerusalem taken by* Nabuchodonosor, *with whose* 18. *for the more part, and partly with whose* 19. *this year concurs.* | 4106 | 145 | 169 | 43 | 11 | 18 | 5 | 8 | 31 | 11 |
| | 3424 | | | | | | | | | |
| | 431 | 140 | | 1 | | | | | | |
| | Julian World. | Rome. Nabon | Iph. | Olymp. | Captivity. | Chaldea. | Egypt. | Rome. | Media | Lydia. |
| *Jerusalem destroyed.* | 4107 | 146 | 170 | 43 | 1 | 19 | 6 | 9 | 32 | 12 |
| | 3425 | 141 | | 2 | | | | | | |
| *Egypt conquered by* Nabuchodonosor. L. 3. c. 1. §. 8. & 9. | 4111 | 150 | 174 | 44 | 5 | 23 | 1 Pharaoh Hophra Apries, and the kingdom of Egypt subverted 430. years by Persians. | 13 | 36 | 16 |
| | 3429 | 145 | | 2 | | | | | | |
| | 4116 | 155 | 179 | 45 | 10 | 28 | 6 | 18 | 8 1. Astyages, 35 | 21 |
| | 3434 | 150 | | 3 | | | | | | |
| Nabuchodonosor *lives wild: and his Kingdom is governed by others for him, during seven years.* L. 3. c. 1. §. 13. | 4125 | 164 | 188 | 47 | 19 | 37 1. Evilmerodac | 15 | 27 | 10 | 30 |
| | 3443 | 159 | | 4 | | | | | | |
| | 3127 | 166 | 190 | 48 | 21 | 2. 1. Nigelsar, & Nitocris, 46 | 17 | 29 | 12 | 32 |
| | 3445 | 161 | | 2 | | | | | | |

| | Julian World. | Rome. Nabon. | Iphit. | Olymp. | Juda. | Chaldæa. | Egypt. | Rome. | Media | Lydia. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nebuchadnezzar recovers his sense and kingdom. | 4131 | 170 | 194 | 49 | 25 | 43 Laboro ardach 9 mon | 21 | 33 | 16 | 36 | |
| | 3449 | 165 | | 2 | | | | | | | |
| L.3. c 1. §.6. The 27. of Jeconia his captivity complcat, and he enlarged. | 4133 | 172 | 196 | 49 | 27 | 1 Evilmer rodach 18 | 23 | 35 | 18 | 38 | |
| | 3451 | 167 | | 4 | | | | | | | |
| | 4137 | 176 | 200 | 50 | 31 | 5 | 27 | 6 Ner gl. assa llim 14 | 22 | 42 | |
| | 3455 | | | 4 | | | | | | | |
| Forty years after the conquest of Egypt past, Amasis began his reign: this being inclusively the 41. & therefore the next year seems concurrent with Amasis his | 4151 | 190 | 214 | 45 | 54 | 19 | Amasis 34 | 15 | 2 Cyaxares to Astiages 16 | 56 | |
| | 3469 | 185 | | 2 | | | | | | | |
| | 4153 | 192 | 216 | 54 | 47 | 21 | 2 | 17 | 3 | 5 1. Cræsus, 13 | |
| | 3471 | | | 4 | | | | | | | |
| | Julian World | Rome. Nabon | Iphit. | Olymp. | Persia | Chaldæa. | Egypt. | Rome. | Media | Lydia. | Jewes. |
| | 4154 | 193 | 217 | 55 | 1 Cyrus in Persia 25 | 22 | 3 | 18 | 4 | 2 | 48 |
| | 3472 | 188 | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| The seven Sages of Greece. | 4159 | 198 | 222 | 56 | 6 | 1. Baltha sar. 17 | 8 | 23 | 9 | 7 | 53 |
| | 3477 | 193 | | 2 | | | | | | | |
| Pisistratus makes himself Tyrant in Athens. | 4164 | 203 | 227 | 57 | 11 | 6 | 13 | 28 | 14 | 12 | 58 |
| | 3482 | 198 | | 3 | | | | | | | |
| | 4166 | 205 | 229 | 58 | 13 | 8 | 15 | 30 | 16 | 14 Cræsus taken by Cyrus | 60 |
| | 3484 | 200 | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| The end of the Chaldean Empire. | 4175 | 214 | 238 | 60 | 22 | 17 Baltha sar slain. | 24 | 39 | 25 | | 69 |
| | 3493 | 209 | | 2 | | | | | | | |
| | 4176 | 215 | 239 | 60 | 23 | 1. Darius the Mede 2 | 23 | 40 | 26 | | 70 |
| | 3494 | 210 | | 3 | | | | | | | |
| The beginning of Cyrus his Empire. | 4177 | 216 | 240 | 60 | 1. Cyrus. 7 | | 2 | 26 | 43 | Years from 1. Cyrus | Zorobabel. |
| His Edict of liberty to the Jews. | 3495 | 211 | | 4 | | | | | | | Onely Zorobabel & Nehemias are remembred as governours of the Jews; unto the 32 of Artaxerxes Mnemon. But there were many before Nehemias, as himself witnesseth, Ch 5. v. 15 & that the stories of them, their number and names are uncertain. |
| | 4181 | 220 | 244 | 61 | 5 | | | 30 | L. Tarquinius Superbus 25 | 5 | |
| | 3499 | 215 | | 4 | | | | | | | |
| | 4184 | 223 | 247 | 62 | 2 1. Cambyses 7 | | | 33. | 4 | 8 | |
| | 3502 | 218 | | 3 | | | | | | | |
| The 2. first years of Psammitichus, and part of the third may be added to the years of his father; if it be true that Cambyses won Egypt presently on the death of Amasis, L.3.c.4 §.2. | 4186 | 225 | 249 | 63 | 3 | | | 1 Psammi ticus 3 | 6 | 10 | |
| | 3504 | 220 | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| The conquest of Egypt by Cambysis. | 4188 | 227 | 251 | 63 | 5 | | | 3 | 8 | 12 | |
| | 3506 | 222 | | 3 | | | | | | | |
| | Julian World. | Rome. Nabon | Iphitus | Olymp. | Persia. | Egypt | Rome. | Greece | Jewes. | From Cyrus. | |
| Cambysis reigned seven years and five months, so as his last year was filled up by the Magi, and (as may seem) a good part of the next, L.3.c.4. §.4. | 4191 | 230 | 254 | 64 | 6 The Magi one year. | | 11 | | | 15 | |
| | 3509 | 225 | | 2 | | | | | | | |
| | 4192 | 231 | 255 | 64 | 3 1. Darius Hist. Pers. 36 | | 12 | | | 16 | |
| | 3510 | 226 | | 3 | | | | | | | |

| | Julian. World | Rome. Nabon | Iphit. | Olymp | Persia | Egypt | Rome. | Greece. | Jewes from Cyrus. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 4197 | 236 | 260 | 65 | 6 | | 17 | Hippias the son of Pisistratus Tyrant in Athens. | 21 |
| | 3515 | 231 | | 4 | | | | | |
| | 4204 | 243 | 267 | 67 | 13 Babylon. upheld and rebuilt, by Darius. | | 42 | | 28 |
| | 3522 | 238 | | 3 | | | | | |
| The Tarquines expelled Rome. L.4.c.1. §.1. | 4205 | 245 | 268 | 68 | 14 | | 25 | | 29 |
| | 3523 | 239 | | 4 | | | | | |
| The Carthaginians first League with Rome. L.5.c.1. §.2. | 4206 | 245 | 269 | 68 | 15 | | Brutus and Publ. col. } Consuls. | | 30 |
| | 3524 | 240 | | 1 | | | | | |
| L.2. c.5. §.4* | 4211 | 250 | 274 | 69 | 20 Darius his expedition against the Scythians. | | | | 35 |
| | 3529 | 245 | | 2 | | | | | |
| | 4212 | 251 | 275 | 69 | 21 | | | The Athenians and Ionians take Sardes. | 36 |
| | 3530 | 246 | | 3 | | | | | |
| | 4222 | 261 | 285 | 72 | 31 | | Sp. Cassius Posth. Cominius Consuls. | The battail of Marathon. | 46 |
| | 3540 | 356 | | 1 | | | | | |
| | 4226 | 265 | 289 | 73 | 35 | Ægypt rebelleth against Darius. | | | 50 |
| | 3544 | 269 | | 1 | | | | | |
| | 4228 | 267 | 291 | 73 | 4 1. Xerxes, 21 | | | | 50 |
| | 3546 | 260 | | 3 | | | | | |
| The Law Agraria in Rome propounded, for division of Lands: which bred great commotion. | 4229 | 268 | 292 | 73 | 2 | Egypt recovered by Xerxes. | Proc. Virginius. Sp. Cassius } Cons. | | 52 |
| | 3547 | 263 | | 4 | | | | | |
| An Eclipse of the Sun. L.3.c.6. § 2. | 4233 | 272 | 296 | 74 | 6. The great muster of Xerxes his Army at Sardes. | | | | 57 |
| | 3551 | 267 | | 4 | | | | | |
| L.3. c.6. §. 3. & 6. | 4234 | 273 | 297 | 75 | 7 | | | The battails at Thermopylæ, Artemisium, and Salamis. | 58 |
| | 3552 | 268 | | 1 | | | | | |
| L.3. c.6. §.9, 10, & 11. | 4235 | 274 | 298 | 75 | 8 Xerxes his tragicall love | | | The battail of Platæa and Mycale. | 59 |
| | 3553 | 269 | | 2 | | | | | |
| L.2. c 7. §.1 & 2. | 4237 | 267 | 300 | 75 | 10 | | | The Athenians rebuild the walls, and lay the foundations of their Dominion. | 62 |
| | 3555 | 271 | | 4 | | | | | |
| | 4244 | 283 | 307 | 77 | 17 | | | The great victories of Simon, at Ettymaïdon and elsewhere. | 68 |
| | 3562 | 278 | | 3 | | | | | |
| L.2. c.7. § 3. | 4248 | 287 | 311 | 78 | 21 The death of Xerxes by the treason of Artabanus. | | | | 72 |
| | 3566 | 282 | | 3 | | | | | |
| | 4249 | 288 | 312 | 78 | 5 1. Artaxerxes Longimanus. 40 | | | Themistocles being banished flies to Artaxerxes. | 73 |
| | 3567 | 283 | | 4 | | | | | |
| | 4251 | 290 | 314 | 94 | 3 | Inarus set up as King by the Egyptians. | | | 75 |
| | 3569 | 285 | | 2 | | | | | |
| L.3.c.7. §. 5. & 7. | 4255 | 1294 | 318 | 80 | 7. The marriage of Hester | Inarus vanquished by the Persians. | | | To. Esdras translated to Jerusalem. Daniel his 70. Weekes of years fulfilled. |
| | 3573 | 289 | | 2 | | | | | |
| | 4264 | 303 | 327 | 82 | 16 | | The Decemviri ab-dicate to comply with the body of the Romans Laws. | Hippocrates the great Physician, and Democritus the Philosopher flourish. | 10 |
| | 3582 | 298 | | 3 | | | | | |

| The Account from the solution of the Captivity, is the same with that from Cyrus. | Julian. World. | Rome. Nabon | Iphit. | Olymp. | Persia. | Egypt | Rome. | Greece. | Jews or from Cyrus and Daniel, |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 4265<br>3583 | 304<br>299 | 328 | 82<br>4 | 17 | | The decemviri chosen for a second year, tyrannize and usurp the place three years. | Simons voyage to Cyprus, in which he died. | 89<br>11 |
| Nehemias *comes to Jerusalem.* | 4268<br>3586 | 307 | 331 | 83<br>2 | 20 | | | A league for 36. years, between Athens and Sparta | 92<br>14 |
| | 4272<br>3590 | 311<br>306 | 335 | 84<br>3 | 24 | | Tribuni Militum first chosen instead of Consuls. Dionys. Livy placeth them in the 310 year of Rome. | | 96<br>18 |
| | 4273<br>3591 | 312<br>307 | 336 | 84<br>4 | 25 | | | The conquest of Samos by the Athenians under Pericles. | 97<br>19 |
| | 4278<br>3596 | 317<br>312 | 341 | 86<br>1 | 30 | | | The Athenians & the Corcyraeans against the Corinthians. | 102<br>24 |
| *The walls of Jerusalem finished.*<br>Nehemias *returns to King* Artaxerxes. | 4280<br>3598 | 319<br>314 | 343 | 86<br>3 | 32 | | | | 104<br>26 |
| L.3. c.8. §.1. | 4283<br>3601 | 322<br>317 | 346 | 87<br>2 | 25 | | | The first year of the Peloponnesian War. | 107<br>29 |
| L.3. c.9. §.1.<br>L.3. c.8. §.1. | 4289<br>3607 | 328<br>323 | 352 | 88<br>4 | 6<br>Xerxes 2. months<br>7<br>Sogdianus 8, months. | | | The victory of the Athenians at Pylus. | 113<br>35 |
| L.3. c.9. §.1. | 4290<br>3608 | 329<br>324 | 353 | 89<br>1 | 8<br>1. Darius Nothus. 19. | | | | 114<br>36 |
| L. 3.c. 8. §.5. & 6. | 4292<br>3610 | 331<br>326 | 355 | 89<br>3 | 3 | | | A vain and troublesom peace between Athens and Sparta. | 116<br>38 |
| L.3. c. 9. §1. & c.8. §.8. | 4301<br>3619 | 340<br>335 | 364 | 92<br>4 | 11. Egypt rebelleth against the Persian, and sets up Kings that reign successively, till Ochus his reconquest. | 1<br>1. Amyrtaeus, 6 | | The Athenian forces in Sicil utterly destroyed. | 125<br>48 |
| Cap. 8. §. 9. | 4302<br>3620 | 341<br>336 | 365 | 92<br>1 | 13 Darius enters into confederacy with the Spartans. | 2 | | The government of the 400, in Athens, which was suppressed the year following. | 128<br>50 |
| *The Carthaginians invade Sicil with an Army of* 300000. L.5.c.1. §.4. †3. | 4304<br>3622 | 343<br>338 | 367 | 93<br>3 | 15 | 4 | | The Athenians begin to recover strength. | 125<br>50 |
| L.3.c.8. §.10. | 4306<br>3624 | 345<br>340 | 369 | 93<br>1 | 17 | 6 | | Alcibiades after many victories returns from banishment to Athens, is made General, and banished again. | 130<br>52 |
| | 4307<br>3625 | 346<br>341 | 370 | 93<br>2 | 18 | 2<br>1 Nephres 6 | | The battail at Arginusa. | 131<br>53 |
| | 4308<br>3626 | 347<br>342 | 371 | 93<br>3 | 19 | 2 | | Dionysius the elder usurps tyranny in Syracuse. | 132<br>54 |
| L.3 c.8. §.12. | 4309<br>3627 | 348<br>343 | 372 | 93<br>4 | 9<br>1. Artaxerxes Mnemon, 43 | 3 | | The battail at Argos, Potamos, &c. | 133<br>55 |
| | 4311<br>3629 | 350<br>345 | 374 | 94<br>2 | 3 | 5 | The siege of Veii, lasted 10. years. | | 135<br>57 |
| L.3.c.10. §.1. | 4313<br>3631 | 352<br>347 | 376 | 94<br>4 | The expedition of Cyrus against Artaxerxes | 3<br>1. Acoris, 12 | | Socrates put to death. The 30 tyrants put down in Athens. | 137<br>59 |

| | Julian and World. | Rome and Nabon | Iphit. | Olymp. | Persia. | Egypt. | Rome. | Greece. | Jews From Cyrus Daniel. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| L.3.c.11.§.4. | 4318<br>3636 | 357<br>352 | 381 | 96<br>1 | 10 | 6 | | Agesilaus warreth in Asia. | 142<br>64 |
| L.3. c.11. §.7. | 4320<br>3638 | 359<br>354 | 383 | 96<br>3 | 12 | 8 | | The victory of Conon at Cnidus, &c. | 144<br>64 |
| | 4321<br>3639 | 360<br>355 | 384 | 96<br>4 | 13 | 9 | Veii taken by Camillus. | Xenophon and Plato flourish | 145<br>67 |
| | 4325<br>3643 | 364<br>359 | 388 | 97<br>4 | 17 | 3<br>1. Psammitious the son of Inarus, and after him Nephres that had been expelled reigned in all about two years. | The honourable victory of Camillus over the Falisci. | | 149<br>71 |
| L.4.c.7.§.1.<br>L.3.c.11. §.9. | 4326<br>3644 | 365<br>360 | 389 | 98<br>1 | 18 | 2 | Rome taken and burnt by the Gauls. | The Peace of Antalcidas. | 150<br>72 |
| | 4327<br>3645 | 367<br>361 | 390 | 98<br>2 | 19 | 4<br>1 Nectanebus.<br>18 | | | 151<br>73 |
| | 4332<br>3650 | 371<br>366 | 395 | 99<br>3 | 24 | 6 | M. Manlius Capitolinus put to death | The Lacedemonians take the Citadel of Thebes by treason. | 150<br>78 |
| L.3.c.11. §.11. | 4336<br>3654 | 375<br>370 | 399 | 100<br>3 | 28 | 10 | | The Thebans recover his Citadel, and make strong war upon the Lacedemonians. | 160<br>82 |
| | 4340<br>3658 | 379<br>374 | 403 | 101<br>2 | 32 | 14 | Tribunes of the people continued 5. years in office, propound popular Laws, among which that one of the Consuls should be still a Plebeian. | | 164<br>86 |
| L.3.c.12. §.1. | 4343<br>3661 | 382<br>377 | 406 | 102<br>2 | 35 | 17 | | The famous battaile of Leuctra. | 167<br>89 |
| L.3.c.12. §.4. | 4345<br>3363 | 384<br>379 | 408 | 102<br>4 | 37 | 4<br>1. Tachus 8. Eusebius gives only 2. years to Tachus. Reims. 6. but the story of him proves more. | L. Sextius a Plebeian, and L. Aemilius, Consuls. | The hasty growth of the Theban Estate. | 169<br>91 |
| | 4351<br>3669 | 390<br>385 | 414 | 104<br>2 | 43 Many Provinces rebel against Artaxerxes, and are soon reclaimed. | 7 | | The great battail of Mantinaea. Epaminondas dies. | 175<br>97. Jonathan. |
| L.3.c.12. §.8. | 4352<br>3670 | 391<br>386 | 415 | 104<br>3 | 10<br>1. Ochus.<br>23 | 8. Tachus betrayed by Agesilaus.<br>1. Nectanebus 13 | | Peace in Greece. The Athenians weaken themselves by converting their treasure to vain uses. | 176 about this time High<br>98 Priest. |
| | 4354<br>3672 | 393<br>388 | 417 | 105<br>1 | 3 | 3 | | 1. Philip King of Macedon 24 years and part of the 25 | 178<br>100 |
| L.4.c.1. §.4. | 4359<br>3677 | 398<br>393 | 422 | 106<br>2 | 8 | 8 | | 6. The Phocian War begins. | 183<br>105 |
| | 4364<br>3682 | 403<br>398 | 427 | 107<br>3 | 13. Ochus reconquers Egypt. | 13. Nectanebus flies into Aethiopia. | | 11 | 188<br>110 |
| L.4.c.1. §.6. | 4368<br>3686 | 407<br>402 | 431 | 108<br>3 | 17 | | | 15. The end of the Phocian War. | 192<br>114 |
| L.5.c.1. §.4. †.4. | 4369<br>3687 | 408<br>403 | 432 | 108<br>4 | 18 | | | 16. Timolton his voyage into Sicil. | 193<br>115 |
| | 4370<br>3688 | 409<br>404 | 453 | 109<br>1 | 19 | Nabonassar. Novemb the 17 | | 17. Philip wasteth Illyria, and draws the Thessalians to follow him. | 194<br>116 |
| *After this the years from* Cyrus *and* Daniel *are too few, by one.* | 4375<br>3693 | 414<br>409 | 438 | 110<br>2 | 11<br>1. Arses 3. | | | 22 | 199 Jaddus High<br>121 Priest, 16 |

| | Julian and World. | Rome. and Nabon | Iphitus | Olymp. | Persia. | Egypt | Rome. | Greece. | | Jewes From Cyrus Daniel. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 4376<br>5694 | 415<br>410 | 439 | 110<br>3 | 2 | | | 23 The battail of Cheronea. Philip chosen Captain General of the Greeks. | | 2<br>199<br>121 |
| | 4378<br>3696 | 417<br>412 | 441 | 111<br>1 | 19 1. Darius 6 years and somewhat more. | Nabon. Novemb. 15 | | 25 Philip slain by Pausanias. 1. Alexander the great 12. years and 5. moneths. | | 4<br>201<br>123 |
| | 4379<br>3697 | 418<br>413 | 442 | 111<br>2 | 2 | | | 2 Thebes razed by Alexander. | | 5<br>202<br>124 |
| | 4380<br>3698 | 419<br>414 | 443 | 111<br>3 | 3 | | | 3 Alexander passeth into Asia. | | 6<br>203<br>125 |
| L. 4. c.7. §. 1. | 4381<br>3699 | 420<br>415 | 444 | 111<br>4 | 4 The battail of Issus. | | | 4 | | 7<br>204<br>126 |
| L. 4. c. 2. §. 5.6.& 7. & L. 5. c. 2. §.8. | 4382<br>3700 | 421<br>416 | 445 | 112<br>1 | 5 | | The Gauls enter into league with the Romans. | 5 Alexander wins Tyre and Ægypt. | 8<br>205<br>127 | Jaddus meeting Alexander, is reverenced by him. |
| | Julian. World. | Rome. Nabon. | Iphit. | Olympiads. | | | | | | |
| An Eclipse of the Moon. | 4383<br>3701 | 422<br>417 | 446 | 112<br>2 | 6 The battail of Arbela. | | | | 6 Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis won by Alexander. | 9<br>206<br>128 |
| L. 4. c. 2. §. 13. | 4384<br>3702 | 423<br>418 | 447 | 112<br>3 | 7 Darius slain by Bessus. | | | | 7 | 10<br>207<br>129 |
| | | | | | Macedon. | Egypt. | | Greece. | Romans | Jews. Daniel |
| | 4385<br>3703 | 424<br>419 | 448 | 112<br>4 | 8. Alexander changeth conditions: he puts to death Parmenio and Philotas. | | | | | 11<br>130 |
| | 4380<br>3704 | 425<br>420 | 449 | 113<br>1 | 9. Alexander passeth into India: kils Clytus and Calisthenes. | | | | | 12<br>131 |
| Alexander died 17 days before the summer Solstice. From Nabonassar hitherto are collected 424. years: and hence to the reign of Augustus. 294. The sum is, 781. years, which agrees with this accompt. Ptolem. Almagest. l. 3. c. 8. | 1390<br>3708 | 429<br>424 | 453 | 114<br>1 | 13. Alexander dies at Babylon. | Nabon. Novemb. 12 | | | | 16<br>135 |
| | 4391<br>3709 | 430<br>425 | 454 | 114<br>2 | 1. Aridæus, 6 and 4. moneths. | 1<br>1. Ptolemie Lagi. 39. | L. 3. c. 3. §. 1, 2. & 3. | The Lamian War. | | 1. Onias, 23<br>136 |
| | 4394<br>3712 | 433<br>428 | 457 | 115<br>1 | 4 | 4. Perdiccas slain in Egypt. } Nab. Nov. 11. | L. 4. c. 3. § 8. & 9. | Victories of Eumenes. | | 4<br>139 |
| | 4395<br>3713 | 433<br>429 | 458 | 115<br>2 | 5. Antigonus sent against Eumenes. | 5 | | | | 5<br>140 |
| Aridæus slain by Olympias Antigonus beaten by Eumenes. | 4397<br>3715 | 436<br>431 | 460 | 115<br>4 | 7 | 7 | | | | 7<br>142 |
| Eumenes betrayed to Antigonus Olympias slain by Cassander. Antigonus grows dreadful. | 4398<br>3716 | 441<br>432 | 461 | 116<br>1 | 1. Cassander. 19 | 8 | | Thebes re-edified by Cassander. | | 8<br>143 |
| Some place the beginning of Seleucus in this 12. from Alexander, by which accompt he reigned 32. years | 4402<br>2720 | 441<br>436 | 465 | 117<br>1 | 5 | 12 Nabonassar. Novemb 9. | Demetrius beaten at Gaza, by Ptolemy, and Seleucus, | | | 12<br>147 |
| Peace between Alexanders Captains: with division of Provinces. | 4403<br>3721 | 442<br>437 | 466 | 117<br>2 | 6 | 13 | | | | 13<br>148 |

| | Julian and World. | Rome. Nabon | Iphitus | Olymp. | Macedon. | Egypt | Syria and the Kingdom of the Greeks. | Greece. | Romans. | Jewe Danie. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The Æra of the Kingdom of the Greeks. | 4404<br>3722 | 443<br>438 | 467 | 117<br>3 | 7 | 14 | 1<br>1. Seleucus, 30<br>1 | L. 4. c. 5. §. 7. | | 14<br>149 | |
| Alexanders Captains assume the name of Kings. | 4406<br>3724 | 445<br>440 | 469 | 118<br>1 | 9 | 25 Ptolomy overcome by Demetrius at Cyprus. | 3<br>3 | Athens set free by Demetrius the son of Antigonus. | | 16<br>151 | |
| L. 4. c.6. §. 4. | 4413<br>3731 | 452<br>447 | 476 | 119<br>4 | 16 | 23 | 10 The battail at Ipsus wherein Antigonus was slain 10 | | | 23<br>158 | |
| | 4414<br>3732 | 453<br>448 | 477 | 120<br>1 | 17 | 24 | 11. Seleucus makes alliance with Demetrius 11 | | | 1 Timon the ancient. 13<br>159 | |
| | 4417<br>3735 | 456<br>451 | 180 | 120<br>4 | 1. Antipater and Alexander the son of Cassander. | 27 | 14<br>14 | | | 4<br>162 | |
| L. 4. c. 6. §. 7. | 4421<br>3739 | 460<br>455 | 484 | 121<br>4 | 2 Demetrius, 6 | 31 | 18<br>18 | | | 8<br>166 | |
| | Julian. World. | Rome. Nabon. | Iphit. | Olympiads. | Macedon. | Egypt. | Syria. | Greece. | Rome. | Jews. Daniel | |
| | 4427<br>4745 | 460<br>461 | 490 | 123<br>2 | 1. Pyrrhus. 7. Moneths. | 37 | 24 | | | 1 Eleazar high Priest, 19<br>172 | |
| | 4428<br>3746 | 467<br>462 | 491 | 123<br>3 | 1. Lysimachus. 5 | 38 | 25 | | | 2<br>173 | |
| | 4429<br>3747 | 468<br>463 | 492 | 123<br>4 | 2 | 39 9 1 Ptolomy Philadelphus, 38 | 26<br>26 | | | 3<br>174 | |
| The translation of the Bible by the Septuagint | 4432<br>3750 | 471<br>466 | 495 | 124<br>3 | 5 | 4 | 29<br>29 | | The Tarentines raise war in the Eastern parts of Italy, and call in Pyrrhus against the Romans. | 6<br>177 | |
| See L. 4. c. 6. § 9. & c. 7. § 2. | 4433<br>3751 | 472<br>467 | 496 | 124<br>4 | 6. Lysimachus slain. Seleucus 7 Mon. | 5 | 32 Seleucus slain in the end of the 124. Olymp. Polyb. and Justin 30 | | Pyrrhus his victory against the Romans. | 7<br>178 | |
| L. 4. c. 7. §. 3. & 7. | 4434<br>3752 | 473<br>468 | 497 | 124<br>1 | 1. Ptol. Ceraunus. Antipater. Meleager. Sosthenes. | 6 Nabon Nou. 1 | 2<br>1. Antiochus Soter. 19<br>31 | The Gauls do great spoil in Macedon and Greece, under Brennus and Belgius. | | 8<br>179 | |
| | 4436<br>3754 | 475<br>570 | 499 | 125<br>1 | 1<br>1. Antigonus Conatas. 26 | 8 | 3<br>33 | | Pyrrhus goes into Sicil. | 10<br>181 | |
| L. 5. c. 2. §. 6. | 4438<br>3756 | 477<br>572 | 501 | 126<br>1 | 3 | 10. Nabonassars year begins, Oct. 1 | 5<br>35 | About these times the Achæan begun their society | Pyrrhus called out of Sicill against the Ro. | 12<br>183 | |
| | 4439<br>3757 | 478<br>473 | 502 | 126<br>2 | 4 | 11 | 6<br>26 | | Pyrrhus overthrown by the Romans. | 13<br>184 | |
| L. 4. c. 7. §. 5. | 4441<br>3759 | 480<br>475 | 504 | 126<br>4 | 6 | 13 | 8<br>38 | Pyrrhus slain at Argos. | The Tarentines crave ayd of the Carthaginians. | 15<br>186 | |
| The Translation by the Septuagint finished, this 17 of Philadelphus. | 4445<br>3763 | 484<br>497 | 508 | 127<br>4 | 10 | 17 | 12<br>42 | | | 19<br>190 | Consuls. |
| | 4446<br>3764 | 485<br>480 | 509 | 128<br>1 | 11 | 18. Nabonassar Octob. 29 | 2<br>90 | | | 1 Manasses high Priest 27<br>191 | |
| The more ancient Roman Consuls have been often so uncertain, that Livy hath doubted whom to name. | 4450<br>3768 | 489<br>484 | 513 | 129<br>1 | 15 | 22. Nabonassar Otto 28. | 17<br>47 | L. 5. c. 1. § 3. | The beginning of the first Punick war. | 5 | Ap. Claudius. M. Fulvius. |

| | Julian and World. | Rome. Nabon. | Iphitus | Olymp. | Macedon. | Egypt | Syria and the Kingdom of the Greek. | Greece. | Romans. | Jewes. Danie. | Consuls. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 4453<br>3771 | 492<br>487 | 516 | 129<br>4 | 18 | 25 | 3<br>1 Antiochus Theus. 16<br>15 | | | 8<br>198 | L. Valerius.<br>T. Octacilius. |
| L.5.c.1.§.6. | 4454<br>3772 | 493<br>488 | 517 | 130<br>1 | 19 | 26 | 2<br>51 | | Duilius his victory at Sea. | 9<br>199 | C. Duilius.<br>Cn. Cornelius. |
| | 4457<br>3772 | 496<br>491 | 520 | 130<br>4 | 22 | 29 | 5<br>54 | | Regulus passeth into Africk. | 12<br>2 2 | M. Attil. Reg.<br>Cn. Cornelius. |
| L.5.c.1.§8. | 4458<br>3776 | 497<br>492 | 521 | 131<br>1 | 23 | 30 | 6<br>55 | Marcus Carymensis Prætor of the Achæans | Regulus taken prisoner. | 13<br>203 | L. Manlius.<br>Q. Cæditus. |
| | 4463<br>3781 | 502<br>497 | 526 | 132<br>2 | 28 | 35 | 11<br>60 | Aratus recovers Sicyon, & joyns it to the Achæans | | 18<br>208 | L. Cæcilius.<br>C. Furius. |
| The Roman Consuls beaten at Lilybæum. The beginning of the Parthian Kingdom, | 4464<br>3782 | 504<br>498 | 427 | 132<br>2 | 29 | 36 | 12<br>61 | | Regulus his death. | 19<br>209 | C. Atilius.<br>L. Manlius. |
| | 4465<br>3783 | 504<br>499 | 528 | 132<br>4 | 30 | 27 | 13<br>62 | | Shipwrack & unhappy fight of the Romans at Sea. | 20<br>210 | P. Claudius. Pulcher, and<br>L. Junius. |
| | 4467<br>3785 | 506<br>501 | 530 | 133<br>3 | 32 | 1. Ptolemy Energetes. 26 | 15<br>64 | | | 22<br>212 | L. Cæcilius.<br>M. Fabius. |
| Amilcar the Carthaginian in Sicil. L.5.c.1.§.11. | 4467<br>3787 | 508<br>505 | 532 | 133<br>4 | 34 | 3 | 4<br>1. Seleucus Callinicus, 20<br>66 | | | 24<br>214 | M. Fabius.<br>C. Atilius. |
| | 4472<br>3790 | 511<br>506 | 535 | 134<br>3 | 2<br>Demetrius 10 | 6 | 4<br>69 | | Luctatius his great victory at Ægateis. | 27<br>217 | C. Luct. Catul.<br>A. Posthumus. |
| The war of the Mercenaries with the Carthaginians. L 5.c.2. | 4473<br>3791 | 512<br>507 | 536 | 134<br>4 | 2 | 7 | 5<br>70 | Aratus wins Corinth. | Peace granted to Carthage. | Onias 1<br>218 | Q. Luctatius.<br>A. Manlius. |
| | 4473<br>3792 | 513<br>508 | 537 | 135<br>1 | 3 | 8<br>Nabon Oct. 22 | 6<br>71 | | | 1 Simon the just 28<br>219 | C. Claudius.<br>M. Sempronius. |
| The war with the Mercenaries ended. | 4476<br>3794 | 515<br>510 | 539 | 135<br>3 | 5 | 10 | 8<br>73 | | The Romans take Sardinia from the Carthaginians. | 3<br>221 | Gracchus.<br>Falco. |
| | 4482<br>3800 | 521<br>516 | 545 | 137<br>1 | 3<br>1. Antigonus Doson, 10 | 16 | 14<br>79 | | | 9<br>227 | Lepidus.<br>Mallcolus. |
| | 4483<br>3801 | 522<br>517 | 546 | 137<br>2 | 2 | 17 | 15<br>80 | | A Roman Embassadour slain by Queen Teuta | 10<br>230 | M. Æmylius<br>M. Junius. |
| L.5.c.2.§.7. | 4485<br>3803 | 524<br>519 | 548 | 137<br>4 | 4 | 19 | 17<br>82 | | Teuta, Queen of Illyria subdued by the Romans | 10<br>234 | L. Posthumus.<br>C. Fulvius. |
| L.5.c.5.§.1. | 4489<br>3807 | 528<br>523 | 552 | 138<br>4 | 8 | 23 | 5<br>1. Seleucus Ceraunus. 3<br>86 | | | 16<br>224 | L. Æmylius.<br>C. Atilius. |
| Flaminius was also Consul this year. See L.5.c.2.§8. | 4492<br>3810 | 531<br>526 | 555 | 139<br>3 | 11 | 26 | 5<br>1. Antiochus the Great, 36.<br>89 | | Marcellus his victory over the Gaules about Milan. | 19<br>237 | C. Cornelius.<br>M Marcellus |
| L.5.c.5.§.2. | 4493<br>3811 | 532<br>527 | 556 | 139<br>4 | 12 | 4<br>1. Ptolemy Philopater. 17 | 2<br>90 | | | 20<br>238 | P. Cornelius.<br>M. Minutius. |
| | 4494<br>3812 | 533<br>528 | 557 | 140<br>1 | 4<br>1. Philip. 42 | 2 | 3<br>91 | | | 20<br>239 | L. Veturius.<br>C. Luctatius. |

| | Julian. World. | Rome. Nabon | Iphit. | Olymp. | Macedon. | Egypt | Syria & kingdom of the Greeks. | Greece | Rome. | Jews and Daniel | Consuls. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Annibal taketh Saguntum. | 4495<br>3813 | 534<br>529 | 558 | 140<br>2 | 2 | 3 | 4<br>92 | Demetrius Pharius chased out of his Lordship. | | 22<br>240 | L. Æmylius.<br>M. Livius. |
| The beginning of the second Punick war. | 4596<br>3814 | 534<br>529 | 559 | 140<br>3 | 3 | 4 | 5<br>93 | L.5.c.3.§.4. | The battails of Ticinus and Trebia. | 23<br>241 | P. Cor. Scipio.<br>T. Sempronius. |
| The occurrences of this year are referred by Polyb. l.5. to the 3 of the 140 Olymp: | 4497<br>3815 | 536<br>530 | 560 | 140<br>4 | 4. Sol. Eclips. Liv. l.22. Feb 11. reckoning by Jul. year | 5 War in Syria between Antiochus and Ptol. | 6<br>94 | Philip and the Ætolians at peace with the Achæ. | The battails of Thrasymene. | 24<br>242 | C. Flaminius.<br>Cn. Servilius. |
| The battel of Thrasymene was fought in the Spring: the Olympian year began at the summer solstice. Hannibal and Marcellus | 4498<br>3816 | 537<br>532 | 561 | 141<br>1 | 5 | 6 Nabonassars year begins Octob. 16. | 7<br>95 | | The great battel at Cannæ. | 25<br>243 | C. Terent. Varro.<br>L. Æm. Paul. |
| Hiero King of Syrocuse dyes. Hieronymus succeeds | 4499<br>3817 | 538<br>533 | 562 | 141<br>2 | 6 | 7 | 8<br>96 | | Posthumius the R. Consul slain by the Gauls. | 26<br>244 | L. Posthumus. T. Semp. Grac.<br>Q. Fabius. |
| The two Scipio's slain in Spain. Hannibal wins Tarentum. | 4502<br>3829 | 541<br>536 | 565 | 142<br>1 | 9 | 10 | 11<br>99 | Philip and the Achæans war with the Ætolians & Romans in Greece. | Syracuse won by Marcel. Capua besieged | 247<br>1 Onias the Priest 39 | Ap. Claudius.<br>Q. Fulvius. |
| Hannibal at the wals of Rome. | 4503<br>3821 | 542<br>537 | 566 | 142<br>2 | 10 | 11 | 12<br>100 | | Young Scipio sent into Spain. Capua won by the Romans. | 2<br>248 | Cn. Fulvius.<br>P. Sulpitius. |
| | 4507<br>3825 | 546<br>561 | 570 | 143<br>2 | 14 | 15 | 16<br>104 | | The battail at Metaurus. | 6<br>252 | C. Clau. Nero.<br>M. Livius. |
| | 4508<br>3826 | 547<br>542 | 571 | 143<br>3 | 15 | 16 | 17<br>105 | | Scipio drives the Carthaginians quite out of Spain | 7<br>253 | Q. Cecilius.<br>L. Veturius. |
| | 4510<br>3828 | 549<br>544 | 573 | 144<br>1 | 17 | 5<br>1. Ptolemy Epiphanes. | 19<br>107 | | Scipio invades Africk. | 9<br>255 | Cethegus.<br>P. Sempronius. |
| | 4511<br>3829 | 550<br>545 | 574 | 144<br>2 | 18 | 2 | 20<br>108 | | King Syphax taken. | 10<br>256 | Servilius, and<br>Servius. |
| | 4512<br>3830 | 551<br>546 | 575 | 144<br>3 | 19 | 3 | 21<br>109 | | Hannibal vanquished by Scipio. | 11<br>257 | T. Claudius,<br>M. Servilius |
| The end of the second Punick war, and beginning of the Macedonian war with Philip. This year and the next were three Eclipses of the Moon. | 4513<br>3831 | 552<br>547 | 576 | 144<br>4 | 20 | 4 | 22<br>110 | | Scipio triumphs over Carthage. | 12<br>258 | Lentulus.<br>Pætus. |
| | 4516<br>3834 | 555<br>550 | 579 | 145<br>3 | 23. Philip overcome at the River Apsus, by the Romans. | 7 | 25<br>113 | | L.5.c.5.§.1.3. | 15<br>261 | T. Q. Flaminius<br>Sex. Ælius. |
| L.5.c.5.§.14. | 4517<br>3835 | 556<br>551 | 580 | 145<br>4 | The battail at Cynoscephalæ.<br>24 | 8 | 26<br>114 | Liberty of Greece proclaimed by the Romans. | | 16<br>262 | Cethegus.<br>Q. Minutius. |
| Hannibal expelled Carthage, L.5.c.5.§.4. & c.4.§.5. | 4518<br>3836 | 557<br>552 | 581 | 146<br>1 | 25. Peace between Philip & the Romans. | 9 | 27<br>115 | | | 17<br>263 | L. Furius.<br>Marcellus. |
| Cap. 5.§.5. | 4519<br>3837 | 558<br>553 | 582 | 146<br>2 | 26 | 10 | 28<br>116 | War upon Nabis the tyrant. | | 18<br>264 | M. Cato.<br>L. Valerius. |
| C.5.§.7. | 4522<br>3840 | 561<br>556 | 585 | 147<br>1 | 29 | 13 | 31. Antiochus at Chalcis.<br>119 | | | 21<br>267 | L. Quintius.<br>Cn. Domitius. |
| | 4523<br>3841 | 562<br>557 | 586 | 147<br>2 | 30 | 14 | 32<br>Antiochus vanquished at Thermopylæ. 120 | | The great victory of L. Scipio over Antiochus in Asia which gave beginning to the Roman luxury. | 22<br>268 | Acil. Glabrio.<br>Nasica. |
| | 4524<br>3842 | 563<br>558 | 587 | 147<br>3 | 31 | 15 | 33<br>121 | c.5.§.8 | | 23<br>269 | L. Scipio.<br>C. Lælius. |

| | World. | Nabon. | Iphit. | Olymp. | Macedon. | Egypt. | Syria & kingdom of the Greeks. | Greece | Rome. | Jews and Daniel | Consuls. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| L.5.c.5.§.9. | 4527 | 506 | 590 | 148 | 34 | 18 | 36 | | Scipio banisheth himself from Rome. | 26 | Lepidus. |
| | 3845 | 561 | | 2 | | | 124 | | | 272 | Flaminius. |
| | 4528 | 507 | 591 | 148 | 35 | 19 | 6 1. Seleucus Philopater, 12. | | | 27 | S. Posthumius. |
| | 3846 | 562 | | 3 | | | 125 | | | 273 | Q. Martius. |
| L.5.c.6.§2. | 4532 | 570 | 594 | 149 | 38 | 22 | 4 | | Scipio, Hannibal, and Philopœmen die. Tully placeth Scipios death two years earlier. | 30 | Marcellus. |
| | 3849 | 565 | | 2 | | | 128 | | | 276 | Q. Fabius. |
| L.5.c.6.§.3. | 4532 | 571 | 595 | 149 | 39 The tyranny of Philip, his son Demetrius accused to him, and slain the next year. | 23 | 5 | | | 31 | Paulus. |
| | 3850 | 566 | | 3 | | | 129 | | | 277 | Cn. Bæbius. |
| Cap. 6. §. 4. | 4533 | 572 | 596 | 149 | 40 | 24 | 6 | Callicrates betrayes the Achæans, and all the Greeks. | | 32 | Cethegus. |
| | 3851 | 567 | | 4 | | | 130 | | | 278 | M. Bæbius. |
| | 4534 | 573 | 597 | 150 | 41 | 1. Ptolemeus Philometor, and his brother Physcon 35 | 7 | | | 33 | A. Posthumius. |
| | 3852 | 568 | | 1 | | | 131 | | | 279 | Piso. |
| | 4535 | 574 | 598 | 150 | 42 1. Perseus, 11. or [illegible] years. | 2 | 8 | | | 34 | Piso. |
| | 3853 | 569 | | 2 | | | 132 | | | 280 | Manlius. |
| An Eclipse of the Moon the 7 of Philometor, 573 years and 206 daies from the beginning of Nabonassar, which agrees with this account. It was by Julian years the last of April, about one of the clock in the morning. | 4540 | 579 | 603 | 151 | 6 | 7 | 7 1. Antiochus Epiphanes. 12. | | | 39 | Sp. Posthumius |
| | 3858 | 574 | | 3 | | | 137 | | | 285 | Scævola. |
| | 4541 | 580 | 604 | 151 | 7 | 8 | 2 | | See l.5 cap. 6. §. 11. | Jason buyeth the high Priesthood, and after him Menelaus. | L. Posthumius. |
| | 3859 | 575 | | 4 | | | 138 | | | | M. Popilius. |
| | 4543 | 582 | 606 | 152 | 9 The beginning of the war of Perseus | 10 | 4 | | c.6.§6 | 288 | P. Licinius. |
| | 3861 | 577 | | 2 | | | 140 | | | | C. Cassius. |
| | 4545 | 584 | 608 | 152 | 11 | [illegible] Egypt invaded by Antiochus [illegible] | 6 | | | 290 | Martius. |
| | 3863 | 579 | | 4 | | | 142 | | | | Servilius. |
| A total Eclipse of the Moon foregoing the overthrow of Perseus, in the ye. of Nabonassar here noted. | 4546 | 585 | 609 | 153 | 12 Perseus vanquished and taken. | 13 Antiochus commanded out of Egypt by the Romans, spoyles the Temple. | 7 | Cap 6 §.8,9. & 11. | Gentius King of Illyria taken. | 192. Persecution in Jury for religion. | L. Æm. Paul. |
| | 3864 | 580 | | 1 | | | 143 | | | | C. Licinius. |
| | 4547 | 586 | 610 | 153 | Macedon made a Roman Province. | 14 | 8 | The captivity of all the best among the Greeks. | Triumphs in Rome. | C.6.§ 10. & 12. | Pætus. |
| | 3865 | 581 | | 2 | | | 144 | | | | Junius. |
| | 4549 | 588 | 612 | 153 | | 16 | 10 | | | 1. Judas Maccabæus, 6 | Torquatus. |
| | 3867 | 581 | | 4 | | | 146 | | | | Octavius. |

An

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